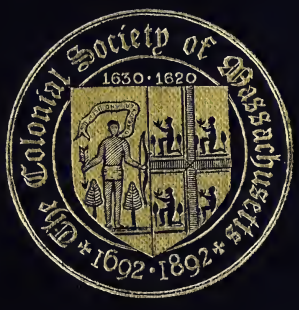
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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1917–1919

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Hathaway Photograph of Dighton Rock. 1907

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1917–1919

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PREFACE

VOLUME XX, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at nine meetings, from December, 1917, to February, 1919, both included, in continuation of Volume XIX.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, the Gilbert Museum (Amherst College), the Harvard College Library, the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Peabody Museum (Harvard University), the Royal Library (Copenhagen), the United States Department of Agriculture, and the Yale University Library.

For the Committee of Publication,

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 July, 1919

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Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death

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Hon. Marcus Perrin Knowlton, LL.D. . .	7 May,	1918
Samuel Swett Green, A.M.	8 December,	1918
Franklin Pierce Rice, Esq.	4 January,	1919
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Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M. . . .	17 February,	1919

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TRANSACTIONS

1917–1919

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

DECEMBER MEETING, 1917

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 December, 1917, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE of Nahant, Mr. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT of Danvers, and Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL AGASSIZ of Boston, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. OTIS GRANT HAMMOND of Concord, New Hampshire, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Announcement was made of the appointment of Messrs. WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE as delegates from the Society to the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies held in Philadelphia on the twenty-seventh instant in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

On behalf of Mr. THOMAS WILLING BALCH, a Corresponding Member, the following paper was communicated:

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The discovery of the new world by the Norsemen in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our present period of civilization had been apparently all but forgotten when the Portuguese and the Spaniards rediscovered it, so to speak, in the fifteenth century. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Law between Nations, like the Nations between whom that Law was to adjust and regulate their every day relations, was barely beginning to emerge from the hodge-podge welter of customs that prevailed in the every day relations between the feudal potentates, both large and small, who ruled in all central and western Europe. The Pope, as head of western Christendom, wielded an influence over all its sovereigns, and when the rival sovereigns of Portugal and Spain asserted their respective claims to dominion in the new world, based on the fact that it had been discovered by some of their respective navigators, Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1493, settled the matter as between the Portuguese and the Spaniards by a compromise which divided all the new world between them and left Africa to the Portuguese. He granted all the land situated to the westward of a line drawn one hundred leagues westward of the Azores to Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile and Leon and their successors. A few months later he reserved all the new found lands east of that line to the crown of Portugal. That arrangement would have given to Portugal only a small corner of modern Brazil at Cape San Roque. In 1494, however, the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain by the treaty of Tordesillas agreed to extend the Portuguese territorial rights to a new line drawn three hundred and seventy leagues westward of the Cape Verde Islands, thereby saving Brazil to Portugal. That treaty was confirmed in 1506 by Pope Julius the Second.

Henry the Seventh of England and Francis the First of France, however, speedily disregarded this partition of the newly discovered lands both in the old and the new worlds. And after the beginning of the Reformation, titles thus granted by and received from the Popes could not be pleaded against Protestant rulers. Thus when England, France, the United Netherlands, and Sweden, who could not assert having made discoveries in the new world until after

Portugal and Spain, desired to appropriate some of the newly found virgin lands beyond the Atlantic, they refused to recognize the assignment of all of that new world by the Pope to Portugal and Spain merely upon the basis of title by discovery. On the contrary, they boldly proclaimed that the possession of the several parts of the new continent should be regulated by discovery and occupation. They asserted that mere discovery did not give a lasting title; but that it must be followed by actual occupation. And all four of those nations proceeded to put their theory into practice, and each and all of them actually occupied and possessed themselves, in spite of the papal grants to Portugal and Spain, of land on the eastern seaboard of North America. In that way the British Crown asserted and carried into effect its right to New England, including Massachusetts. It was upon the same principle, too, that the Swedish Crown, which was even later in entering into the field of trans-oceanic colonization than England, France, and Holland, took possession of land in the valley of the Delaware, which has become the present States of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

When the present Massachusetts was settled in 1620, the Thirty Years' War in Central Europe, whose close was to mark in a general way the change from feudalism to the present status of nationalism in Europe and also the birth of the Law between Nations, had barely gone on for two years. And it was only five years after the landing at Plymouth of the Pilgrim Fathers, that the universally recognized father of the Law between Nations, Hugo Grotius, gave forth at Paris to the world his treatise, De Jure Belli ac Pacis. The presentation of that treatise to Europe was like bringing water to a thirsty man. Amidst the horrors and terrible curse that war entails — and for many a long century Europe had known far more of war than peace — Grotius's immortal book urged in a systematized form upon the contestants, principles of humanity in the conduct of war as well as rules for their every day relations in times of peace. The book was the embodied cry of humanity for some respite from the horrors and sufferings inflicted by mankind upon one another in times of war. And during the course of the seventeenth century it passed through countless editions.

Grotius's work bore fruit soon after its first appearance, and happily before his death. Gustavus Adolphus the Great, of Sweden,

during his two years' campaign (1630–1632) in Germany against the Imperial House of Hapsburg, carried a copy of the De Jure Belli ac Pacis with him. And his sparing of Munich and its inhabitants in 1631, after the provocative sacking and destroying of Magdeburg and the ruthless killing of its inhabitants the year before by Count Tilly and the army of the Catholic League, may be attributed in part to the teachings of the Dutch jurisconsult.

As we have seen, Grotius's treatise passed through many editions, and it is interesting to know that in colonial days several copies of the work were brought over to the colonies. Through the kindness of our fellow-member, Mr. Lane, I have found that Harvard College was the fortunate possessor in colonial times of several copies of Grotius. The first one it received was one of the books given to the College Library at its very beginning by Governor Richard Bellingham of Massachusetts. In the printed catalogue of the Harvard College Library published in 1723 there is a title, probably a later gift, "Grotii De jure Belli ac Pacis." That copy was printed at Amsterdam in 1651. Luckily it survived the fire that swept the Library in 1764. On its fly leaves it bears the names of several students who read it during their college course: Thomas Brinley and Ebenezer Winchester, of the Class of 1744; Nyott Doubt, of the Class of 1747; and George Minot (probably the George Minot who belonged to the Class of 1752). The edition of Grotius, edited with notes by Kaspar Ziegler and published at Strassburg in 1706, was a gift presented probably soon after the fire of 1764. The Library also received between 1764 and 1774 from Thomas Hollis, a copy of the French translation by Barbeyrac, published at Leyden in 1759. Another copy of Grotius, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis, . . . Hagæ Comitis, 1680," belonged to the Rev. Thomas Prince, the historian in whose honor the Prince Society was named in 1858. Prince's collection of books was given to the Old South Church in Boston in the eighteenth century, and the major part of the collection, including that copy of Grotius, is now deposited in the Boston Public Library. The Library Company of Philadelphia also numbered Grotius in colonial times among its collections. One of the earliest books which it received was the English translation of Grotius, together with the notes of Barbeyrac, published at London in 1738. Another copy of Grotius which the Library Company possessed before the Revolution,

Mr. Abbot the librarian tells me, was the Latin edition published at Amsterdam in 1646: "Hugonis Grotii De jure Belli ac Pacis."

The works of two others of the founders of the science of the Law between Nations found their way in colonial days into the Harvard College Library. One was Samuel Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations. A copy of the Latin edition, printed at Amsterdam in 1668, is recorded in the Catalogue of 1723. Barbeyrac's French translation of Puffendorf, published at Leyden in 1759, was given to Harvard by Thomas Hollis between 1764 and 1774. The English translation by Kennett, printed at London in 1749, is mentioned in the select Catalogue of 1773. The Library Company of Philadelphia also imported in 1732 a copy of the English translation of Puffendorf published, together with the notes and introduction of Barbeyrac, at London in 1729. As it will be remembered, Puffendorf was the first holder of the first chair established for the teaching of the science of International Law, the chair founded in 1661 in the University of Heidelberg by the Elector Palatine Charles Louis.

The third work by a master of the Law between Nations that came to Harvard College in the colonial period was that of the Swiss publicist, Emerich de Vattel. It is entitled, Le Droit des Gens, ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle. A copy of the English translation of the first French edition of 1758 was published at London in 1760, and was received at Harvard before 1773, while the Leyden edition of 1758 appears in the Catalogue of 1790, and may have been received at any time after 1764. The Library Company of Philadelphia likewise possessed in colonial days a copy of the English translation of 1760. Just as the colonies declared their independence another copy of Vattel was presented to Harvard College. This Harvard copy belongs to the edition of 1775, published at the Hague and edited by Charles Guillaume Frédéric Dumas. In 1775 Dumas, who was employed at the Hague as an agent of the colonists, sent, as we learn from a letter he wrote from the Hague on June 30th to Franklin and now among the Franklin papers in the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, three copies of his new edition of the treatise of the Swiss publicist to Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, one of them being intended for the Library Company of Philadelphia, a second for Franklin himself, and the third for a library in one of the other colonies. In October of 1775, Franklin gave one copy

to the Philadelphia Library Company, which was then housed in Carpenter's Hall; and Franklin tells us that that copy was much used by the members of the First Continental Congress. A second copy he kept for himself. It is not known where that copy now is; possibly it has helped to feed some paper mill.[1] The third copy, in accordance with Dumas's written wish, Franklin sent on in the summer of 1776 to James Bowdoin, afterwards governor of Massachusetts and a member of the Massachusetts Convention of 1788, for presentation to the library of Harvard College. Bowdoin gave it to the College Library as a gift from Franklin, but it was really Dumas's gift, and so his name should have been entered as the donor.[2] Franklin's great opinion of Harvard College is shown by the fact that he sent its library the third copy of Vattel.

About eight years ago, when I was browsing one June day in the Harvard Library, I came across Dumas's Vattel. I had already made use of the copy in Philadelphia, and it was a real pleasure to find a second copy of that sumptuous edition of the work of the jurist of Neuchâtel. In turning over its leaves, I found written in a French hand, evidently before it had been given to Harvard, an interesting commentary. Subsequently another member of this Society, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, who is well acquainted with Dumas's handwriting, identified the script as his. It will be noticed that most of this manuscript commentary is placed within quotation marks; and at first it was not possible to find absolute proof that the ideas therein expressed were original with Dumas, and not a quotation from some other publicist. But in the letter to Franklin already mentioned, Dumas says that the ideas expressed in this manuscript commentary are his own. The passage in Dumas's letter concerning his edition of Vattel is as follows:

On a fini d'imprimer l'hiver passé une nouvelle édition du Droit des gens de Vattel. Je n'ai pu refuser aux sollicitations de certaines gens d'en être l'Editeur. Ce qu'il y a de curieux, c'est qu'à la réserve de mes idées touchant les peines, que ces gens connoissent & approuvent, toutes les autres theses que je soutiens, tant dans mes notes que dans une Lettre que j'ai mise à la tête de l'édition, sont justement l'opposé

[1] I should be glad for any information concerning the copy which Franklin kept for himself, in case it is still in existence.

[2] Cf. our Publications, x. 238–239.

de ce qu'on vouloit de moi; & mon histoire à cet égard ressemble fort au conte de Balaam; on s'attendoit que je maudirois des tyrans beaucoup moins odieux que ceux que l'on bénit; & j'ai fait le rebours: je doute qu'on me le pardonne; & je m'en console.

Voici donc, Monsieur, trois exemplaires de ce Vattel: un pour votre Bibliotheque, un autre pour celle de Philadelphie, & un tro[i]sieme pour telle autre Bibliotheque & Province que vous voudres. Vous trouveres sur un feuillet blanc, à la tête de chacun, mon idée sur le Gouvernement & la Royauté. Je la crois neu[e] & pourtant la plus simple de toutes, & la seule juste & seine. Impraticable, & par conséquent inutile & dangereuse à discuter en Europe, j'ai cru que, semée en Amérique elle y pourra prendre racine, germer & fructifier un jour.[1]

Dumas's manuscript commentary has disappeared from the copy in the Library Company of Philadelphia, for when that copy was rebound a long time since, another and more modern kind of paper than that upon which the book is printed was used for the fly leaves. Franklin's own Vattel has vanished. So only the manuscript note written into the Harvard Vattel apparently remains.

The French manuscript note in the Harvard copy is preceded by a caption written possibly either by Franklin or by Bowdoin in English, "A note of the Editor." The commentary is as follows:

Il est des peuples généreux et magnanimes, que leur vertu rendra avec le temps des Etats absolumant indépendents & autonomes. "Mes chers Amis (leur dira alors quelque Sage) Vous ne sauriez mieux faire que d'adopter chez vous la Constitution Angloise, moyennant un petit

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[1] "During the past winter a new edition of Vattel's Law of Nations was printed. I could not refuse the request of certain persons to be the editor of it. What is curious about the matter, is that excepting my ideas concerning punishments, that these people know and approve, all the other theses that I support, as well in my notes as in a letter with which I have headed the edition, are exactly the opposite of those that were expected of me; and my history in that respect resembles very much the story of Balaam; it was expected that I would curse tyrants much less odious than those that men bless; and I did the exact contary: I doubt that I shall be forgiven, but this does not worry me.

"Here then, sir, are three copies of this Vattel: one for your own library, another for that of Philadelphia, and a third for such other library and colony as you may choose. You will find on a blank sheet, at the beginning of each copy, my idea upon government and royalty. I believe it is new and yet the simplest of all, and the only one that is just and sane. Impracticable, and consequently useless and dangerous to discuss in Europe, I thought that, sowed in America, it would take root there, germinate and fructify some day."

changement qui, selon moi, pourra rendre plus parfaite cette forme de Gouvernement mixte, si heureusement tempérée. Ce changement est de n'avoir ni royauté, ni noblesse, ni Sénat, héréditaires. L'on peut tout aussi peu hériter de l'art de gouverner les hommes, que de celui de les guérir, ou de leur apprendre à penser, à chanter, à danser. Gardez vous cependant de rendre votre Gouvernement électif; ce seroit encore pire; ce ne seroient presque jamais les meilleurs ni les plus sages, mais les plus forts & les plus méchants qui vous conduiroient. — Qui nous désignera donc les Peres de la Patrie? — Eh! mes Amis, c'est la Nature, qui de tout temps les a montrés du doigt aux premieres Sociétés; & les Sociétés suivantes ont toujours été aveugles, & sourdes à la voix de la nature. Les plus âgés d'entre vos Peres de familles fonciers, voila les seuls *Rois*, s'il en faut, les seuls *Sénateurs*, les seuls *Seigneurs* (*Seniores*) dignes de Vous. Vous les tirerez de la charrue; ils y laisseront leurs fils; & l'âge avancé seul conciliera à ces derniers le respect & la vénération de vos petits-fils & de vos arriere-petits-fils, avec le droit, s'il se trouvent les ainés de toute la nation, de la conduire à leur tour."[1]

In the following manuscript footnote, Dumas explains the meaning of the word *fonciers:* "J'appelle fonciers les possesseurs des terres."

It is practically certain that that note of Dumas's was read not merely by Franklin and Bowdoin, but also by some other men who, like Franklin, sat in the Federal Convention.

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[1] "There are generous and broad-minded peoples, whose merits will make them in due time completely independent and self-governing States. 'My dear friends (some wise man will then say to them), you cannot do better than adopt the English Constitution as your own, with one little alteration which, in my opinion, might bring even nearer perfection this balanced and delightfully moderate form of government. This alteration is to make neither royalty, nor nobility, nor legislative office hereditary. It is quite possible to inherit as little skill in the art of governing men, as in that of curing their diseases, or of teaching them to think, to sing, or to dance. Take care, though, not to base your government on suffrage; that would be still worse; it would hardly ever be the best or the wisest, but rather the strongest and the most adroit who would get control of you. Who, then, shall choose the fathers of our country? Why! my friends, from time immemorial, nature has pointed them out to primitive societies; and subsequent societies have always been blind and deaf to the voice of nature. The eldest fathers of your land-holding families are the only *kings*, if you need any, the only *legislators*, the only possessors of *signorial rights* (*seniores*) worthy of you. You will call them from the plough; they will leave their sons there; and the mere fact of their age will win for these sons the respect and reverence of your grandchildren and of your great-grandchildren, together with the acknowledged right when they become literally the elders of the nation, to control it in their turn.'"

There is much to interest us in that text as a forecast of our subsequent historic development for over a hundred and forty years since Dumas wrote it at the Hague into the copy that now belongs to Harvard. In it he gives a prophetic hint of the decadence that has overtaken parliamentary government the world over in its personnel as a result of manhood suffrage. What would his prediction have been over the possibility of all the women being added to the electorate! In that short manuscript, too, the rise to leadership in our country of Lincoln, Grant, and Cleveland is suggested.

That copy of Vattel, in conjunction with the one in Philadelphia, has an especial interest for the student of International Law. For those three books, which arrived here in the early stages of the struggle between the colonies and the mother land, not merely influenced the men who sat in the Continental Congresses in shaping our policy towards Great Britain, but also undoubtedly influenced the framers of the Federal Constitution in the writing of parts of that state document. By the Constitution of the United States the Law of Nations is expressly recognized as being a part of the Law of the land. And if we remember that Vattel's treatise was recognized in all the Foreign Offices of Europe at that time as the leading authority of the day upon questions of International Law, it may be said that in an actual sense Dumas, as the purveyor of knowledge to the statesmen of the United States of America concerning the Law of Nations, was in a sense the sponsor of the Law of Nations among us. And as that treatise was written by a citizen of Switzerland, a country which up to that time had done more than any other to develop the Law of Neutrality, and as Vattel himself had stated the conception of neutrality probably with more clearness than any publicist up to the time he wrote, it was eminently fitting that the young member of the family of Nations, the United States of America, should help to expand the Law of Neutrality. And, much more than any other Nation, our country has shaped the expansion of the Law of Neutrality. In sending us three copies of the treatise of Vattel, Dumas, as well as the publicist of Neuchâtel, helped to influence our course in the early years of the Republic under Washington and Jefferson, and even afterwards, in moulding the expansion of the Law between Nations.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following note on —

DR. WILLIAM LEE PERKINS (1737–1797)

Since last March, when I communicated some notes on early autopsies and anatomical lectures in this country,[1] a few other instances have turned up which are worth putting on record. It was then shown that an autopsy was certainly made in 1674, that one was probably made in 1663,[2] and that one might have been made still earlier. It can now be proved that one was made in 1639. On September 3 of that year Marmaduke Peirce or Percy of Salem was accused "of suspition of murther;" on November 3 he was "found not guilty, but was bound to the good behavio^r, & to appeare at the next Court;" and on March 3, 1640, he was discharged.[3] From Winthrop we learn that he was arraigned for the death of his apprentice, and that "The cause was this: The boy was ill disposed, and his master gave him unreasonable correction, and used him ill in his diet. After, the boy gate a bruise on his head, so as there appeared a fracture in his skull, being dissected after his death.[4]

We are perhaps furnished with another instance in the following passage[5] written by the Apostle Eliot on December 30, 1643: "Thomas

[1] Publications, xix. 273–290.

[2] "On March 11, 1663, Bray Rossiter was allowed twenty pounds 'in reference to openinge Kellies child and his paynes' in visiting and administering to two officials of Connecticut. . . . It is not quite certain whether . . . the 'opening' of the child was before or after death" (our Publications, xix. 276). My attention has just been called to Some Early Post Mortem Examinations in New England, a paper read by the late Charles J. Hoadly before the Connecticut Medical Society in May, 1892. From the documents in the case there printed (pp. 3–14) it appears that Elizabeth Kelley, the daughter of John and Bethia Kelley, died in the night of March 26, 1662, and that the autopsy was performed on March 31st. There is a copy of Mr. Hoadly's paper, of which only fifty copies were printed, in the Harvard College Library.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 269, 283, 286. The name of the accused is here given as Peirce.

[4] Journal (1908), i. 319–320. Winthrop calls the accused Percy. This case is mentioned in Hoadly's paper (p. 15).

[5] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vi. 171. On submitting this passage to Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, I received an interesting reply from which the following is quoted: "Third, it would seem probable that an autopsy was held, from the statement that the kidneys as well as other insides were wasted. At the same time one cannot be sure. In those days, even more than at present, there were doctors who knew a good many things that were not true. It seems to me fair for you to assume that an autopsy was probably held."

Pig dyed of a dropsy, a godly Christian man. He had a fall & a bruise on his back, w^{h} hurt his kidneys & not carefully cured they utterly wasted away & many oth^{r} of his intrals."

Referring to the months of November and December, 1659, the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury said: "The Lord sent a general visitation of Children by coughs & colds, of wch my 3 children Sarah, Mary & Elisabeth Danforth died, all of y^{m} within ye space of a fortnight." [1] Many years later Cotton Mather wrote:

In *December* 1659. the (until then unknown) Malady of *Bladders in the Windpipe,* invaded and removed many Children; by Opening of one of them the Malady and Remedy (too late for many) were discovered. Among those many that thereby expired, were the Three Children of the Reverend Mr. *S.D.* the Eldest of whom (being upward of five Years and half; so Gracious and Intelligent were her Expressions and Behaviour both living and dying, and so evident her Faith in Christ) was a Luculent Commentary on that Marvellous Prophecy, that the Child should dye an Hundred Years old.[2]

The Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford died July 20, 1663. "As for Mr. *Stone,*" wrote Cotton Mather, "if it were *Metaphorically* true (what they *Proverbially* said) of *Beza,* that *he had no Gall,* the Physicians that opened him after his Death, found it *Literally* true in this worthy Man."[3]

Under date of April 2, 1694, Sewall thus describes the death of John Richards:

Monday. . . . In the Afternoon, all the Town is filled with discourse of Major Richards's Death, which was very extraordinarily suddain; was abroad on the Sabbath; din'd very well on Monday, and after that falling into an angry passion with his Servant Richard Frame, presently after, fell probably into a Fit of Apoplexy, and died. On Tuesday night was opened and no cause found of his death; noble Parts being fair and sound.[4]

On August 13, 1708, Sewall noted that "Mrs. Mary Stoddard dies; The hot Wether occasion'd her being open'd, and two great

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vi. 199. The children died respectively on the 5th, 7th, and 15th of December (vi. 177).

[2] Magnalia (1702), bk. iv. ch. iii, § 7, p. 156.

[3] Ibid. bk. iii. ch. xxvi, § 8, p. 118. This case also is mentioned in Hoadly's paper (p. 14).

[4] Diary, i. 389–390.

Stones were taken out of her Bladder." [1] In 1753 a Negro at Providence, Rhode Island, tried to set fire to a house and cut a lad's throat, "after which the Negro made to a Vessel, pull'd off his Cloaths, and threw himself into the River and was drowned; the next Day his Body was taken up and given to the Surgeons to be anatomized." [2] On August 10, 1773, Ezekiel Turner died at Hanover; he had requested that an autopsy should be made, and his wish was complied with.[3]

"It was Dr. John Warren," I wrote in March, "who gave the first medical lectures in Massachusetts." These were advertised in January, 1781, as to be "delivered this Winter." In saying that these were "the first medical lectures in Massachusetts," my usual caution deserted me, for within a few weeks I have stumbled on the following advertisement in the Boston Gazette of November 25, 1765:

TO-MORROW EVENING at 5 o'Clock,

WILL begin a general Course of Anatomy: In which the several Parts of the human Body will be demonstrated, on the fresh Subject; and their Structure, Connection and Uses explained.

The Course will take up about three Weeks.

☞Tickets for the whole Course will be delivered by *William Lee Perkins*, in Middle-Street,[4] at SIX DOLLARS each. Boston, 25 Novem. 1765 (p. 2/1).

This introduces us to a Boston physician about whom little is known. Born February 10,[5] and baptized at the New Brick Church on February 13, 1737,[6] he was the son of John and Abigail (Lee) Perkins, his father having also been a physician. Writing in 1823 Ephraim Eliot said: "The medical gentlemen were of very eminent character, — for instance, . . . William Lee Perkins, who was re-

[1] Diary, i. 229. Mary Stoddard was the first wife of Simeon Stoddard (*d.* 1730).

[2] Boston Gazette, February 13, 1753, p. 3/1.

[3] Boston Gazette, August 16, 1773, p. 2/1.

[4] Now that part of Hanover Street between Blackstone and North Bennet Streets.

[5] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 226. Dr. George A. Perkins states (Family of John Perkins of Ipswich, 1882, i. 49 note 10) that Dr. Perkins was a descendant of the Rev. William Perkins of Topsfield, but I have been unable to trace the descent.

[6] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xix. 234.

spectable as to business and reputation."[1] Where he studied medicine, or from what institution he received the degree of M.D. to which (as will later appear[2]) he was certainly entitled, I have been unable to ascertain. At a town meeting held May 15, 1764, it was stated that "1025 of the poor Inhabitants had passed through the Small Pox by Inoculation . . . a number of whom had been Inoculated, supplied with Medicines and attended Gratis by the Physicians as follows—Viz[t] . . . D[r]. William Perkins 4."[3] On March 18, 1767, he was one of twenty-eight gentlemen who had "a very Genteel Dinner" at the Bunch of Grapes in celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act.[4] In the Boston Evening Post of August 24, 1767, "*The following Account of the Contents of Mr.* Jackson*'s mineral Water, according to divers Experiments made by Doctor* William Lee

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[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 178.

[2] See p. 18, below.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 116–117. That this was Dr. William Lee Perkins may, I think, be safely assumed, since there is no evidence that there were in Boston at that time a Dr. William Perkins and also a Dr. William Lee Perkins. There is, however, a still earlier allusion to him. In the Massachusetts House Journal, under date of January 21, 1761, we read:

Whereas it is represented to both Houses that Dr. William Perkins *of* Boston, *hath thro' Carelessness, or something worse, been instrumental in spreading the* Small Pox *in* Boston, *and unless speedy Care be taken, there is Reason to fear said Contagion will proved universal:* Therefore,

Voted, That . . . be a Committee forthwith to take said Matter under Consideration, that they may be impowered to send for the said *Wm. Perkins,* . . . (Journal, p. 203).

On January 22 the committee reported that "the within named William Perkins . . . hath been guilty of very great Carelessness by means whereof the Child of Nathaniel Barber & the son of Richard Wheat received the small Pox." As printed in the House Journal and as recorded in the Court Records (xxiii. 583, 588–589), the name in every instance reads William Perkins; but as printed in the Massachusetts Province Laws (xvi. 681), the name in one instance reads "William P. Perkins" and is so indexed. An examination of the original order and the report of the committee (Massachusetts Archives, lxxxvii. 342–344) shows that the name is William Perkins except in one instance, where it is apparently written "Doct W[m] P Perkins." There is a wide space between the P which stands by itself and the P which begins Perkins, and the P which stands by itself has what may be a line drawn through it. As, so far as is known, no Dr. William P. Perkins existed at that time, it is probable either that the P which stands by itself was crossed out or that the scribe wrote P by mistake for L.

[4] Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 125. On May 30, 1767, Dr. Perkins again dined with Rowe (p. 133).

Perkins, *is inserted for the satisfaction of the Public*" (p. 3/1). On August 19, 1771, and again on April 17 and 18, 1773, he attended John Rowe, who complained that "the Doctor has made an Apothecary Shop in my Stomach." [1]

Dr. Perkins was twice married: first, though exactly when and where is not known, to Sarah, a daughter of Shem Drowne and the widow of the Rev. Jeremiah Condy; [2] and second, on April 21, 1774, to Elizabeth Rogers, who, born Wentworth,[3] had been suc-

[1] Letters and Diary, pp. 220, 241.

[2] The Rev. Jeremiah Condy died August 28, 1768 (Boston News Letter, September 1, p. 1/1). The marriage of his widow to Dr. Perkins must have taken place between 1768 and 1773, for she died on July 7, 1773: "Died Yesterday Morning, Mrs. Sarah Perkins, Consort of Dr. William Lee Perkins" (ibid. July 8, p. 3/1). On August 21, 1772, Martin Gay was appointed guardian to Sarah and Thomas Hollis Condy, "Children of Jeremy Condy, late of said Boston Clerk deceased" (Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 15198, 15199).

[3] Details in regard to the three marriages of Elizabeth Wentworth follow.

"*Yesterday Morning at King's-Chappel, Mr.* John Gould, *jun. of this Town, Merchant, was married to Miss* Elizabeth Wentworth, *an agreeable young Lady*" (Boston Gazette, April 10, 1758, p. 3/1). Elizabeth Wentworth was the daughter of Samuel Wentworth (1708–1766; H. C. 1728), who was a son of Lt.-Gov. John Wentworth (1671–1730) of New Hampshire. In his Annals of King's Chapel, Foote fell into several mistakes in regard to the Gould family. Thus he quotes the above marriage notice and adds: "He went to England, and was a loyalist addresser of the King in 1779" (ii. 122 note 39). Exactly when John Gould, Jr., died I do not know, but as his death must have occurred before the remarriage of his widow to Nathaniel Rogers in 1765, obviously John Gould the Loyalist was a different person. Again, speaking of the Rev. John Troutbeck of King's Chapel, Foote, after stating that he married (May 8, 1759) Sarah Gould, went on to say: "Mrs. Troutbeck had brothers, — John and Thomas Gould, — neither of whom left any children. Her father, from whom she inherited some property, was a distiller, which gives the point to some scurrilous verses, very popular at the time of the Revolution, in a 'Ballad of the Boston Ministers,' first printed in 1859 in the N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xiii. 132; xxv. 420" (ii. 189 note). John Gould, Sr., the father of Mrs. Troutbeck, was a merchant, not a distiller; and the verses in question obviously refer not to Mr. Gould but to Mr. Troutbeck:

John, of small merit, who deals in spirit,
As next in course I sing;
Fain would I treat, as is most meet,
This chaplain of the King.

His Sunday aim is to reclaim
Those that in vice are sunk;
When Monday 's come, he selleth rum,
And gets them plaguey drunk.

cessively the widow of John Gould, Jr., and of Nathaniel Rogers. By his second wife Dr. Perkins had one child, Anna.

As printed in the Register (xiii. 132), there is this footnote: "Rev. John Troutback; he was also a distiller."

John Gould, Sr., died January 9, 1772: "Last Wednesday departed this Life, in the 72d Year of his Age, *John Gould*, Esq; well known for his extensive Trade, and great Integrity; and no less remarkable for fulfilling all his Engagements with the most nice and scrupulous exactness — His Remains are to be interred at 3 o'Clock this Afternoon under King's Chapel" (Boston Gazette, January 13, p. 3/2). On January 9 John Rowe noted, "My Worthy Friend Old Mr Gould Died;" and on the 13th, "I Attended as a Relation The Funerall of my Old Friend Mr John Gould" (Letters and Diary, p. 223). Yet in the index (which is otherwise defective) to that book, he is entered as *Robert* Gould, as he is also in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 39. His will (dated December 28, 1771, proved January 17, 1772) mentions his daughter Sarah Troutbeck and the three children of his son John deceased, and contains this item: "I give unto my Daughter in law Mrs Elizth Rogers ten guineas" (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 15077). So far from leaving no children, as Foote affirmed, John Gould, Jr., left at least three — John, Samuel, and Elizabeth. On June 5, 1772, John Trecothick was appointed their guardian (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 15150).

The second marriage of Elizabeth Wentworth took place October 15, 1765, as appears from a notice in the Boston Evening Post of October 21:

PORTSMOUTH, New-Hampshire, Oct. 18.

Last Tuesday afternoon was married at his Excellency's the Governor's, by the Rev. Mr. *Caner* of Boston, *Nathaniel Rogers*, of Boston, Esq; to Mrs. *Elizabeth Gould*, of the same place; a Lady very amiable and highly esteemed (p. 3/2).

In the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxx. 361, as also in Sabine's American Loyalists, ii. 236, his name is given as *Nathan* Rogers. By this marriage there was one child — George Wentworth Rogers — who was baptized at King's Chapel on September 3, 1766, and doubtless died in infancy (Wentworth Genealogy, i. 526). This Nathaniel Rogers has apparently never been identified. "Mr. Rogers," says the Wentworth Genealogy, "is supposed to have been lost at sea, as he was never heard from after he sailed from this country" (i. 526). No authority is given for this surmise, nor is it stated when, from where, or to where Mr. Rogers sailed. Had he simply disappeared, Mrs. Rogers might have found it difficult to marry again, as she did in 1774. Moreover, on her marriage to Dr. Perkins she was called the "Widow of the *late* Nathaniel Rogers" (see below). I suspect that Elizabeth Wentworth's second husband was the Nathaniel Rogers who died August 9, 1770: "Last Thursday Noon *Nathaniel Rogers*, Esq; of this Town, Merchant, was suddenly seized with a Paralytic Disorder, and died in a few Hours after" (Boston Evening Post, August 13, p. 3/1). That this Nathaniel Rogers was married we learn from a statement in the Boston Gazette of January 29, 1770, to the effect that among those present at a certain rout and card party the previous Wednesday were "Nathaniel Rogers, Samuel Waterhouse and John Erving, Esq'rs; with their Ladies" (p. 3/1); and from a letter written by himself January 19, 1770, in which he speaks of "Mrs Rogers" (Massachusetts Archives, xxv. 351). But though a man of property he died

Dr. Perkins was a Loyalist; was an addresser of Gage on October 6, 1775;[1] went to Halifax in 1776;[2] and was proscribed in 1778.[3]

intestate, and his cousin, Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., was admitted administrator of his estate on August 24, 1770 (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 14779).

Mr. and Mrs. Rogers were married at Portsmouth at the house of Gov. Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire by the Rev. Dr. Caner of King's Chapel. Their child was baptized at King's Chapel. The Nathaniel Rogers who died August 9, 1770, was buried under King's Chapel (Foote, Annals, ii. 239). It may fairly be assumed, I think, that the Nathaniel Rogers who married Mrs. Gould in 1765 and the Nathaniel Rogers who died August 9, 1770, were one and the same. If so, he was a well known Boston merchant. On May 27, 1736, his father George Rogers — who was a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (1669–1723; H. C. 1687) of Portsmouth, N. H. — married Lydia Hutchinson, a sister of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 198). George Rogers died September 5, 1747 (Boston News Letter, September 10, p. 3/1), leaving two children, Nathaniel and Sarah. In 1762 Nathaniel Rogers received the degree of A.M. from Glasgow University and the same degree *ad eundem* from Harvard College in the same year. The statement that he graduated A.B. at Glasgow in 1755, found in the earlier Harvard Quinquennials (and repeated in Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 336, xxvi. 401), is a mistake, as I ascertained in 1909 from W. Innes Addison, and the error was corrected in the 1910 Quinquennial. In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register it is stated that his wife was "Elizabeth ———" (xii. 341). In 1776 Nathaniel and Sarah Rogers sold to Daniel Malcom a piece of property in Boston, and "In Witness thereof we the said Nathaniel and Sarah and Elizabeth the wife of the said Nathaniel in testimony that she releases all her Right of Dower in the premises hereunto set our hands & seals this twenty second day of March," and on March 25 "Mr Nathaniel Rogers Miss Sarah Rogers and Mrs Elizabeth Rogers" acknowledged the instrument (Suffolk Deeds, cviii. 154). The Boston News Letter of November 12, 1767, stated that "Nathaniel Rogers, Esq; of this Town, Merchant, went Passenger in Capt. Cotting" the previous Friday (p. 2/1). On November 20, 1768, he wrote a letter, printed in the Boston Gazette of November 21, in which he said that "during my late residence in England I strove for the acquaintance of men of all parties, that I might gain a just knowledge of their sentiments relating to the public affairs in America," and that "the last summer a general alarm appeared in the kingdom that we were taking the most imprudent steps" (p. 2/2). From a letter written by him on December 12, 1768 (printed in the "Hutchinson Letters," Boston, 1773, pp. 38–40), it appears that he desired to be made Secretary of Massachusetts. The Boston Gazette of December 4, 1769, stated: "We hear that Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Trader in this Town, expects to be Secretary of the Province of New-Hampshire, in the Room of the late Theodore Atkinson, Esq;" (p. 3/1). Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (H. C. 1757) was the son of Theodore Atkinson (H. C. 1718)

[1] New England Chronicle, November 2, 1775.

[2] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xviii. 267.

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 913, 916; Memorial History of Boston, ii. 563.

From Halifax he must soon have gone to England, for in February and March of 1777 he was seen there by Samuel Quincy,[1] and on October 18 of the same year Edward Oxnard declared that Dr. Perkins "has saved the lives of many by his skill & I look upon it as a great blessing that he came over. He has been likewise at great pecuniary expense in aiding, generally refusing to receive compensation."[2] On March 31, 1788, describing himself as "William Lee Perkins of London in the County of Middlesex and Kingdom of Great Britain Doctor of Physick," he sold to Nathaniel Call for £6 a "Certain Tract of Land situate at the Westerly Part of Boston."[3]

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and Hannah (Wentworth) Atkinson, the latter a daughter of Lt.-Gov. John Wentworth (1671–1730) and so a sister of Gov. Benning Wentworth (H. C. 1715) of New Hampshire. Theodore Atkinson, Jr., married his first cousin Frances Wentworth, a daughter of Samuel Wentworth (H. C. 1728) and hence a sister of the Elizabeth Wentworth whose second husband was Nathaniel Rogers. Theodore Atkinson, Jr., died October 28, 1769, and on the 11th of November following his widow was married to another first cousin, Gov. Sir John Wentworth (1737–1820; H. C. 1755) of New Hampshire. If the Nathaniel Rogers who expected to succeed Theodore Atkinson, Jr., as Secretary of New Hampshire was the Nathaniel Rogers who in 1765 married Mrs. Gould, the reason for such an expectation is furnished by the double connection of his wife with Gov. Sir John Wentworth. Mr. Rogers did not obtain the position, and in 1770 there is again allusion (as in the Boston Gazette of June 11, p. 3/1) to his becoming Secretary of Massachusetts. In 1768 "Mrs Elizabeth Rogers" gave to King's Chapel its Baskerville Bible of 1763 (Foote, Annals, ii. 345 note 2).

The third marriage of Elizabeth Wentworth occurred April 21, 1774: "Last Evening was MARRIED, at His EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WENTWORTH'S, by the Rev. Dr. BYLES, Doctor WILLIAM LEE PERKINS of BOSTON, to Mrs. ROGERS, second Daughter to SAMUEL WENTWORTH, Esq; late of the same Place" (New Hampshire Gazette, April 22, 1774, p. 3/2). In the Wentworth Genealogy (i. 527) it is stated that "The marriage was thus announced in the *Portsmouth Gazette:* 'Last Evening . . . of Boston, *formerly of Hampton Court, Great Britain,* to Mrs. Rogers, . . . same place.'" By the "Portsmouth Gazette" is meant the New Hampshire Gazette published at Portsmouth, but the words italicized by me are not in the original. The Boston News Letter of April 28, 1774, stated that Mrs. Rogers was the "Widow of the late *Nathaniel Rogers,* Esq;" (p. 3/1).

Anna Perkins married George Henry Apthorp, a son of James and Sarah (Wentworth) Apthorp, the latter a daughter of Samuel Wentworth (H. C. 1728) and thus a sister of Elizabeth Wentworth.

[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xix. 220, 223.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 258. On March 8, 1781, Samuel Curwen (Journal and Letters, 1864, p. 339) met Dr. Perkins in London.

[3] Suffolk Deeds, clxxi. 247. It was recorded January 9, 1792.

As his name does not appear in Evans's American Bibliography, Dr. Perkins had presumably published nothing while living in Boston, but in England at least one pamphlet and two articles were printed by him. The title of the pamphlet reads in part as follows:

An Essay for a Nosological and Comparative View of the Cynanche Maligna, or Putrid Sore Throat; and the Scarlatina Anginosa, or Scarlet Fever with Angina. By William Lee Perkins, M.D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. . . . London: . . . M DCC LXXXVII.[1]

In 1786 was printed in Medical Commentaries an article entitled "The History of a case of Hydrocephalus terminating fatally, after a salivation was excited by the use of Mercury. By Dr. William Lee Perkins, physician at Kingston upon Thames."[2] At a meeting of the Medical Society of London held October 26, 1789, "A Case of Angina Pectoris cured by the Use of white Vitriol, [was] communicated by William Lee Perkins, M.D. of Hampton Court," and was printed in 1792.[3]

Dr. Perkins died at Hampton Court, England, on March 30, 1797;[4] and his widow, who is said to have been living in Boston in 1798,[5] died and was buried at Quincy in March, 1802.[6]

Mr. John W. Farwell exhibited a horoscope of Joseph Warren, alleged to have been made in 1743, and spoke as follows:

[1] There are copies in the Boston Athenaeum and in the Harvard College Library. A second edition of this Essay, with additions, was published at London in 1790. Cf. Watt, Bibliotheca Britannica, ii. 747.

[2] Medical Commentaries, London, 1786, xi. 298–300. This work was reprinted at Philadelphia in 1795, Dr. Perkins's article appearing in vi. 188–190.

[3] Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, 1792, iii. 580–581. In the table of contents (p. xxiv), the article is described as "*by* William Lee Perkins, M.D., C.M.S. *of Court Hampton.*" The Medical Society of London consisted of Fellows, Corresponding Members, and Candidates. Presumably the letters "C.M.S." indicate "Candidate of the Medical Society;" but whether Dr. Perkins ever became a member I do not know.

[4] Wentworth Genealogy, i. 527.

[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xx. 39.

[6] "Died] . . . At Quincy, Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins, Æt. 64, widow of the late Dr. Wm. L. Perkins" (Columbian Centinel, March 13, 1802, p. 2/4). Cf. Wentworth Genealogy, i. 527. In addition to the authorities cited in the footnotes, see Sabine, American Loyalists, ii. 177; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 414[7], xix. 67, 234, 263.

A manuscript that recently came into my possession has a certain interest. It is entitled:

Geniture
of
Joseph Warren
of Ruxbury. Massachusetts. America.
born there June 11th. 7 h. 52 m. A.M.
1741

Then comes a horoscope, the words "Mors Omnibus Communis 1741" being in the middle; after which follows the prediction:

The native is born under ye signe Gemini that shoulde governe ye shoulders arms & hands & the ruling planet is Mercury. The native would possess a dual nature that is oft frequent & active. Hee should be farseeing yet at times superficial & uncertain in hys aims. Hee shoulde have mental & executive qualities quick to learne but not toward in application, hee is combattive critical and fault finding. Hee has pryde of birthe cortesy & generosity, shrude & skillfull in businesse matters.

Two yeeres before the firste decade of the natives life Saturn shall transmit the place of hys ruling planet mercury which shall implicate advantage to ye native from studie or knowledge of the arts or sciences. It is not clearly shown that the native shall make due and careful use of these advantages altho Jupiter is well Configurated in ye ascendant implicates that hee shall obtaine honour & esteeme in a certaine proper capacity. In or about ye yeere 1768 Saturn shalle transitte the playce of the Sun and this is implicative of some strong contention with magistrates or men in power in that yeere. Untoe this native presageth a violent configuration of the malefics forboden onward. Ye aspect of hylig or giver of life forms a quartile or opposition with each other. these malignent raies are implicative that the natives life is threatend at different times & seasons but averted by occasions showing strong & dignifyd aspects. That the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away shoulde bee carryd to an honest degree by the native forasmuch the native hath not beene free of the unbenign influences radiating from the infortunes they have beene at tymes in good aspect accept it not therefore of a deceptio visûs but as the leges legum

The revolutional figure hath shown that in or upon the fourth yeere of the natives fourth decade the luminaries are conjoyned in ye fourth

house and ye [1] lord of ye fifth posited in ye ascendant forbode death to happen within that yeere. Alsoe Saturn transits the playce of ye Dragons tayle showith that death shall bee of violent or sudden means. Dominus Vobiscum.

Roger Elwes
A 1743.

When I received it, I was told that it had been found in a bookstore in St. Louis. It was pasted upon an old piece of pasteboard, which had been broken in the middle and appeared to have been roughly handled. The belief that Warren's parents, when he was but two years old, were not in a position to have such work done, and the accuracy of the prediction, aroused suspicion and led to an investigation. I knew of the horoscope of another eminent man of the same period, which was supposed to be genuine,[2] so I compared them. Although this one is dated some seventeen years earlier and the family name in the signature is different, the handwriting is so similar that they appear to have been written by the same person. To carry the investigation still farther, I had it removed from the board, when it was found to have been written on a sheet of music headed: "Antonio's favorite Song Sung by Miss Romanzini, in Richard Cœur de Lion. Composed by Monsieur Gretry." [3] There were two English musical compositions of this name. One, "Richard Cœur de Lion, A Comic Opera," by Leonard MacNally,[4] was performed at Covent Garden Theatre October 16, 1786. The other, "Richard Cœur de Lion, An Historical Romance," by John Bur-

[1] Here a word has been crossed out or altered so as to be undecipherable.

[2] "Geniture, or Horoscope of John Hancock," dated "London, 1760," and signed "Roger Rintoul." See 2 Bostonian Society's Publications, i. 56.

[3] "Price 6^{d} London Printed & Sold by Preston, at his Warehouses, Exeter Change, & 97 Strand. Where may be had all the Songs in the above Opera detatched. Pr. each 6^{d}." See also: "The Songs, Duets, Trios, & Choruses, of the Historical Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion as performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, The Music by Monsr Gretry, Adapted to the English Words by Mr Linley. Price 8^{s} London: Printed for S. A & P. Thompson N° 75 St Pauls Church Yard." (No date.) Curiously enough, the words of Antonio's song as printed by Preston differ from the words as printed by Thompson and in the many editions of Burgoyne's historical romance.

[4] "Richard Cœur de Lion. A Comic Opera, as performed at The Theatre Royal Covent Garden. Taken from a French Comedy of the same Name, written by Monsieur Sedaine; by Leonard MacNally, Esq. London: . . . M, DCC, LXXXVI."

goyne,[1] was performed at Drury Lane October 24, 1786. Both were taken from Sedaine's "Richard, Cœur de Lion, Comédie," with music by Gretry, first performed at Paris October 21, 1784.[2] It was from General Burgoyne's piece that this song was taken.[3]

This, of course, settles the matter as to this particular document, which is a good example of how misleading appearances may be.

Several months ago there were offered in Boston, by an English dealer, some water color views of old Boston, which were well executed and attractive, but investigation proved them to have been copied from Gleason's Pictorial. We all know that books have been so skilfully restored that experts have been deceived. Much of this work has been discovered, but it is probable that many such faked documents have been accepted as genuine.

Mr. George P. Winship exhibited a copy of "The Second Part of Merry Drollery, or, A Collection of Jovial Poems, Merry Songs, Witty Drolleries, Intermix'd with pleasant Catches. Collected by W.N. C.B. R.S. J.G. Lovers of Wit. London, Printed by J. W. for P. H. and are to be sold at the New Exchange, Westminster Hall, Fleet-street, and Pauls Church-Yard" soon after the restoration of Charles II. Two of the poems in this volume have an American interest, "A West-country Mans Voyage to New-England" and "New England described" as a place in which

> there shall be a Church most pure,
> Where you may find salvation sure.

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[1] "Richard Cœur de Lion. An Historical Romance. Translated from the French of Monsr. Sedaine. By Lieut. General Burgoyne. . . . Dublin: . . . M DCC XCIV." (No. 4 in vol. viii of Jones's British Theatre, Dublin, 1795.)

[2] "Richard, Cœur de Lion, Comédie en Trois Actes, en Prose et en Vers, mis en Musique. Represéntée, pour la premiere fois, à Paris, par les Comédiens Italiens ordinaires du Roi, le 21 Octobre 1784; & à Fontainebleau, devant leurs Majestés, le 25 Octobre 1785. . . . A Paris, . . . M. DCC. LXXXVI."

[3] For an account of MacNally's comic opera and of Burgoyne's historical romance, see the Universal Magazine for October, 1786, lxxix, 211–212. Antonio's song (in Burgoyne's words) is printed on p. 210, and on p. 212 it is stated that "The Characters of the Historical Romance performed at Drury-lane, were thus represented; . . . Antonio, Miss Romanzini." Cf. Biographia Dramatica (1812), iii. 205.

Mr. Winship pointed out that the four allusions to the trans-Atlantic colonies in this volume doubtless represent the relative amount of interest and information which the seventeenth century Londoners had concerning their fellow-countrymen across the ocean. The exhaustive care with which the descendants of the colonists have interpreted every document relating to the early settlements, and striven to discover the precise historical facts, has given these facts an importance out of all proportion to anything that contemporary Englishmen would have recognized. Important as it is to know what the actual details of any historical event were, those who expound the facts need frequently to be reminded that the contemporaries of any event are influenced, not by the facts, but by whatever they may happen to know and believe concerning the event.

The influences and opinions which had most to do with the inter-relations of the home land and the American colonies are to be found, less in the official documents and in the pamphlets issued in most instances for the purpose of raising money or of selling land, than in the incidental allusions which chance to appear, ordinarily without ulterior design, in whatever was written and printed for contemporary perusal. The total of such allusions in seventeenth century English publications is so small that the opinion seems to be justified that the great majority of the English people at that time neither knew nor cared what the New Englanders were doing or thinking.

Professor Firth of Oxford issued two years ago An American Garland of ballads relating to America printed between 1563 and 1759. Seventeen of these were written before the year 1700, and of these only four concern New England, two of them being those which appear in the Merry Drollery already mentioned. Of the others, two appear to have been put out to stimulate the purchase of

tickets to the lottery by which the promoters of the unprofitable colony in Virginia attempted to save themselves from financial failure, and most of the others were designed to attract recruits for the later settlements in the southern colonies.

JANUARY MEETING, 1918

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 January, 1918, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE, Mr. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, and Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL AGASSIZ, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Dr. FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following paper, written by Mr. John H. Edmonds from material collected under the direction of the late Mr. Frederick L. Gay:

CAPTAIN THOMAS POUND, PILOT, PIRATE, CARTOGRAPHER, AND CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY

The Massachusetts Colony Charter of 1629 was vacated in 1684. Charles II died February 6, 1685, and on April 20th following James II was duly proclaimed King in the High Street in Boston. Rumors were rife in the town that Colonel Percy Kirke, Governor of Tangiers, a notorious favorite of Charles II, was to come out as Governor, but in November, 1685, Edward Randolph left England in the Rose

frigate, Captain John George, bringing a Commission to Joseph Dudley as President of the Council for New England. Randolph [1] notes that Captain George [2] was a civil person, that the Rose was the biggest first rate yet one of the worst for sailing and had six months' provisions aboard. This the Rose surely needed, as she did not arrive at Nantasket until May 14, 1686.[3] She brought also the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, the first minister of the Church of England to come officially, and trouble at once commenced both in Church and State. Dudley and his Councillors were duly installed, but Randolph, as godfather to the new government, naturally tried to keep things in his own hands, though with ill success. Between Randolph,[4] Collector of Customs, and Captain George of the Royal Navy, a question of right in the seizure of ships illegally trading soon arose, the most probable cause being the one-third forfeiture of the prizes. President Dudley [5] granted three-fourths of the perquisites of Randolph's office as Secretary and Registrar to his own son,[6] a minor, as clerk of the County Court, hobnobbed with Captain George, aided and abetted him. Captain George [7] carried the quarrel still further by allowing his men to spread reports that Randolph's wife was nurse to Lady Nottingham's children, not married but a Miss, and endeavored to draw him into a duel. Even the presence of a pirate [8] on the coast could not lure Captain George from his agreeable task of baiting Randolph and aiding and abetting Dudley, from where he lay at anchor only two cables' length from the town.

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[1] Toppan's Edward Randolph (Prince Society), iv. 61.

[2] "1683. George, John, — was appointed lieutenant of the Portsmouth 1672. From this vessel he was removed to the same station on board the Foresight on the 27th of July 1674. He was promoted, on the 29th of May 1677, to be first lieutenant of the Leopard; and on the 11th of September, in the following year, to the same station on board the Happy Return. On the 13th of January 1679, he was again made lieutenant of the Leopard. On the 14th of April 1683, he was appointed first lieutenant of the Grafton, and on the 17th of December following was promoted to the command of the Deptford ketch. On the 23d of March 1683–4, he was removed into the Rose, after which his name does not occur in the service" (Charnock, Biographia Navalis, ii. 98).

[3] Our Publications, xvii. 4, 11 note 3.

[4] Toppan's Randolph, vi. 183, 186, 188, 191.

[5] iv. 92.

[6] Thomas Dudley, born February 26, 1670; H. C. 1685.

[7] Toppan's Randolph, iv. 92.

[8] iv. 118, vi. 198.

Things went from bad to worse and were not helped by the arrival of the Dartmouth frigate, Captain George St. Loe from Bermuda. Some idea of conditions may be gained from the deposition (October, 1686) of Richard Wharton, Councillor and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty:

That on the 20th Instant the Deponant being requested by Mr Randolph to accompany him and hear the Complaint of his Deputy against a person then in the Constables hands, and being going up the street towards Mr Ushers,[1] intending there to examine the matter, Capt George and Capt Saintloe mett Mr Randolph and the Deponant, and without any provocation in a Violent Scurrilous manner, put Sundry Short and quarrellsome Questions, but had not patience to hear, or receive any Answers but run furiously upon the Constable with their staves lift up against him, causing a great tumult and Royot, and according to the Deponants best observation Capt George struct at the Constable, the Constable holding up his Staffe in this Deponants Sight to defend him Self, upon which Capt Saintloe rayld very much and called the Constable Dogg, and being reproved by the Deponant, he again rayled useing much loud and rayling Language and Said why did the Dogg strike first? upon this furious behaviour of Sd Captaines the tumult increased, and the Deponant seeing not how the Same would be otherwise Suppressed if they and their men further endeavoured a Rescue or Violence to the Constable, prayed them to be peaceable or otherwise he Should be constreined to raise the Towne, to which Capt Saintloe replyed, You show what you will be at, You will be ready to raise the Towne against his Matys Authority, with many other Loud and railing expressions, and Capt George alsoe said now they did see what kind of hands the Government was in, and often repeated they were a Company of pittyfull littel fellows with other reflective and abusive Speeches, both upon the Government, and Mr Randolph, and the Deponant: The Said Capt George in the street telling the Deponant he deserved to be whipt and if he had him in place where he would whipp him. The Deponant further Sayth That Captaine Saintloe neer mr Ushers door very abusively and violently rushed with his cane in both his hands upon the Deponants breast pretending to show him how the Constable managed his staff in the Fray, and held it over the Deponts head, and Sayd, if the Deponant had done what the Constable did he would have broken his head. and afterwards in Mr Ushers house threatned the Deponant with Some unkind treatmts if he caught him on the Water, with many other Scurrilous and abusive

[1] Randolph lived in John Usher's house.

language. And the Deponant further Declares that Captaine George after many provokeing words to Mr Randolph Threatned Mr Randolphs Officers to whip them raw and perticularly to Erasmus Stephens that if he Saw him upon the Water passing by his Ship he would take him aboard and whip him till he were Raw, and Capt Saintloe when the Deponant was writing a Mittimus for David Simpson told Mr Randolph it would be better for any of us to Send him to Our Own homes and put him in Our own bedds then to Send him to prison.

This if it be thought needfull, I am ready to depose upon Oath, and pray that due regard may be had, unto and care taken, to maintaine the Authority of the Governm^t^, and that the S^d^ Captaines may be animadverted on according to their behaviours, and if they justify themselves that the matter may be further examined and represented under the Seal of the Government to his Majesty.[1]

Affairs were checked temporarily by the arrival of Governor Andros, December 20, 1686. On May 23rd [2] following he ordered Captain George to proceed in the Rose to the King's (now President) Road at Nantasket and four days later, at first opportunity of wind and weather to sail along the coast as far as Pemaquid and the fishing Islands towards Penobscot, to see that no privateers or pirates pest or lie upon the coast and that no vessel lie off to trade contrary to law. Andros also issued the following: "By his Excellency. I Doe hereby approve off & Ord^r^ Thomas Pounds forthwith to repaire on board and act as Pylott of his Maties ffrigatt ye Rose und^r^ the Command of Capt John George. Given und^r^ my hand att Boston the 27th day of May, 1687." [3]

On September 8, 1687, similar orders were issued to Captain George to proceed as far eastward as Cape Sables, with James English [4] of Boston as pilot. On April 4th, 1688, he was again ordered to proceed eastward as far as St. Croix and Cape Sables, put into Penobscot to inform as to Mr. Castine who hath liberty to reside there.[5] This was in turn followed by a warrant addressed to Thomas Pounds:

By his Excellency

These are to Require yo^u^ forthwith to Repaire on board his Maties ffriggatt the Rose (now bound to Crouse on ye Coast Eastward und^r^

[1] Toppan's Randolph, vi. 202.
[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 334, 335.
[3] cxxvi. 334. [4] cxxvii. 74. [5] cxxviii. 140.

the Command of Capt John George & to take upon yo^{u} the Charge & Duty of a Pylott for wh^{ch} this Shall be your Warrant. Dated in Boston the fourth day of Aprill, 1688. E. ANDROS. By his Excell^{y} Com^{d} John West D Secry [1]

For some unexplained reason, this was cancelled and reissued to Richard Shute on April 10th following.[2] The Rose made several cruises to the eastward during the summer and her consort the sloop Mary was ordered to sea likewise:

Sr Edmund Andros Kn^{t} Capt Genall Governo^{r} in Cheife & Vice Admirall of his Maties Territory & Dominion of New England.

To Mr Thomas Pounds. These are to will & Require y^{u} forthwith to Repaire on board his Maties Sloop Mary & take upon y^{u} the Charge & Command thereof till further Ord^{r} & all persons belonging to ye s^{d} Sloop are to obey y^{u} as their Ma^{ys} Command^{r} & y^{r}self to observe & Execute each Ord^{r} & Direc̄ons as y^{u} shall receive from me for his Maties Service accordingly for wch this shall be yor Warr^{t}. Given und^{r} my hand & seal of ye Admiralty att Boston ye 11th day of July in ye 4th year of his Maties Reigne Annoq Dom 1688.

By his Excell^{y} Comm^{d} [3]

Trouble with the eastern Indians having developed, partly through the actions of Captain George [4] and the Rose at Castine, Governor Andros with one thousand men went eastward on November 17th. While at Pemaquid, on January 10th, 1689, he received news of a hostile movement of William of Orange against King James, upon which he issued a proclamation to all to be alert for the approach of a foreign fleet and to resist the landing from such. In March following he returned to Boston, and on April 4th John Winslow,[5] grandson of Mary Chilton, arrived from Nevis, bringing copies of the proclamation issued by William of Orange on his landing in England. They were soon circulated about the town and reprinted by Richard Pierce, the official printer of the inter-charter government, for Benjamin Harris, whose bookshop was at what is now the south corner [6] of Washington and State Streets.

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxxviii. 153.
[2] Ibid.
[3] cxxix. 44.
[4] Toppan's Randolph, iv. 224.
[5] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 216, 218.
[6] Littlefield, Early Boston Booksellers, p. 148.

Through the intervention of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, Attorney General, Andros endeavored the suppression of this proclamation, but only succeeded in imprisoning Winslow for two weeks, despite his proffered bond of £10,000.[1] The inhabitants, whose discontent had been constantly growing over the loss of their Charter, now took a desperate chance and on April 18th rose in rebellion, seized Captain George of the Rose, who happened to be ashore, beat up the town for volunteers, set the ensigns upon the beacon as a signal to the soldiers on the Charlestown side, and seized all in authority they could lay their hands on, including Dudley and Andros. Their reason for seizing Captain George was twofold, first to prevent his interference with their plans, and secondly to prevent his carrying Andros and the others in authority off to France to join King James.[2]

The frigate, which was left in command of her Lieutenant, David Condon,[3] a Roman Catholic, opened all her ports and prepared for action, in spite of word from Captain George that if she fired one shot the townspeople would kill him, who was practically a hostage. The Fort was taken in the nick of time just as Andros and his company were about to escape from the sconce to the Rose's boats. The next day the Castle, the Fort, the Batteries, and all the ships in the harbor trained their guns on the Rose, and the townsmen went on board, struck the topmasts, and brought her sails ashore, after a conference with Lieutenant Condon, and the crew took the oath of allegiance to William of Orange.

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 216, 218.

[2] Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, i. 374; Andros Tracts (Prince Society), i. 4, 118, ii. 53, 194; Calendar State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689–1692, no. 196.

[3] "1690. Condon, David, — was appointed second lieutenant of the Unicorn in 1672, and of the Foresight in 1673. On the 28th of July 1678, he was promoted, by sir John Narborough, to be first lieutenant of the Portsmouth. On the 4th of March 1681–2, he was appointed to the same station on board the Dragon; as he was also, on the 14th of April 1685, on board the Rose. On the 25th of May 1690, he was promoted to the command of the same ship: he was afterwards made Captain of the Heart Ketch; in which vessel he was unfortunately killed on the 9th of June 1692. We have diligently searched for some authentic particulars relative to this action, but without success. We know only, that the ship itself was taken after being very gallantly defended, for a considerable time, by a very superior force" (Charnock, Biographia Navalis, ii. 308).

On April 20th "A Council for Safety of the People and Conservation of Peace" met in the Town House, and eventually Governor Bradstreet and the officials of 1686 assumed the Government.[1] On May 26th the news of the accession of William and Mary reached Boston and the inhabitants felt more sure of their position. Much ill feeling had been aroused against the Rose and her crew by several malcontents[2] who accused them of plotting to go to France to King James, of stating that all English ships or those under the Prince of Orange were free prize to them, of cursing the Prince of Orange and such Dutch dogs, of hoping the nations of England and Holland would sink upon the Goodwin Sands, of believing that all would not be well in England until all were Roman Catholics again, of knowing that a French fleet was coming to batter down the town, and of setting fire to the town, etc.

Several pirates and privateers appearing upon the coast, there was an unofficial embargo on merchant vessels which seriously interferred with the trade of the town, and several of the merchants and most representative men in the neighborhood petitioned for the release of the Rose as follows:

To the Honble Simon Bradstreet Gover^{r} togeather with the rest of the Assistants and Representatives Assembled in Boston this 10th of June 1689

The Humble Offer or proposall of sundry of the Merchants and Jnhabitants of this Towne of Boston, in regard of His Ma^{ts} Frigott the Rose now in this Harbor as allsoe in behalfe of Capt John George com̄ander of the same Sheweth That the Jealousies or dangers doubted from Capt Georg and the Frigott being over, Restoration ought to be made unto the said Frigott as she was found in the first revolucon, and the Capt to His Authoritie, for wch we offer these following reasons

1 That our Coast being infested with Pirates, to the great affrightm^{t} of all merch^{ts} & Traders this Frigott with its Officers being released would without any charge secure our Trade and Coast

2 That notwithstanding the mistakes made about Capt George all or most of Those that are concern'd in Shipping are very well satisfied in his good intentions for ye Generall defence of their Maties Subjects and faithfullness to the Crowne of England.

3 That we ought to avoid the scandall; that formerly have beene so

[1] Our Publications, xvii. 17–26.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 11.

fatall to us about The Acts of Trade and Navigacon Therefore think the s^d^ Capt ought to be left to persue his instructions therein.

4 That the Shipp and Stores being of great consequence and value, by these disord^rs^ are subject to all maner of Imbazelm^t^ for wch we leave to consider whear the damage will Lye.

5 That at this Instant there are diverse considerable Vessells bound out, and others expected in the Loss of any of which will proceed from noe cose than the most Stupidd neglegence possible, By not improving those remedies which are soe easey and in our hands.

6 That for taking of all Scruple to the Country (who are least concern'd in the danger) The merch^ts^ under written and others proffer such assurances as shall be Reasonable Cha Redford Jer: Dum̄er John ffoye Ia^ms^ Lloyd Samuel Shrimpton E^m^ Hutchinson J^o^ Nelson Nath^ll^ Oliver Peter Sergeant Benjamin Alford Thos Cooper Benj^a^ Davis.[1]

This was answered by the Representatives'[2] appointing the Committee on Eastward Concerns to suppress the pirates, though the Governor and Council on June 12th had consented that the sails should be delivered to Captain George[3] on reasonable security, and that if he so "meet" he may attend to them. The House nonconcurred, but in the meantime had ordered[4] that a suitable vessel be fitted out to clear the coast of pirates and range the coast of Acadia to secure the fishing vessels, and the Governor and Council consented. On July 4th[5] a Committee reported that Captain George was under suspicion of being a person disaffected to their present Majesties, that Lieutenant Condon was a Roman Catholic, and that several others of the officers and men were disaffected to

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 92.

[2] cvii. 96a.

[3] "Boston June 12, 1689 The Govr & Councill with ye Rep^r^sentatives now assembled in the Convention, Hauing re[ad] & considered the Petic^n^ of Sundry Gent^n^ & march^ts^ hereunto annexed, Do consent that reasonabl Security to ye Sattisfac^c^on of this Court being first given Capt George be p̄mitted if he soe meet, to attend their motion and that the Sailes y^t^ were brought on shoare be redeliv^ed^ passed on ye affirmative by ye Mag^ts^

p̄ order Th^o^ Danforth

Voted A non Concurrence. As Attests

Ebenezer Prout: Clerk"

(Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 93.)

[4] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 111.

[5] cvii. 174.

their present Majesties, and the lawful means of releasing the frigate Rose came to an end.

Governor Andros escaped from the Castle August 3rd,[1] was recaptured in Rhode Island August 5th,[2] but owing to his indisposition was returned by easy stages to Dorchester.[3] Rather curiously on August 8th at eleven at night a Bermudas fashioned boat containing Thomas Pound,[4] Thomas Hawkins,[5] Thomas Johnston, Eleazer Buck, John Siccadam, Richard Griffin a gunsmith, and Benjamin Blake a boy, took water at the south end of the town near the Sign of the Bull, a tavern located in what is now Dewey Square. They were joined early the next morning at Lovell's Island by Daniel Lander, Samuel Watts, William Warren, William Dun, and Henry Dipper. They were all more or less armed and, as was customary in that period, intended to take the first vessel they met and proceed in her to the West Indies to prey on the French. They sailed into the Bay and about three o'clock in the morning, four or five leagues off the Brewsters, came up with a small deck sloop belonging to Hull bound in from mackerelling. Under the guise of fishermen they purchased a rial's worth of mackerell and obtained three or four gallons of water from them, claiming they were bound for Billingsgate, now Wellfleet, though far out of their course. Isaac Prince[6] and others of the Hull sloop duly reported their actions to the Governor and Council on their arrival at Boston.

Pound and company then stood off to sea and three hours after came up with the ketch Mary, a Salem fisherman, Captain Helen Chard, about three leagues from Half Way Rock. She belonged to Philip English,[7] and was homeward bound with fish. They made short work of taking her and held the crew prisoners until Saturday night, when they turned three of them loose in the Bermudas boat, promising them their ketch when they had taken a vessel more suitable for their purpose. The pirates said that they expected to be joined by forty more men, and as soon as they had taken a better

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxxxi. 34.
[2] cvii. 251.
[3] cvii. 256.
[4] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlv. 216.
[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539: 12.
[6] Ibid. no. 2539: 1.
[7] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvii. 74.

vessel and a southward one to supply them with provisions, they would go and plague the French. They were all armed, but had only two gallons of powder and so few balls that as soon as they had taken the ketch they melted her leads to make bullets. They carried off with them a man, John Darby of Salem, "volontary," and forced a boy who had the French tongue to be an interpreter. On Chard's [1] arrival at Salem, information was at once sent to the Governor and Council, and a vessel manned by the Salem and Marblehead [2] militia went out after them, but with no success.

The ketch and her company then proceeded to Casco Bay, where on the 14th they were joined by seven of the garrison of Fort Loyal — Corporal John Hill, John Wattkins, John Lord, William Neff, William Bennett, James Danell, and Richard Phipes, possibly one of Sir William's numerous brothers.[3] They did not come empty handed but brought all they could lay their hands on, including clothing, powder, musket and carbine shot, guns, swords and a brass gun, only leaving the clothes on the backs of those they had left behind. In the mean time the pirates through one of their number, "John Darby,[4] a known fisherman, belonging to Salem," succeeded in getting the doctor then at Falmouth to go on board to treat the master, who he said was Allen, otherwise Helen, Chard. This was part of a scheme to secure his services for the expedition, but the doctor lost his courage and did not join. Silvanus Davis, Commander of Fort Loyal, became suspicious of the ketch, located his deserters upon her, and endeavored to have them return or deliver up what they had stolen, but without success. The pirates then sailed for Cape Cod, and on the 16th under Race Point took the sloop Goodspeed of Piscataqua, Captain John Smart, bound with boards, etc., for Nantucket. They gave him their ketch and took his sloop and bade him if he "came to Boston to tell there that they Knew ye Gov^{t} Sloop lay ready but if she came out after them & came up w^{h} them sh^{d} find hott work for they w^{d} die every man before they would be taken."[5]

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[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2538: 6.
[2] Massachusetts Archives, lxxxi. 43.
[3] cvii. 272, 274.
[4] cvii. 274.
[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2516.

As a result of the continued piracy, the sloop Resolution (which had been built in the Andros régime as a Province Sloop, but somehow or other had got into private hands) was ordered fitted with guns, artillery, ammunition and provisions, to proceed to sea under command of Captain Joseph Thaxter,[1] with a crew of forty able seamen, "strenuously to Endeavour the Suppressing and Seizing of all Pirates, Especially one Thomas Hawkins, Pounds and others confederated with them," [2] being "very careful to avoid the shedding of blood unless you be necessitated by resistance and opposition made against you." And as for "those men who shall go forth in said Vessel . . . It 's Ordered that they be upon usual monthly wages, and upon any casualty befalling any of the said men by loss of Limb or otherwise be maimed that meet allowance and provision be made for such." [3]

Thaxter was not successful, for the reason that Pound and company, after wooding and watering at Cape Cod, had sailed to Martin's Vineyard Sound, where on August 27th at Homes Hole[4] under their bloody flag they took the brigantine Merrimack[5] of Newbury, Captain John Kent. After robbing her of 20 half barrels of flour, 2 hogsheads of sugar, 1 hogshead of rum, 3 guns, and 1 hundredweight of tobacco, they let her go, and sailing through the Sound with the wind belowing hard at north-north-east, were forced to Virginia, where they were kept in the York River for eight days by the easterly winds. Luckily for them, the man of war ketch had been sunk shortly before and the station ship was on careen. Here they were joined by John Giddings and Edward Browne and kidnapped a negro belonging to Captain Dunbar. The weather moderating, they came back to the Sound and at Tarpaulin Cove[6] met with a Salem bark, Captain William Lord,[7] and as she was evidently more than they cared to tackle, they bought an anchor for four hundred weight of sugar and sold them their Virginia negro for £12. They then chased Captain Alsop's ketch into Martin's Vineyard Harbor on Sunday,

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 265, 277, 278, 279.
[2] cvii. 279.
[3] cvii. 277.
[4] Now Vineyard Haven.
[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 253:77.
[6] On southeast side of Naushon Island, in Vineyard Sound.
[7] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 10a.

and if the inhabitants had not risen in force, would have cut her out. Pound and company then went over the shoals with Captain Lord, and at Cape Cod Thomas Hawkins deserted. On the following Saturday they took a Pennsylvania sloop under Cape Cod, but as she had no pork aboard, let her go and went back to Homes Hole, where on October 1st they took a New London sloop, Captain John Picket,[1] from which they got 39 barrels of pork and beef, 7 firkins of butter, 13 cheeses, 3 barrels of Indian corn, and 8 bushels of peas. They then went to Tarpaulin Cove, where they lay for two days, waiting for a favorable chance to go to "Corazo."

Matthew Mayhew [2] of Martin's Vineyard, then in New York, had in the meantime informed the Governor and Council of Massachusetts of their depredations, and on September 30th the sloop Mary, formerly commanded by Pound, was ordered to sea with a crew of twenty men under command of Captain Samuel Pease,[3] late Commander of the Duke of Courland's ship Fortune,[4] 200 tons, 12 guns. Benjamin Gallop was commissioned Lieutenant and they were furnished with a barrel of powder, 50 pounds of small shot, cartridge papers and match, with instructions to search and surprise Thomas Hawkins, Thomas Pound and company, but "to prevent ye Sheding of blood as much as may bee." The following is the survivors' story:

On the 30th day of September Anno Dom. 1689 being Monday at night in Prosecution of the s^{d} designe set saile in the Sloope Mary afores^{d} being mann^{d} with twenty able men (all) Volunteers, directing our Course for Cape Cod, and when we arrived there wee understood, that the said

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2520.

[2] "Mart. Vineyard. Sep^{tr} 22^{d} 89 Worshipf^{ll} S^{r} I send the bearer post, to inform, that one Hawkins, hath lately taken William Lord, in a Barqu^{e} from Jamaica, this day, following a Vesle into this port, being the Sabath, gave advantage, to raise such force to deter them, from Comeing so neer as to fetch out the vesle: of which wee thought meet to give Speedy advice, that, at least Such as are designed westward, might know the daing^{r}. the s^{d} pirates are in a Sloope, belonging to M^{r} peeter Coffin, & S^{d} barqu^{e} being all needf^{ll} at p^{r}sent — am

Yo^{r} Wo^{r}ships humble
S^{r}vant
Matt Mayhew."

(Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 10a.)

[3] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 31, lxxxi. 80.

[4] cvii. 229.

Pounds & his Company were gone to the Westward, we directed our Course that way expecting to meet them at Tarpaulin Cove; On Friday following — being the fourth day of October coming off of Wood's hole, a Canoo came off and told us (we being then in company with a Briganteen of wch Simon Davis was master) wee should goe no further, for there was a Pyrate at Tarpaulin Cove, upon which Wee presently gave a great shout, and the word was given to our men to make all ready which was accordingly done, and the wind being at SSE. and blew hard, quickly after we were all ready we espied a Sloop ahead of us, we made what Saile we could, and quickley came so neere, that we put our Kings Jack, and o^{r} Sloop Sailing so very well we quickly came within Shot, and o^{r} Captn ordered a great Gun to be fired thwart her fore foot, on that a man of theirs presently carryed up a Red flagg to the top of their maine mast and made it fast, our Captn then order^{d} a musket to be fired thwart his fore foot, he not striking we came up with him, and o^{r} Captn comanded us to fire on them which accordingly we did, and also called to them to strike to [the] King of England, Capt Pounds standing on the quarter deck with his naked sword in his hand flourishing, said, come aboard, you Doggs, and I will strike you presently or words to y^{t} purpose his men standing by him with their Guns in their hands on the Deck, he taking up his Gun, they let fly a volley upon us, and we againe at him, at last wee came to Leeward of them, supposing it to be some Advantage to us because the wind blew so hard and so o^{r} weather side did us good, they perceiving this gave severall Shouts Supposing (as we did apprehend) that we would yield to them, wee still fired at them, and they at us as fast as they could loade & fire, after a little space we saw Pounds was shot, and gone off the deck, while we were thus in the fight two of our men met wth a mischance by the blowing up of some gun powder which they perceiving by ye Smoke (we being pretty near them) gave severall shouts and fired at us as fast as they could, wee many times called to them, telling them, if they would yield to us we would give them good quarter, they utterly refusing to have it, saying ai yee dogs we will give you quarter By and by, we still continued o^{r} fight, having two of our men more wounded, at last our Captn was much wounded, so that he went off the deck. The Lieu^{t} quickly after ordered us to get all ready to board them which was readily done, wee layd them on bord presently, and at o^{r} Entrance we found such of them that were not much wounded very resolute, but discharging o^{r} Guns at them, we forthwith went to club it wth them and were forced to knock them downe with the but end of our muskets at last we queld them, killing foure, and wounding twelve, two remaining pretty well. The weather coming on very bad, and being

desirous to get good Doctors or Surgeons for o^r^ wounded men, we shap^d^ our Course for Rhode Island, and the same night we secured o^r^ Prisoners and got in between Pocasset & Rhode Island, the next day being Saturday the fifth of October we got a convenient house for o^r^ wounded men, got them on shore, and sent away to Newport for Doctors who quickly came and dressed them, o^r^ Captaine being shot in the Arme, and in the Side, and in the thigh, lost much blood and continued weak & faint, and on friday after being the eleventh day of October he being on board intending to come home, we set saile and were come but a little way before he was taken with bleeding afresh, so that we came to an Anchor againe, and got him on shore to another house on Rhode Island side, where he continued very weake, in the afternoon was taken with bleeding againe, and with fitts, he Continued that night, and loseing so much blood, on Saturday morning the twelfth day of October departed this life, we buried him at Newport on Rhode Island the Monday following. That munday at night we set saile from Rhode Island and arrived at Boston on Saturday the 18th of October with fourteen Prisoners. The Bloody fflagg was not put above Pounds his vessell before we fired at them.

BENJ^N^. GALLOP
DANIEL LANGLEY
COLBURN TURELL
JOHN FRIZELL
ABRAHAM ADDAMS
JOHN I P PANE
his marke.[1]

The prisoners were duly lodged in Boston's new stone gaol, which had a dungeon in it, walls four feet thick, and all kinds of irons to keep them there. The treasure,[2] including the sloop, was duly appraised at £209–4–6, and out of this Lieutenant Benjamin Gallop's charges and expenses of £35–9–9 were promptly paid.[3] On December 4th a bill for a brief for the collection in the several congregations for the relief of Captain Samuel Pease's widow, who with four orphans was in a poor and low condition, and for the care of two of his company that were wounded, was passed by the Representatives and concurred by the Magistrates.[4] As the owners of the sloop declined to pay the salvage ordered on her, she was condemned to her captors.[5]

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539: 9.
[2] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 61.
[3] General Court Records, vi. 85. See p. 40 note 1, below.
[4] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 79, 117. [5] xxxv. 238.

Pound and company did not get off so easily, as is evidenced by the following bill:

Elisha Cooke Esqr D^{r}	£
To the Cure of Tho: pounds Shott in ye Side & in the Arme & Severall bones Taken oute	03:00:00
To the Cure of Thom: Johnson Shott in Jaw & Severall bones Taken oute	03:00:00
To the Cure of Elizar Bucke 7 holes in his Arme	03:00:00
To the Cure of Richard Griffen Shott at the Eare & oute his Eye & Lost it	03:00:00
To the Cure of John Satterdam Shott Through bothe his Leggs	03:00:00
To Edward Browne Shott in the hand & Carried away all The Topp of Joynt	01:10:00
To John Gidden Dressed severall times	01:00:00
To Richard Phips Shott in head	01:00:00
To Danniel Lander Shott throw the Arm	02:00:00
To Will Warren Shott in the head	01:00:00
	21:10:00

THOMAS LARKIN

[*Endorsed*] Tho. Larkins Account of Pirates Cure 1690
Charged E. Cooke [1]

Thomas Hawkins, deserting at Cape Cod before blood was shed, fell in with the Nauset men, who used him roughly and turned him over to Jacobus Loper, a Portuguese whaler and oysterman who had been on the Cape since 1665.[2] He was brought to Boston and delivered to the authorities, though he tried to escape to the Dutch privateer "Abraham Fisher a Scotch Rotterdammer," then in Salem Harbor.[3] With fourteen other pirates he was confined with shackles and chains in the stone gaol above referred to, along with Mary Glover the Irish Catholic witch, Edmond Angier, and others.[4] On the 9th of January following, several bills of indictment for piracy and murder were rendered by the Grand Jury, covering only the Salem ketch Mary, the brigantine Merrimack, the Province Sloop Mary, and the murder of Captain Pease.[5] Most of them, Thomas Pound, Thomas Hawkins, Thomas Johnston, Eleazer Buck, John

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 141a.
[2] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539: 7, 13; Massachusetts Archives, cxxviii. 136.
[3] Toppan's Randolph, iv. 300.
[4] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 95, 96.
[5] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 305–307.

Siccadam, William Dun, Richard Griffin, Daniel Lander, William Warren and Samuel Watts, were found guilty and with William Coward, Peleg Heath, Thomas Storey and Christopher Knight, who had imitated them, were sentenced "To be returned to the place from whence they came and from thence to be carried to the place of Execution and there be hanged by the neck until they be dead." [1] On the 23rd of January it was further ordered that Thomas Pound, Thomas Hawkins, Thomas Johnston, William Coward, and Eleazar Buck, be executed on Monday next the 27th of January and that John Green, Marshal General, cause the sentence to be executed upon them.[2] On the 17th of January, Judge Sewall with the Rev. Cotton Mather had visited and prayed with them at the prison.[3] On the 27th, chiefly through Mr. Wait Winthrop's earnestness, only Thomas Johnston died. Sewall had joined in reprieving Pound and Buck at Governor Bradstreet's and Messrs. Winthrop, Addington, and Shrimpton followed him to his house with another reprieve for Hawkins, who was ready to be turned off before it took effect. The Governor, Winthrop, Shrimpton, Addington, and Phillips reprieved Coward, and all desired that his three companions might be spared.[4]

On February 20th, on petition of Thomas Hawkins and others, the sentence of death was remitted unto Hawkins, William Warren, Samuel Watts, Daniel Lander, Richard Griffin, John Siccadam, Eleazar Buck, and William Dunn on payment of twenty marks — that is, £13–6–8 [5] — each in money for charges of prosecution and imprisonment or to be sold into Virginia, Tom Pound excepted. On the 24th Pound was further reprieved at the instance of Mr. Epaphras Shrimpton and sundry women of quality.[6]

On April 20, 1690, the Rose frigate, whose sails, etc., had been returned by the King's command, sailed under Captain George from Nantasket for Old England,[7] and carried Thomas Hawkins

[1] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 320.

[2] i. 321.

[3] Sewall, Diary, i. 309.

[4] i. 309.

[5] General Court Records, vi. 116, 119; Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 251–252a, xxxvi. 394.

[6] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 104.

[7] Ibid. p. 107.

the pirate, whose sentence had been remitted, and Thomas Pound[1] his captain, whose sentence was not. She proceeded to Piscataqua and after lying there a month sailed on May 19th with a convoy of mast ships. On the 24th she met a French man of war — that is, privateer — of 26 guns from St. Malo's, off Cape Sables, and after a brisk fight of two hours they both drew off. Captain George was deliberately shot and killed by the French captain, and the Rose also lost her master, Mr. Waggoner, and several others including "Hawkins the Pirate." Thomas Pound duly reported the action to Sir Edmund Andros on his arrival in Falmouth, England, July 8th, 1690.[2]

It seems incredible that piracies could be openly committed by twenty-five men, seven of whom were deserters in the bargain, and that only one — Thomas Johnston, a limping privateer — should be hanged, and that apparently for his past sins. Of the twenty-five, four were killed in the action at Tarpaulin Cove, seven were evidently considered only as deserters, ten of the remaining fourteen were convicted but only four were specifically sentenced to be hanged. The defence of Hawkins, Warren, Watts, Lander, and some of the others was that they were forced, which was customary.

The most probable explanation of the whole matter is that after legitimate means failed to secure the sails of the Rose frigate, Thomas Pound, late her pilot, and Thomas Hawkins staged the performance to commit piracy without shedding blood, in order that the Rose frigate might be given her sails and sent out after them, where there was nothing to prevent them from joining forces and going either to King James or King William as they saw fit. It is a curious coincidence that Pound and company should start on their career just as Andros had made his escape from the Castle to that famous resort of Massachusetts outlaws, Rhode Island, sometimes called Rogues Island.

Hawkins said on Loper's sloop, which brought him prisoner to Boston, "that if the manawar Slope had com out against them the most of ye Company had bin on thaire Side: & . . . that Capt

[1] The New England Weekly Journal of October 18, 1731, noted the death on the 11th of Benjamin Gallup, who, when "Lieutenant under Capt. *Pease*," captured "a Man called *Pounds*."

[2] Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), Phips, i. 53.

Gorge fitted him out" and that "thay Should have hur."[1] Johnston, in his last words at the place of execution, said the Rose frigate supplied them with ammunition. The Rev. Increase Mather said that they went out in one of the Rose's boats.[2] Their challenge sent to the Government Sloop on August 16th was part of the game. Unfortunately instead of the Rose frigate, the Province Sloop came out, with results disastrous to the pirate.

Hawkins was the son of Captain Thomas Hawkins, privateer, and Mary his wife. She had married for her third husband Henry Shrimpton. At the time of the Revolution, April 18th, 1689, Captain George was confined in the house of her stepson Colonel Samuel Shrimpton (on the west corner of Exchange and State Streets), and he was the leading spirit in the movement of July 10th to have the sails of the Rose returned. Two of Pound's crew, Henry Dipper and John Hill, were members of Andros's company of redcoats, commanded by Francis Nicholson, the first English Regulars to appear in this country, brought over in 1686.[3] On the day set for the execution, as already stated, only Thomas Johnston died.[4] Pound was excepted from the general remission of February 20th, but on the 24th was further reprieved at the instance of Mr. Epaphras Shrimpton and "sundry women of quality."

Hawkins made a deed of gift to his mother before setting out on this expedition, and she did not desert him in his trouble.[5] Rebecca Thomas was sent daily by her to the prison with victuals for him, and she was told by Captain Pound that if Hawkins had not been the first to board the Salem ketch, he would have killed him like a dog, in other words that he was a forced man.[6] All through this affair

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[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539: 7, 13.

[2] A Vindication of New England, Andros Tracts, ii. 53.

[3] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 344.

[4] See p. 39, above.

[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539:13.

[6] "Rebeca Thomas aged 46 years or there about testifieth and saith that she going to the prison to carry victuals for thomas Hawkins who then was in another Rome, she said unto thomas Pounds what a sad thing it was to see so many men brought into trouble; and for thomas Hawkyns it was a sore grief to his mother thomas Pounds said he would Clear Hawkyns for 2 pence, I said how can that be, seeing he was the first man that borded ye Salem ketch; ye said Pounds replied and said if he had nott, he would have kild ye Dogg" (Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539:14).

can be found evidence tending to show that Hawkins was unduly put forward as a leader, for obvious reasons. Hawkins's sisters [1] had married the leading men of the Colony. Elizabeth Hawkins was the second wife of Adam Winthrop, uncle of Wait Winthrop, who worked so earnestly for reprieves. On his death she married John Richards, who was one of the Court of Assistants that tried the pirates. Sarah Hawkins had married Robert Breck for her first husband, and secondly the Rev. James Allen, minister of the First Church, who was the largest real estate owner in Boston at that time. Abigail Hawkins married first Samuel Moor, secondly Thomas Kellond, and thirdly, while Hawkins was in prison for piracy, the Hon. John Foster. Hannah Hawkins had married Elisha Hutchinson, one of the Court of Assistants that tried the pirates and one of the petitioners for the release of the Rose. Certainly these were "women of quality," and Epaphras Shrimpton was a nephew of Henry Shrimpton their stepfather.

During Captain Pound's sojourn in New England he familiarized himself with the coast, and after his return to England there was published in 1691, —

A New Mapp of New England from Cape Codd to Cape Sables Describeing all the Sands Shoals Rocks and Difficultyes together with a Sand Draft of the Mattathussetts Bay Exactly Surveyed by the Author Tho Pound. Sold by Phillip Lea at the Atlas in Cheapside, by Will[m] Court at the Mariner and Anchor on Tower Hill; and by George Flower near Ratliffe Cross.[2]

By "Mattathussetts Bay" is of course meant Boston Harbor. While too much cannot be claimed for its accuracy, Boston Harbor being contorted to fit the sheet, the Mystic River being unrecognizable, the Fox Island Thoroughfare shown as part of an island, etc., still it is the second known engraved map of Boston Harbor and the first that can be identified as such without the name. A peculiar

[1] Savage, Genealogical Dictionary.

[2] The following advertisement was printed in the London Gazette of April 30, 1691: "A large two Sheet Map of New-England, from Cape Cod to Cape Sables; Describing all the Sands, Shoals, Rocks, &c. Together with a Sand draught of the Mattathussetts Bay, (alias Boston Bay), exactly survey'd by the Author, Tho. Pound. Sold by Phil. Lea, Globemaker, at the Atlas and Hercules in Cheapside, W. Court on Tower-hill, G. Flower near Ratcliffe."

Captain Thomas Pow[illegible] Map of New England, 1691

Engraved for [illegible] Society of Massachusetts
from the only kno[illegible] the Library of Congress

confirmation that Pound the pirate and Pound the cartographer were one is that the only wharf shown, of the many on the Boston waterfront, is Bull Wharf (at what is now Dewey Square), on which stood the Sign of the Bull, the tavern from near which Pound and company started on their piratical career. The only known original of the engraved chart is in the Library of Congress, from which a somewhat reduced reproduction was issued in 1912 by the late Frederick Lewis Gay in an edition of 150 copies. The inset of Boston Harbor was reproduced continually until 1758;[1] then the Chart made in 1759 by Professor John Winthrop [2] of Harvard superseded it. Even the much more accurate Admiralty Chart of 1705[3] could not hold its own with it.[4] Sailing directions for Boston Harbor, first issued for a reproduction of it in the English Pilot, the Fourth Book for 1706, ran continuously through all of its forty or more editions till 1794, without mention of Boston Light, which was illuminated in 1716. The Pound Chart was dedicated to Charles Gerard, first Earl of Macclesfield, Privy Councillor and Lord President of the Marches of Wales, who was probably instrumental in Pound's appointment as Captain of the frigate Sally Rose of the Royal Navy on August 5th following.[5] The Rose was formerly taken from the Salletine pirates, and Captain Pound served in her on the Channel Station, touching in France, Holland, and Sweden.[6] On February 2, 1695, he was transferred to the Dover Prize, succeeding Captain Short, and sent to the Irish Station, where he remained until with the Dover he was sent to America April 17, 1697, to serve on the Virginia Station under his old patron Governor Andros,

[1] English Pilot, Fourth Book, 1758.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cix. 576.

[3] English Pilot, Fourth Book, 1706–1729.

[4] The Pound Chart of Boston Harbor, with slight variations, is found: as an inset to Robert Morden's A new map of the English Empire in America [1695]; in Philip Lea's Hydrographia Universalis [1700]; Sanson's Neptune François [1700]; the English Pilot, Fourth Book, 1706, 1716, 1729, as an inset to A large draught of New England, New York and Long Island, based partly on Pound's New England; the English Pilot, Fourth Book, 1732, 1737, 1742, 1745, 1748, 1749, 1753, 1755, 1758, as an inset to A correct map of New England, 1731, based on Southack; inset to Sencx's A new map of the English Empire in America, 1719; inset to Daniel Neal's A new map of New England, 1720; Halley's Atlas Maritimus, 1728; and elsewhere.

[5] Charnock, Biographia Navalis, ii. 401, and his Log.

[6] Log of the Rose.

until March 22, 1698, when he sailed for home.[1] Losing his command between September 15, 1698, and June 20, 1699, he retired to private life and died in 1703 as of Isleworth, county Middlesex, gentleman, leaving only a widow Elizabeth.[2]

Various illustrative documents follow.

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[1] Log of the Dover.

[2] Will.

Six years ago I wrote to the late Sir John K. Laughton, asking his opinion on several points. His reply, dated Navy Records Society, June 1, 1912, is in part as follows:

"My advanced age and failing eyesight prevent my examining into the interesting question you raise, so I think I am acting upon the spirit of your enquiry by turning it over to my son, who will, I believe, in a few days' time succeed me as Secretary of this Society. It is quite possible and not improbable that there may be letters of Thom. Pound at the Record Office; if not, I fear nothing can be done except by one of those lucky accidents which come at times when least to be expected.

"I am also putting a query about him in the Mariners' Mirror, which may tap some unknown vat — but considering the point as you state it, I should say that there is little doubt that Thomas Pound the Pilot, Thomas Pound the Pirate, Thomas Pound the Captain, and Thomas Pound the Cartographer, are not four men but one man."

An attempt has been made to connect Capt. Thomas Pound with Capt. Thomas Pond, who was supposed to have given to the Corporation of Youghal, Ireland, in 1690, "a silver boat which holds three noggins [i. e. gills], which is to be drank full at the several feasts of the mayors with the usual toasts, 'Capt. Pond dead or alive.'" This is quoted in Notes and Queries (October 19, 1861, Second Series, xii. 310) as from the manuscript Memoirs of the Town of Youghal (Handbook of Youghal, 1852), but here the name reads Capt. Thomas Ponel, and the boat itself has the name so spelled (Council Book of the Corporation, 1878, plate 7). On August 2, 1690, Youghal, with its garrison of three companies of foot, surrendered to fifty dragoons under command of Capt. Thomas Pownal (Harris, Life of William III, p. 285). In the Council Book of the Corporation, under date of January 6, 1693, is found: "Whereas it appears that a small Silver Cup, now in the possession of Robt. Ball, Ald., was given him by Capt. Thomas Pownall for the use of the Corporation: Ordered, that said Ald. Ball forthwith deliver the said Silver Cup unto Mr. Mayor, who is to pay him 4*s*. 9*d*., which he gave Capt. Pownall's servant who gave him the said cup from his master, and said Silver Cup is henceforth to be kept by the Mayor of Youghal for the time being, for the Corporation" (p. 390). And in further confirmation that it was Capt. Pownall otherwise Ponel, and not Capt. Pound, who gave the boat, it bears the Pownall Crest, a Lion's Gamb, holding a key (Heraldic Journal, iii. 56) on one side, and on the reverse "The guift: of: Capt: Thomas: Ponel: to: the: Corporation Of: Youghall 1690." This monteth or loving cup is boat shaped, five inches long, two and three fourths inches wide and two inches high (Council Book, plate 7).

I

While this was doing, the people of *Boston* were Alarmed with Suspicions buzz'd about the Town, by some belonging to the Ship, That the *Rose Frigat* now in our Harbour was intended to carry off our Late *Governour* for *France*, & to take any of our *English* Vessels that might be coming in unto us; and we apprehended our selves in the mean time very ill provided, if an Attacque from any of the *French* Fleet in the *West Indies* were perfidiously made upon us. 'Tis impossible to express the Agonies which filled the minds of both Town and Country; but the consideration of the extream Ferment which we were boiling in, caused several very deserving Gentlemen in *Boston*, about the middle of April, to enter into a Consultation, how they might best serve the Distressed Land in its present Discomposures. They considered the *Directions* given in the Princes *Declarations* (of which at last we had stolen a sight) and the *Examples* which the whole Kingdom of *England* (as far as we could learn) had set before us. They also considered, that the Governour being mov'd to call a Generall Council in this extraordinary juncture, instead of this, he never so much as called his Council here at hand to communicate unto them any part of the *Intelligence relating* to the Late Affairs in *England*. They likewise considered, That though they were above all things inclinable *to stay a little*, hoping that every day might bring some Orders from *England* for our safety, yet they could not undertake for such Temper in all their provoked Neighbours. Wherefore they Resolved, That if either the outragious madness of our Foes, or the impatient motion of our *Friends*, did necessitate any Action, they would put themselves in the Head of it, and endeavour to prevent what ill effects an *Unform'd Tumult* might produce.

By that time the Eighteenth of *April* had given a few Hours of Light unto us, things were push'd on to such extremities that *Bostons* part in Action seem'd loudly enough and hastily called for. Accordingly, the Captain of the Frigat being then on Shoar, it was determined that he must be made incapable either to *Obstruct*, or to *Revenge* the Action, by *Firing* on, or *Sailing* from the Town, him therefore they immediately seized. There were not very many acquainted with the measure that were to be taken; but the Action was now begun, and the Rumour of it running like Lightning through the Town, all sorts of people were presently inspired with the most unanimous Resolution, I believe, that was ever seen. *Drums* were beaten, and the whole Town was immediately up in *Arms*.[1]

[1] An Account of the late Revolution in New England, Andros Tracts, ii. 194.

II

Secondly, Jealousies were augmented by his involving the Countrey in a War with the Indians, by means whereof he hath occasioned the Ruine of many Families and Plantations; yea the Death or Captivity of we know not how many Souls. *For he went* (*with the* Rose *Frigat,*) *and violently seized, and took and carried away, in a time of peace all the Houshold Goods and Merchandises of* Monsieur *Casteen a Frenchman at* Penobscot *who was Allied to the Indians having Married* the Daughter of one of their *Princes* whom they call *Sagamores* or *Sachems*; and when this was done, it was easie to forsee, and was generally concluded that the *French* and *Indians* would soon be upon the English, as it quickly came to pass. After the Flame was kindled, and Barborous Outrages committed by the Indians, Sir Edmund's managery was such as filled the Countrey with greater fears of an *horrid design.* For Bloody Indians whom the English had secured, were not only dismissed, but rather courted than punished by him.[1]

III

Having related the Crimes of the *New-Englanders* by *Land,* They come next to declaim against them as Criminal also at *Sea.* '*Your Majesties Frigat Ordered for the defence and security of of the Coasts against Pirats, dismantled and made wholly unserviceable, while the Pirats Infested the same.*' Ay, and what if the worst *Pirats* came from on board of that *Frigat*? What if their Ammunition & Provisions were thence delivered to them? What good did that *Frigat* do New-England? Unless this were so, that it fetch'd home the Plunder of *Casteine,* upon which began the Bloudy War? or that the *Hull* lay wallowing in *Boston*-Harbour to *awe* rather than *protect* the Town, and Domineer over the honest Traders in their passage, mean while *her men* playing Reakes on shoar to the great Offence and Disturbance of the Inhabitants.

As for the peoples *Dismantling* of that Frigat in the time of the *Revolution,* we need use no Vindication; the proper Judges thereof have not *Condemned but Commended* what they did therein. What Religion the *Captain* professed we know not, but the *Lieutenant* had declared himself to be of King *James* his Religion; and how well they were like to protect the *Protestant* people may be easily Imagined. It is well known that the *Captain,* in his return with her for *England,* was full fraught with a Bloody Malice against that honest people, which in a time he would

[1] The Revolution in New England Justified, Andros Tracts, i. 118.

have shown had not a *French Bullet* by the way carried him *to his own place*; and so it becomes us to say less of him: doubtless he wants not enbalming by the *Art of the Apothecary*!

Nevertheless, seeing there is a noise made of *Pirats* in this Paragraph, it obliges us (for the Vindication of *New-England*) to tell the World, that there was a crew of Pirats under the command of one *Pounds*, which lay robbing Vessels on the Coast; these were pursued by a small Vessel of Brisk *Bostoneers*, who in Their Majesties Name, and under Their Colours, maintained a Bloody Fight with the Rogues and took them: *One* of them was Executed, and in his last words at the Place of Execution, confessed and affirmed that the *Rose Frigat* had supplyed them with their Ammunition. Others of the Crew broke Prison and were *Sheltered* on board of that Frigat (of which *Pounds* was one) then faln lower down and out of Command, and a Messenger sent from the Council to demand them, could have no return but such Barbarous Incivilityes as it were a shame to mention.[1]

IV

Boston, April 22d, 89.

Hon[d] Sir,

The consideration of my sending you a blank, wherein only the declaration was inclosed, seems to deserve a check, and constrains me to an apology, not having so much as liberty granted me by the messenger to write two or three lines, whereby you might have understood the present state of things, which, by this time, you are doubtless acquainted with; but lest it should prove otherwise, I have taken the pains to give a brief account. — I knew not any thing of what was intended, until it was begun, yet being at the north end of the town, where I saw boys running along the streets, with clubs in their hands, encouraging one another to fight, I began to mistrust what was intended, and, hasting towards the town-dock, I soon saw men running for their arms, but before I got to the red lion,[2] I was told that Capt. George and the master of the frigate were seized and secured in Mr. Colman's house,[3] at the north end, and when I came to the town-dock, I understood that Bullivant and some others of them were laid hold of, and then, immediately, the drums began to beat, and the people hastened and ran, some with, and some for arms. Young Dudley and Colonel Lidget, with some

[1] A Vindicatcn of New England, Andros Tracts, ii. 53.

[2] The Red Lion was at the northeast corner of North and Richmond Streets.

[3] Perhaps the house of William Colman, at the northeast corner of North and Fleet Streets.

difficulty, attained to the fort. The governor immediately sent Dudley on an errand, to request the four ministers, Mr Joyliffe and one or two more, to come to him at the fort, pretending that, by them, he might still the people, not thinking it safe for him to go to them. They returned for answer, that they did not think it safe for them to go to him. Now, by this time, all the persons whom they concluded not to be for their side, were seized and secured, except some few who had hid themselves, who afterwards were found, and dealt by as the rest. The governor, with Palmer, Randolph, Lidget, West, and one or two more, were in the fort. All the companies were soon rallied together at the town-house, where assembled Capt. Winthrop, Shrimpton, Page, and many other substantial men, to consult matters; in which time the old governor came among them, at whose appearance there was a great shout by the souldiers. Soon after, the jack was set up at the fort, and a pair of colours at beacon-hill, which gave notice to some thousand soldiers on Charlestown side that the controversy was now to be ended, and multitudes would have been there, but there was no need. The frigate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants, and opened all her ports, and with all speed made ready for fight, under the command of the lieutenant, he swearing that he would die before she should be taken, although the captain sent to him, that if he fired one shot, or did any hurt, they would kill him, whom they had seized already; but the lieutenant, not regarding, kept those resolutions all that day. Now, about four of the clock in the afternoon, orders were given to go and demand the fort, which hour the soldiers longed for, and had it not been just at the nick, the governor and all the crew had made their escape on board the frigate, a barge being sent for them, but the soldiers, being so near, got the barge. The army divided and part came up on the back side of the fort, part went underneath the hill to the lower battery or sconce, where the red coats were, who immediately upon their approach retired up to the fort to their master, who rebuked them for not firing on our soldiers, and, as I am informed, beat some of them. When the soldiers came to the battery or sconce, they presently turned the great guns about and pointed against the fort, which did much daunt those within, and the soldiers were so void of fear, that, I presume, had those within the fort been resolute to have lost their lives in fight, they might have killed an hundred of us at once, being so thick together before the mouths of the cannon of the fort, all laden with small shot, but God prevented it. Then they demanded a surrender, which was denied, until Mr. West and another should first go to the council, and, after their return, we should have an answer, whether to fight or no. Upon their return,

they came forth from the fort, and went disarmed to the town-house, and from thence, some to the close gaol, and the governor, under a guard, to Mr. Usher's house. The next day they sent the two colonels to demand of him the surrender of the castle, which he resolved not to give, but they told him, if he would not give it presently, under his hand and seal, he would be exposed to the rage of the people, and so left him; but he sent and told them that he would, and did so, and they went down and it was surrendered to them with cursings, and they brought the men away and made Capt. Fairweather commander in it. Now, by the time that the men came back from the castle, all the guns, both in ships and batteries, were brought to bear against the frigate, which were enough to have shattered her in pieces at once, resolving to have her. It is incident to corrupt nature to lay the blame of our evil deeds any where rather than on ourselves, so Capt. George cast all the blame now upon that devil Randolph, for had it not been for him he had never troubled this good people, earnestly solliciting that he might not be constrained to surrender the ship, for by so doing both himself and all his men would lose their wages, which otherwise would be recovered in England, giving leave to go on board and strike the topmasts and bring the sails on shore, and so he did. The country people came armed into the town, in the afternoon, in such rage and heat, that it made us all tremble to think what would follow, for nothing would satisfy them, but that the governor must be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more secure place, and that they would see done before they went away; and, to satisfy them, he was guarded by them to the fort.[1]

V

June 12, 1689, Boston. Captain George, R.N., to the Secretary of the Admiralty. This is my first opportunity of writing to you since January, when I gave you an account that H.M.S. Rose was so much injured by the worm that she could not remain on the Station without considerable repair. These last five months this place has been full of rumours from England of the Prince of Orange's landing, of the flight of the King to France and of his death there, after which King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed, but no confirmation arrived before two ships came in with their Majesties' proclamation on the 26th and 29th May. None the less, on the 18th of April, the people, pretending

[1] Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts (London, 1765), i. 374. "An anonymous letter," says Hutchinson, "gives a more circumstantial account of this revolution, than any that has yet been printed."

dissatisfaction with Sir Edmund Andros's government, rose up in arms, seized me first and run me into the common gaol, by the instigation of Robert Small, my carpenter, who had absented himself from his duty and joined the rebels some days before. Some hours after the Governor's coming down to the Council, there was a pretence that he designed to deliver the Government to the French, and Small spread a report that Sir Edmund intended to fire the town at one end and I at the other, beat the rest down with the frigate's guns, and escape in the smoke to France. The fort being surrounded by about fifteen hundred men was surrendered, and Small traversed severall guns against the frigate and would have fired them if he had not been prevented. He proposed several ways of taking and burning the ship, which were not followed. Next day the Governor was committed prisoner to the fort and myself to Colonel Shrimpton's house, who was very kind to me through all the affair. The same day the Castle surrendered. I was sent for by the Council of Safety (as they called themselves), who asked me for an order to my lieutenant to surrender the frigate. I said it was not in my power, being a prisoner, that I could not give such an order and that my lieutenant would not obey it if I did. They told me my commission was of no force, and urged me to take one from them and serve the country. I told them my commission was still good until invalidated by one from the crown of England, that I could not accept a commission from them and did not believe they dared give me one. They still persisted in their resolution to take the ship by force, but I advised them not, as there would be a great slaughter before she was taken and that the King's ships never did surrender. I told them too that if they would let her ride without molestation there would be no danger from her, for the Lieutenant had no orders to move and would not until orders came from England; but while they were thus discoursing with me they sent two or three men aboard who persuaded the lieutenant and crew to strike yards and top-masts and declare for the Prince of Orange. They acquainted me with this, and remanded me to my confinement. On the 22nd the Council sent an order for the delivery of the sails, which are now in their custody. Nor was the carpenter yet quiet, for he procured a Marshal to be sent aboard by the Council to bring ashore several men to bear witness against me. This being refused by the lieutenant, the carpenter sent messages advising the men to come ashore by force if necessary, as the Council would take it kindly and would secure them their wages. On the 1st of May, at five in the morning, they left the ship and went to him, when he got them to sign a paper saying I was going to France. Such a thing never entered my thoughts, but the

paper was received with much favour by the Council though I was unable to obtain a copy of it. I represented to the Council the mischief that might happen to a King's ship by such disorders, and pointed out that the King's Navy being governed by Act of Parliament was wholly independent of any Government ashore. They then advised the men to go on board their ship and submit to their officers, which they did, excepting the carpenter and half a dozen more. On the 6th May, there was a fire at the north end of Boston, and the carpenter spread a report that I had caused the town to be fired, and raised a concourse of people, who broke open the doors of my lodgings and carried me prisoner to the fort. At the same time the carpenter sent two or three armed boats to the frigate, fetched away the lieutenant and the men that would not side with him ashore, and put them into the common gaol, where they lay three days until the Council sent them on board again. The carpenter's design in this last action was to get a commission from the Council to command the ship, which he declares was promised him. Two days afterwards I was released from the fort and acquainted the Council that unless the carpenter was secured the King's ship would not be safe; but they objected. I have since been assisted by Colonel Shrimpton in moving for the sails, but without success. On the 7th inst. an order was sent to the lieutenant to send sixteen men on shore to give evidence against me. The lieutenant sent the paper to me for my directions, and I answered that if I were aboard I should not take the responsibility of parting with men on such an order. I then went to the Government and said I should rather have expected the return of my sails, but they answered that they should not be returned without orders from England. What more they mean to do I know not. They threaten to dismantle the ship still further, but I hope that they will be stopped by orders from England. There are several ships in harbour which dare not sail for fear of pirates. I enclose copies of letters which have passed on the subject. Many of my men have deserted; and the gunner and boatswain have both declined their duty since the troubles begin. *Signed.* Jo. George. *Endorsed.* Read, 10 August, 1689.[1]

VI

To the Honble the Governo^{r} and Council The Declaration of Isaac Prince mast^{r} of a Smal Deck Sloop — belonging to Hull —

This Informant Saith that upon the 9th August 89 as he with ye rest of his Boates Company were bound in to ye Port of boston from mackrell

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689–1692, no. 196.

Catching, Foure or five Leagues off from Brewsters Islands they mett with Thomas Hawkins in and with his Boate called a Barmudas Boate, who hailed the s^d^ Sloop, and afterwards came up with us In ye interim desiring us to lye by the Lee & noe sooner had he come with us but asked of us whether wee had any makarell and water to Spare. wee replyed wee had: and Spared him 8 penny worth of mackrell & 3 or 4 gallons of water he being very Shie of comeing by o^r^ Sloops side lay only by o^r^ quarter, on of ye company belonging to o^r^ Sloope being upon her quarter looking over the Same into the Boate, Espied as he judged Twelve men wch he saw through the cracks of s^d^ Hawkins Boates deck or covering, another of us Saw as near as he guessed five or Six men, a third Man of us Saw a man abaft peepe up with his head and a fourth man of us Saw Severall men as he thought move in the hold judgeing them to be drunken men, wee askt him wheth^r^ he was bound, to Billingsgate s^d^ Hawkins replyd, wee asked him how he came soe farr this way, he againe replyd twas all one to him Though he was there wch caused us to suspect him to be upon noe good designe

ISAAC PRINCE
HENERY CHAMBERLING
GEORG FIELD
EDWARD WRIGHT
his ✗ mark

Boston 10th August 1689.

Isaac Prince farther adds that at the time aboves^d^ Hawkins was very Cheerful and merry

ISAAC PRINCE

Boston: 9^h^ January 1689. Is^a^ Prince made Oath in ye Court of Assistants to ye truth of ye above written Declaration.

Jurat Attest^r^ Is^A^ ADDINGTON Sec^ry^ [1]

VII

Helen Chard of Salem Com. of the Ketch Mary of Salem appeared before mee this 12th August 1689 and made this following relation (viz) that on fryday last past being the Ninth day of Augt as he was Comeing from Sea with a fare of fish in a Ketch of M^r^. Phillip English; of Salem, about three Leages from halfe way Rock in Massachusetts Bay — he was then & there taken by Thomas Hawkins & Comp Being Eleven men & one Boy in a small Burmodus fashioned Boate — Tho Hawkins Capt, — & thay know but one more of the Comp̄ which was a Limping

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539:1.

privateer called Johnson, who kept them prisoners untill Satterday night in which time thay heard them say thay had fourty more listed which thay Expected would Come of to them, and that thay would have a Better Vessell as soon as possible and take one Southward Vessell to Supply them with provisions and then thay would goe & plauge the french on Satterday night thay dismist him & Two more of his Comp̄ turning them away in s^{d} Boate which thay took them with, telling them thay should have theire Ketch againe when thay had taken a better Vessell for theire designe and thay should have the Boate to ketch Mackerill in untill thay returned the Other, he farther related that they all had fire Armes but had no more than two gall^{o} of powder & soe few Bals y^{t} as soone as thay had taken them, thay melted theire Leeds to make Bullets, soe takeing with them one man & a boy of ours the man Volontary by Joyneing with them, & the Boy thay keept to be an Interpret^{r} for them, he haveing ye french tongue; We Left them waiteing to take the next Sutable Vessell, thay Could meete withall from any part they tooke from us the Said Catch Mary & all hir apurtenances & provisions & Loading of Fish

HELLING CHARD
ASHLY BURGES
his A Marke

Tes^{t} John Hathorne Assis^{t}

Hellen Chard & Ashly Burges psonally Appeared before the Grand Jury & my self & made Oath y^{t} their testimony to wch they had Subscribed is ye truth & what farther testimony he shold give in this case shold be ye truth as Attests

IA: RUSSELL Assis^{t}

Boston 8 Ianuary 1689–90

Boston. 9° January 1689. Helen Chard, and Ashley Burgis (One of the Company belonging to the within named Katch) made Oath in Court of Assistants to ye truth of ye within written Narrative, before Tho: Hawkins then at ye Barr.

Jurat Attest^{r}
ISA ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}

Helen Chard and Ashley Burgis add upon their Oath that as soon as Tho: Hawkins came on board the within named Katch Mary, said Hawkins put the s^{d} Master Helen Chard from the Helm, and tooke the Helm himselfe

HELLING CHARD
ASHLEY A BURGIS
his marke.

Boston. 11° January. 1689 Helen Chard and Ashley Burgis made Oath in Court of Assistants That Thomas Pound then at ye Barr was one of the Company with Thomas Hawkins within named that took away from them the within named Katch Mary and her Loading according as is within related and declared they did not then know said Pound by name, but well know that s^d^ Pound was one of that Company.

Jurat. Attest^r^ JS^A^ ADDINGTON Sec^ry^ [1]

VIII

FALLMOTH 19th. Aug 1689

Honored / Worthy } gentlemen

Thes in humble submetion Com to aquainte yor Hono^rs^ that as y^tt^ wee have made noe Discovery of the Enemy najther by land nor water y^tt^ som of ou^r^ scouts are Dayly abrode by Wallter & Land pray God keepe them of from us for shoold they Com in a Grate body wee are but in a weake Condition to Receve them: upon the 12th of this instant soom time in the night thare Arived a Catch & Came to Ancor about 4 mile from this forte. early in the morning (when wee Beate the Revalle to Call all ou^r^ men to Geather on thaire Arms the which wee doe 2 or 3 times a day to p^r^vent supprisell) wee see a Long Boate with 3 hands in her Coming up toward the Towne [the] Boate Came to the shore & the men one of them Called Jn° Darby a knowne fisherman Belonging to Salom Come ashore to mee the other 2 men filed soom walter I Demanded of Jn° Darby from whence thay came hee said from Kape Sabells a fishing the Catch belonging to Salom one Allen Chard of Salom [master] & all soe said that a privettere Bregendene att Cape Sapells had Taken them & had took from them soom Led thaire bread & wallter but did them noe farther harem I asked if thay did Know the masters name of the Bregendene Jn° Darby said that he did not know naither did thay Aske for they was afraid of them & was Glad they woold Let them Goe i asked Jn° Darby why Allin Charde did not Com vp to Towne he said the master had hurte his foot & that thay had thare fare of fish on Boord being about 1800 fish, thay only wanted walter & did Intend with all speed for Salom Jn° Darby asked if heare was a doctter in towne &

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2538 :6. At bottom, upside down, is an extract from the Council Record of August 12, 1689:

"Inform. being given this day from Salem y^t^ Tho. Hawk. and

It^s^ ordered y^t^ a suitable vessell well-mand be forthwith sent out from Salem to seeke after and surprise ye s^d^ katch and men in her and to bring him in and ye militia of Salem and Marblehead are desired and ordered forthwith to put this order in Execution."

desird him to goe on bord the Catch to see the masters foot which the doctter did but before the doctter got on Boord som of ou^{r} people that had bin on Bord brought mee word that it was a privetere Catch & that thay had many men on Boord I asked for Allin Chard and people said thay could not see him on Boord but thay see one capt pownds & one Tho hackins on Bord which gave mee Caus to suspect them for to be Roges the Docttor came up to towne but he was in sevrall (Tales) as soom time he woold say thay were upon an honest acc^{o}p^{t} sumtimes that thay had but a feaw men on Boord some times that thay had many men on Boord which Gave mee Caues to suspect that the doctor did intend to make one with them & often the docto^{r} was parseved to be discorsing with the souldiers beloning to the fort after he Came from Bord; at night after the Gard was sett the Tato Beate & above 12 at night i saw all ou^{r} souldiers at thare q^{r}ters & the sentinells sett i Charge^{d} hee that had the command of the Gard to see that Good watch should be kept Toward the wallter side in the night when all was still & quiett the whole Gard & sentinells Tooke thaire Arems & Robd the Rest of the souldiers that was a sleepe of thaire clothes except what was on thaire backs thaire Amonetion & some of thaire Arems went ought of the forte Took a Grate Boate that was a float & went on Board the said Catch. 14th morning being Callem i sent a Cnow to see if thay Coold see the Catch and if thay Coold to Get them to Demand ou^{r} men ou^{r} Canow overtooke them at Portland & came by thaire sid demanded Capt pounds to deliv^{d} vp the souldiers that had Run away from his majestys forte hee said he woold not ou^{r} men said if not deliver the men that hee woold deliver what thay had stoale viz: Amonetion Arems & Cloathes & that all though the men woold nott Return them selfs thay shoold Return what thay had Caried away that was not thaire owne thay said what thay had thay woold Keepe & what thay Coold Gett thay woold take Giveing ou^{r} men Thretting speeches & saing thay did want a beatter vessel & that thare one Chowne in a sloope Belonging to Georg (Hesh) in this Harbor & thay woold have him all though thay shoold waight for him 2 or 3 weeks the 2 men I sent in the Canow to spake with them was Jos Dows & Siv: Androws the Curcomstances Considered we are in a very sad Condition for wee have not forse to Ingage with any Enemy that shall assalte us by Land neither have wee any vessell to defend us by walter Soe that wee Ley for a pray for all both by sea & Land all which quite discorreges ou^{r} peopell I humbly pray y^{r} Hon^{rs} that wee may have soom shutable assistance for our Defence for Land & sea & I Hope wee shall not bee found negligent vpon our Duty Hoping ou^{r} shalop will be spedily Returned to vs with such In-

corrigment from yor Hono^rs that may Revife ou^r all most fainting sperits J subscrib my selfe as I am

Yo^r Honou^rs most Humble Sarvant

SILVANUS DAVIS [1]

IX

To The Honble The Govr & Councill now Sitting in Boston The Information of Jno Smart —

I Jno Smart M^r of the Sloop Good Speed of Piscataqua bound from thence to Nantuckett & coming to Anchor under race point of Cape Codd was yesterday morning being the 16th inst^t ab^t 7 o clock boarded by 8 or 9 armed men from a Small Ketch that Rode by us who Violently carried us from our Sloop On board S^d Ketch where wee saw between 20 & 30 men of whome I Certainly Know but two Viz^t Thomas Hawkins & —— Pound who were reputed Capt & Master of Said Comp^a who piratically took from us the Said Sloop loaden wth boards [and] Some other things belonging to Mr Peter Coffin, they also took from us Some of o^r Sea clothes, & gave us the Small Ketch wth wch wee came hither, they Were short of Provisions & told us they had landed 25 men to gett Cattle, & bid us if wee came to Boston to tell there that they Knew ye Gov^t Sloop lay ready but if she came out after them & came up w^h them they sh^d find hott work for they w^d die every man before they would be taken

JOHN SMART

August. 17° 1689

I David Larkin part Owner and one of the Company belonging to the abovementioned Sloop and being on board her at the time of her being Seised as aboves^d do affirm to the truth of the above written Information.

DAVID LARKIN

Boston, August. 19°
1689.

John Smart and David Larken made oath to the truth of this Information, whereto they have Subscribed. Sworn before the Govr & Councill.

ISA ADDINGTON Sec^ry [2]

X

Information being given that Thomas Hawkins, —— Pounds and others confederated with them have lately piratically surprised and

[1] 2 Collections Maine Historical Society, ix. 32–34.

[2] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2516.

taken two Vessells within the Massachusetts Bay the One a Katch belonging to Salem and the other belonging to Piscataqua, and are supposed to be waiting to com̄it farther Robberies.

It's Ordered that the Sloop Resolution Joseph Thaxter Com̄ander be forthwith fitted with Gun's Artillery Am̄unition & Provisions and that fforty able Seamen be Ship't upon her to be speedily sent forth for the Securing of the Coast and Vessells passing in and out upon their lawfull business; The said Joseph Thaxter to be comissioned to cruse with said Vessell upon the Coast in search for the said Pirates or others who upon Examination and search shalbe found to be upon the like wicked and unlawfull designe, and to pursue Surprise and in case of resistance and opposition by force of Armes to Subdue kill and destroy them; and such as they take to bring them and Vessells into Boston to be proceeded against by the Authority according to Law.

And for Encouragement to those men who shall go forth in said Vessell upon that Expedition It's Ordered that they be upon usual monthly wages, and upon any casualty befalling any of the said men by loss of Limb or otherwise be maimed that meet allowance and provision be made for such. And the Treasurer is Ordered to furnish and supply all provisions and necessarys for seting forth of said Vessell.

Voted in the Affirmative by the Governo^{r} and Councill

JSA ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}

Consented unto by ye Representatives augst 19th 1689

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk.[1]

XI

To Joseph Thaxter Capt

Whereas you are appointed, by the Governo^{r} Councill & Representatives of ye Massachusetts Colony Capt of the Sloop Resolution man'd with thirty able men for their Maties Service for ye Securing their Maties Subjects and their vessells y^{t} are imployed upon their lawfull Occasions and for ye Suppressing of all such as ply upon this Coast on a piratical designe. These are their Maties names to require and Impower you to take charge of the said Sloop and men and y^{m} to discipline & com̄and and prosecute y^{r} designe Especially against Thomas Hawkins & one Pounds who with a number of armed men have piratically Seised two Vessells belonging to their Maties Sibjects and finding them or others on ye like piratical Accomp^{t} yo^{u} are to take and bring into this Harbour

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 277.

of Boston, to be proceeded with according to Law And in case they oppose and resist yo^{u} therein yo^{u} are to Subdue and bring them under by force of Armes, And yor men are alike reqrd to yield due obediance to all yor lawfull comands In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and affixed the Seale of this Colony. Dated in Boston this 20th of August. 1689. Annoq R.Rs et Regina Willielmi & Maria pm^{o}

S. BRADSTREET Govr

By order of ye Convention of ye Govr & Councill and Representatives

Is. ADDINGTON Sec^{ry} [1]

XII

BOSTON 20^{tb} August, 1689.

Cap^{ne} JOSEPH THAXTER

You being appointed Cap^{ne} of the Sloop Resolution now fitted out for their Majesties Service to Cruse up and down within the Massachusetts Bay and upon this Coast for the Securing of Merchant Vessells belonging to their s^{d} Majesties Subjects and Suppressing of Pirates, to which you are Comissioned &c.

you are to improve the first good wind and weather and Saile with said Vessell from Boston upon the said Expedition

yo^{u} are carefully to Endeavour to preserve and secure all Merchants Vessells upon their lawful buisness and to yield them all necessary assistance.

yo^{u} are strenuously to Endeavour the Suppressing and Seising of all Pirates, Especially one Thomas Hawkins, Pounds and others confederated with them, who by force of Armes have lately piratically Surprised two vessells within the Massachusetts Bay belonging to their s^{d} Majesties Subjects, and to bring them and Company with the Vessell they are in unto Boston to be proceeded against according to Law.

yo^{u} are to keep yor Company in good Order and to require their Obediance to you as their Comander.

you are to be very carefull to avoid the sheding of Blood, unless you be necessitated by resistance and opposition made against you

you are from time to time as yo^{u} have opportunity to give notice and advice to the Governo^{r} of yor proceedings.

you are to attend such Orders and Instructions as from time to time yo^{u} shall receive from the Governo^{r} & Councill here.

you are carefully to preserve the Stores and appurtenances belonging unto & now put into s^{d} Vessell from Spoyle or imbezelment. Wee judge

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 278.

yo^{u} may come into this harbour once in fourteen Dayes unless necessarily detained in prosecution of yor Com^{ds} wch wee leave to yor discretion

S. Bradstreet Govr.
By order Js^{A} Addington Sec^{ry} [1]

XIII

Mart: Viney^{d} in the p^{r}vence of New York, Augt 29^{h} 1689: This publique instrument of protest made at the harb^{r} at Edgartown sheweth; that on the eight and twenteith day of this instant August appeared before me Matthew Mayhew Notarii publique, John Kent, Commander of the Brigantine Merimack of New England and declared that being bound to the port of Boston in New England, on the Seaven and twenteith day of this inst^{t} August comeing to ancho^{r} in the harbo^{r} at homeses hole in the evening of the said day, about one or two hours before the sun setting in order to go over the sholes in the next morning, a Sloope which followed them down the sound, came to them hoisting up a bloodie flagg, commanded the said Master on bord the said Sloope and that they haveing not veered Cable Sufficient, Veering out more thretned to fire on them if they Veered more; whereuppon the said John Kent seing no other remedie being under their Command, went on Bord Said Sloope and about ten men armed went on Bord s^{d} Brigantine; and took from on bord the said Brigantine, twenty half Barrells of flower, shipped at New York of which Sixteen were on fraught Consighned to Joseph Townsend of S^{d} Boston, the other four belonging to p^{r}sons then on bord said Brigantine; as also two hogsheads of Sugar, and one hogshead of rumme, consighned to the said Joseph Townsend; being all marked A: H: viz: what was consighned to said Joseph Townsend: as also three gunnes, belonging to the vessel companie & also about one hundred weight of Tobacco, though certain weight they (cannot) tell: Therfore the said Master protesteth, against one who went by the name of Thomas Pounds, pretended Capt: of the said Sloope. as well as other [of] the Companie; being in estimation about five and twenty men for takeing all and everie said goods & armes, as pirats, and doth declare that the said goods were taken wholly by force and constraint by piracie and robberie, and open violence; and that they were in no wise Capacitated to evade or hind^{r} the same, either by flight or force; nor did in any wise bargain contract nor agree with any, or all the said Companie who took the said goods; but that they were taken wholly against their will by

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 279.

plain and absolute force, in witness whereof the said John Kent Master of said Brigantine; appeared the eight and twenteith of this inst^{t} August, and made report heerof, and thereof before mee made oth thereof Robert Almeric Mate; Jonathan Woodman, Saylor, Mr. Benjamin Peck, Nathaniell Peck, Timothy Tucker, passeng^{rs} on Bord said Brigantine, made oth to the above p^{r}test, this 29^{h} of Augt 1689: Before me

MATT. MAYHEW
Not. publique.

These may Certifie whome it doth or may Concerne y^{t} this day the sixteenth day of the month of September Anno Dom. one thousand six hundred eighty and nine Appeared before me John Herbert Coward notary and Tabellion Publick dwelling in Boston in the County of Suffolk in New England John Kent of Newberry mariner master of the Briggantien merrimack and Jonathan Woodman Sailer to s^{d} Briggantien made oath they saw Mathew Mayhew signe the within Protest & is also att the Instance and request of the s^{d} Jno Kent is Recorded in my (the s^{d} Notary) Office in the eight book of Records in page one hundred fifty three and four —.

In Premissor$\bar{i}\bar{u}$m fidem
[Notarial Seal] JN^{O} HERB^{T} COWARD Not: Pub:
16: 7b 1689.

Jonathan Woodman & John Kent psonally appeared before y^{e} Grand Jury & myself and made Oath y^{t} what this writeing containes is y^{e} truth & nothing else refering to Pound & Comp^{a} and what they farther shall add refering to this matter shall be ye truth & nothin else as Attests

IA: RUSSELL Assist.

Boston January 8th 1689-90.

Boston 11° January 1689 Jonathan Woodman and John Kent personally appearing in Court of Assistants respectively made oath to the truth of what is conteined in this within written Evidence referring to the felony and piracy co$\bar{m}$itted by Thomas Pound and Company; this sworn in presence of Thomas Pound then at the Barr.

Attest^{r} JS^{A} ADDINGTON Sec^{ry} [1]

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2537:7.

XIV

Councill Sep^{t} 30 1689

Present S. Bradstreet Esqr Govr

John Richards	Wait Winthrop
James Russell	Sam^{ll} Shrimpton
Elisha Cooke	John Phillips

Comiſsion was granted to Samuel Pease Captain of the Sloop Mary fitted out with twenty men to Search for and Surprise Tho: Hawkins and Tho: Pounds with his Company haveing co$\overline{\text{m}}$itted severall piracys, And a Co$\overline{\text{m}}$on granted to Benj^{a} Gallop to be his Lieutenant, And an Order given them to y^{e} Co$\overline{\text{m}}$ission^{r} for y^{e} Warr to furnish them with a barrell of Gunpowder 50[1] of small Shot Carthrage papers and match Also Instructions given to Cap^{ne} Pease to Endeavour the takeing of y^{e} pirates by surprise & to prevent y^{e} Sheding of blood as much as may bee.[1]

XV

Boston within the Massachusetts Colony in New England. By the Gov^{er} and Councill.

To Samuell Pease Captn

Whereas Thomas Hawkins and Tho: Pounds with a certain number of Armed men joyned with them have piratically Surprised and Seized severall Vessells belonging unto their Majesties Subjects of this Colony and other parts of the Country and are now in a smal Sloop by them taken, crusing about and infesting of this Coast to the great hazard of Vessells comeing in or going out upon their lawfull imployment. And forasmuch as you are appointed Cap^{tn} of the Sloop Mary, Now fitted out and man'd with twenty able seamen for their Majesties Service to Secure their Majesties Subjects and their Vessells passing in and out about their lawfull Occasions and to Suppress the said Pirates, These are in their Maj^{ties} Names to Authorise and impower you said Cap^{ne} Samuell Pease with yor afores^{d} Vessell and men to go forth in the Prosecution of the s^{d} designe and to cruze upon this Coast for the discovery of s^{d} Pirates and them finding to surprise and Seize and the vessell they are in and bring them with you to Boston that they may be secured in order to their being proceeded against according to law. And in case they make opposition and resistance against you you are by force of Armes to Subdue and bring them under your power; Commanding you^{r} Officers and Seamen to Obey you as their Captain and to observe your

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxxxi. 80.

lawfull Commands, And you to Observe and Obey all such Orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from the Govern^{r} and Councill. In Testimony whereof the common Seale of the aboves^{d} Colony is hereto affixed. Dated the 30 day of Sep^{er} 1689. And in the 1st year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady W^{m} & mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England S$^{\&c}$ Signed

S. BRADSTREET Govr

Past in Councill

Is^{A} ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}.[1]

XVI

Declaration of Samuell Pease, Master & Henry Lowder, Mate, Ship Fortune, belonging to the his Highness Frederick Casmire, Duke of Courland, July 19, 1689, to the Governor & Councill.

Shipped in New England[2] in the service of the Duke, bound for Madera, then Isle of May to load salt, and then to Tobago for pay and clearance to Courland or home, At Isle of May found Englishmen from Plymouth O. E. lately robed of their ship and all but their lives by a French Man of War and a Pyrat. French intended to take Tobago. Sailed to Barbados and their met Mr Allex. Faber Agent to the Duke & ye next man to the Governor of Tobago who prevailed upon us to wait there for news from Tobago. An English Ship from there informed us that the Inhabitants intended to force us to carry them to Martineco or elsewhere; advised with Coll. Salter and Governor Stead, decided to return to New England; asking permission to dispose of enough of our salt for victuals &c. Signed, and sworn before Them, by Pease July 23 and Lowder the 24th[3]

XVII

I Jacobus Loper aged forty years testifieth that in the time of my bringing thomas hawkins to boston prison from his pyracy heard him say that noset men ware a pasel of Roughes & that if he got Cleer at boston that he would be Revenged on them for thaire base dealing for said he they be wors pir^{ts} then pounds & Johnson and severel times he ye s^{d} hawkins urged me this deponent to Conseel him at boston or to let him goe by night or to send ye Slope to Sailem whith oysters then he might escape with ye Duch privateers he also said that if the manawar

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 31. This is endorsed: "Copy of Comission, to Cap^{n} Sam^{ll} Pease Com̄and^{r} of ye Sloop Mary. 1689."

[2] "Outward bound, Nov. 23, 1688, Sam. Pease, Master, Shipp Fortune, Coland, 200 tons, 12 guns, 20 men, Tobago" (Massachusetts Archives, vii. 60).

[3] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 229. This is an abstract.

Slope had com out against them the most of ye Company had bin on thaire Side: & further Said that Capt gorge fitted him out I told him that Sartinly he was desind to goe Aprivateering before he went out; else why did he make a deed of Gift to his mother & tell me & others that that lettell boate he would turn her intoe a biger vessell he ye s^d^ hawkins said that he did not [say] that thay would have gon to Robbing and taking vessels of our oen nation with out Commition I this deponent asked him whaer did you intend to get Commision his answer was we intended to get Commition at S^t^ thomases then s^d^ I did you meen to Goe theather with your lettel boate: he was upon this Surprised & wholly Silent: I ferther told him that it apeerd by his words that he would first take a biger vessell as he before said & did: & that he was a foole & would hang him self by his much discorce then he answered, by God thay kant hang me for what has bin don for no blood has bin shed to the above truths I subscribe

JACOBUS LOPER.[1]

XVIII

humphry Turner Aged twenty Sixe yeares testifieth: that he being on Bord of Jacobus Lopers Slope whaer also oen Thomas hoawkins was: whiy^ch^ S.d. Loper was a bringing him to boston & in ye time of his being on S.d. board: I this Deponent after much discours heard S.d. hawkins Say that noset men were a crew of Roughs & (if he ever gott cleer at boston from this troble that is now on him as he did not question but he should) that he would com op with them for theire base Deeling with him & further heard him Say that he would fain Cepe privet at boston till he did know by his frinds how it would Goe with him but Said he, I know that Loper will Deliver me up to the othority: I this deponent Said to him ye Sd hawkins to try him that I did not question but that Mr Loper would let me goe with ye Slope to Sailem with oysters & there he mite have an oppertunity to Goe on bord the manawar thaire: & upon this ye S.d. hawkins urged mee severel times to spake to Loper to let him be on bord & to kepe him privet til we mite goe to Sailem that then he might Escape withe the duch man of war and further heard y^e^ .S.d. hawkins Say that pounds & Johnson whisht sevverel times that ye manawar Slope would com out for thay knew that ye most of them that would Com in hur would be on theire Side & then thay Shuld have hur: further I heard him often expres himself in maney Reviling & Spitefull words ageinst noset peple: for y^t^ which I this deponent heard Mr Loper Reprove him Saying that there was yet a Revengefull Spiret in him

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539:13.

which would bring him to Ruine &c loper asked him whather ware you desind at your furst Going out ye S.d. hawkins answ^d^ to St. thomeses: with maney swaring & cursing Speeches his Cheefest discorse wass: to the trouth of this above S.d. I know &: am Ready to testify toe when caled —[1]

XIX

BOSTON 23^d^ October, 1689

Wee ye Subscribers being appointed by ye Honor^d^ Govern^r^ and Counsel to prize a Sloope and what was Taken in her from Pirats by ye late Capt Pease & Comp^a^ value them as followeth

		£ s d
Imprim a Sloope & all her furniture wth a pcell of boards in ye floor . .		80:00:00
36 Barrells and half of porke	att	73:00:00
3 Barrells of Beefe	att	03:00:00
14 Casks and 1/3 of flour	att	15:08:00
3 Barrells of Indian Corne	att	00:16:00
3 Barrells of pease	att	01:10:00
3 Barrells muscovad Sugar	att	06:06:00
6 ferkins of butter	att	09:00:00
4 Cheeses		00:10:00
½ hhd of salt		00:06:00
½ Barrell Trayne Oyle		00:17:00
2 Small Barrells Tarr		00:07:00
15 Musketts, Shatter'd and a Barrell		10:10:00
6 old Swords and 3 Baggonetts		01:10:00
powder		01:05:00
Lead		00:16:00
a pcell of old Iron		00:09:06
8 Caduce boxes		00:16:00
a broken case of bottles		00:08:00
1 box of books paper and instruments		02:10:00
		209:04:06

TYMOTHY PROUT Senr
DANIEL EDWARDS
ADAM WINTHROP[2]

XX

William R.

Trusty and Welbeloved, We Greet you well, Whereas we have been made acquainted by Our Comissio^rs^ for Executing the Office of Lord High Admirall, with the Complaint made to them by Capt. George Comander of our frigat the Rose, that he had not Onely been put under

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2539:7.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 61.

restraint on Shore but the Said Frigat disabled from our Service by the taking away of the Sails and Countenancing the Ships Company against the Comander, Whereby he had been hindred from Securing our Subjects in those Seas from Pirates, and other Enemies, infesting the Coasts of New England, and from taking Care that the Acts of Navigation be duely Observed; Notwithstanding the Assurance that had been given by Severall of the most Considerable Merch^ts^ of our Town of Boston of His Behaving himself towards us According to his Duty and Trust, We Repose in him, We do therefore Will and Require you to cause the Sailes and other Furniture of the Said Frigatt to be restored, and made good unto Him and the Same to be Put into a Condition of being employed by him, in the defence of our Subjects against Pirates and Other Enemies, And in Causing the Acts of Trade and Navigation to be duly Observed as much as in him Lyes According to Such Instructions as he hath or may receive from us, Or our Said Comissio^rs^ in that behalf, And so We bid you farewell, from Our Court at Hampton Court the 15th day of August 1689 In the first Year of our Reign

By His Majes^ties^ Command

SHREWSBURY.

To such as for the Time being take care for Preserving the Peace & Administring the Laws in Our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England on America.

Dec. 4th. 1689, [Govr & all the Magistrates &c.] Whereas for the quieting of the People, and Preventing of inconveniences then Suggested to be feared the Sails belonging to the Rose frigatt were some time Since brought on Shore and laid up to be Safely Kep't, In Obediance to his Majesties Comands in his Royall Letter given at his Majest^ies^ Court, at Hampton Court the fifteenth day of Augt Last Past, It is Ordered that all the Sails, and any other furniture, and Appurtenances belonging to the Said Frigatt now on Shore, being under the Care of Capt Timothy Proutt be forthwith restored and delivered unto the Order of Captn John George Commander of Said Frigatt This by the Govern^r^ and Councill.[1]

XXI

Whereas Captn Samuel Pease did voluntarily expose himselfe in the Service of their Majesties & this Countrey, in the late Expedition against the pirates, who infested the Coast, & did much damage to their Maties Subjects here, in which Expedition he lost his life, & hath left a widow, & foure Orphans in a poore & lowe Condition It is Recomended to the

[1] General Court Records, vi. 90.

ministers of the Severall Towns in this Colonie, to make a Collection in their respective Congregations for the releife of the S^d^ Widow & Orphans; & paying for the Cure of Two of the Companie, belonging to the S^d^ Captn that were wounded in the S^d^ Service, the money that shalbe gathered, to be putt into the hands of Majo^r^ Generalle Waite Winthrop & Mr Adam Winthrop, to be Improved for the ends afores^d^, as they shall Judge meete,

Boston Decemb^r^ 4th 1689 Past in the affirmative by the Representatives Desiring the Govern^r^ & Magestrates Consent

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk

Past by ye Magistrates

JA. RUSSELL p order.[1]

XXII

To the Honrable Simon Broadstreet Governer & Councill & Representatives An Account of the Prisson Charges June ye 27, 1689

	£ s d
To 4lb of Candles	00:02:00
To mending handcufs & Chaines	00:06:00
To 6lb of Candles	00:03:00
To the Cleansing of ye houses office	02:00:00
To new glase & mending of Glas	00:13:00
To 3 Coard of woode	01:06:00
To mending of ye dungeon	00:07:00
To 1 Keye for ye Prisson	00:01:06
To meddicens for the wounded men	00:09:00
To money Paide for dressing ye wounded men	00:18:00
To shackles & Chaines & Rivetts ffor ye Pirotts	01:10:00
July ye 17th To one Indian Keeping a month	00:15:00
To one Keeping more five weeks	00:17:06
witch Comes to in all	09:08:00

The above acc^tt^ is allowed by the Representatives an y^t^ the Tresurer do pay the prison Keep^r^ wth as much speed as may be wth Convenienty

Dec^br^ 16th 1689 past by the Representatives in the affirmative desireing the Honble Govr & Councills consent

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk

Consented by the Councill

Attest^r^ JS^A^ ADDINGTON Sec^ry

die predict[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 117.

[2] xxxv. 125.

XXIII

Edward Randolph to Anthony Brockholes

[Boston] Common Goal Dec. 28, 1689.

Capt George received orders to go for England and convoy home ye 2 masts ships, arrived at Piscataqua; he has laid his ship by ye wharfe, taken out her gunns and powder (a very scarc comodity here) I feare he will meet with trouble from his men, when he cannot keep them aboard, and ye same men who made them mutiny before, are as ready (as ever) to ye like or worse damage to him and his ship upon ye first occasion. . . .[1]

XXIV

Jan^ry^ 3^d^ 89

Gent^n^

Their Maties Shipp Rose being now come to the Wharfe, I send this to give you an Acc^t^ of Three or Four prison^rs^ I have on board which cannot be safely kept while the Shipp Lyeth there, wherefore my desire is you'^d^ send an order to the prison keeper of Boston directing him to receive them into his care and there to hold them, untill I have an opportunitie of taking them on board their Maties said Shipp againe This being all y^t^ now offer from

Gent^n^
Your friend & bro:
Jo: George.[2]

XXV

To the Honble Simone Broadstreet Govr & Councill & Representa —

The humble Petiõn of John Arnold Prison Keeper humbly sheweth to you^r^ Honno^r^ the Names and the Account of those Prissoners which have been Committed by you^r^ honno^r^

Your humble Petiõner humbly Prayeth that your honn^r^ would be Pleased to Concider my Condition i am now above fifty Pounds out of Purse & have not Penny to Pay besides my sallere I am dayly at Verry great Charge for the maintainance of the Prissoners humbly Requesting that your honno^r^ would be mindefull of me who is your humle servant to Command

John Arnald

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[1] Andros Tracts, iii. 236.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 159.

	£ s d
Ap^{ll} 21st 89 Hugh Stone	
To 32 weeks	04:00:00
Edmond Angeir	
To 32 weeks	04:00:00
mary Glover	
To 32 weeks	04:00:00
Will Tomblin	
To 16 weeks	02:00:00
Will Niff	
To 10 weeks	01:05:00
Will Bennet	
To 10 weeks	01:05:00
Thomas Hawkins	
To 7 weeks	00:17:06
To Keeping 14 Pirotts 5 weeks	08:15:00
To ye ffees of these Prisoners	05:10:00
	31:12:06
November ye 25th 1689 An Account Given into yor honno^{r} before & which Past both houses of Cash Laid oute	09:08:00

The above account allowed by the Representatives & the Cuntrey Treasurer & County treasurer to pay it as the Law directs

4th Jany 1689–90

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk[1]

XXVI

To the Honnorable Simone Broadstreet Govern^{r} & Councill & Representatives —

An Account of the Remaineing Prisoners & Charges since ye 25th of November

	£ s d
To Hugh Stone five weeks	00:12:06
To Edmond Anger Ditto	00:12:06
To Mary Glover Ditto	00:12:06
To Will Tomblin Ditto	00:12:06
To Will Niff Ditto	00:12:06
To 14 Pirotts Ditto	08:15:00
To ye man that dyed in Goal 3 weeks	00:07:06
To 5 Pirotts that Came in last	03:02:06
To Martin William, Coyner 6 weeks	00:15:00
To 2 Keeys for ye prison	00:03:00
To Irons for Jordan	00:12:00
To Irons for ye Last pirotts	01:00:00
To 10 Coard of wood at 8^{s} per Coard	04:05:00
To 1 Coffin & other Expences	00:15:00
To the Keeping of ye Prison 6 months & seven days	20:00:00
	39:11:04

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 95.

The above acc^{tt} is allowed by the Representatives & Cuntry Tresurer & County tresurer to pay it as the Law Directs 4th Jany 1689/90

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk.[1]

XXVII

Boston in the Massachusetts ss.

The Jurors for o^{r} Sou^{n} Lord & Lady William & Mary by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France & Ireland King & Queen defenders of the Faith — Doe present That Thomas Pound of Boston aforsaid Marine^{r} upon Fryday the Ninth day of August 1689 & in the first yeare of ther Majesties Reigne upon the high Seas that is to say about three Leagus from half way Rock in the Massachusetts Bay Then & their upon the Catch Mary of Salem Hellen Chard master and upon the said Master & Men being in Number about ffive of his Maj^{ties} Leage People then & their in the King & Quens peace being upon their lawfull Occasions with fforce & Armes An Assault did Make and as a ffelon & Pirat with Swords & Guns did enter And the Said Master & his Company in great ffear of Body put, And the Said Katch with all hir apurtenances & loading of ffish being of the Vallue of Sixtie pounds of ye Goods & Chattells of their Majesties Leige People, from the Said Master ffellonously & piratically tooke & Carry^{d} away, And Soe the Juriors aforesaid upon their Oaths doe Say that the Said Thomas Pound upon the high Seas aforesaid upon the day & yeare aforesaid in Maner & forme aforsaid the Said Katch Mary & her loading of ffish from the Said Master did ffelonously take & Carry away Contrary to the peace of o^{r} Sou^{n} Lord & Lady the King & Quene their Crown & dignity And the Laws & Statutes in that Case provided & Made, &c.

Billa Vera Bernard Trott fore man in ye name of ye rest Jany ye 8th 1689–0.

Boston 10th January 1689. Tho. Pound being arraigned at ye Court of Assistants thereto pleaded not guilty and put himselfe on Tryal by God and the Country

Attest^{r} Js^{A} ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}[2]

XXVIII

Boston ss.

The Jurors for o^{r} Sou^{n} Lord & Lady Willm & Mary By the grace of God of England, Scotland, France & Ireland King & Quene & defenders of the Faith Doe psent that Thomas Pound of Boston afors^{d} Mariner

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 96.

[2] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2538: 9.

upon the 27th day of August 1689 in the first yeare of their Majesties Reigne — Upon the high Seas that is to Say in Martins Vineyard Sound Then & Their upon the Briganteen Marymack of Nubury John Kent Master then & their with his Company in the King & Queens peace about their lawful occasions being An Assault did make & the Said Brigenteen with force & Armes did enter & the Said Master & Company in great fear of Body putt, and Out of the Said Briginteen of the goods & Chattells of their Majesties Leige people, that is to Say eighteen half barrells of flower two hogsheads of Sugar one hogshead of Rhum & three Small Armes to the Vallue of Forty pounds Fellonously & Piratically from the Said John Kent did take & Carry away, And Soe ye Jurors Upon their oaths doe Say that Thomas Pound aforsaid upon the high Seas aforsaid upon the day & yeare aforsd in manner & forme aforsaid the said Brigenteen did enter & as A Fellon & Pirate from the Said Master The Flower, Sugar Rhum & Small arms to the Vallue of Forty pounds as aforesaid Fellonously did take & Carry away Contrary to the peace of or Soun Lord & Lady the King & Queen their Crown & dignity and the Lawes & Statutes in that behalfe made & provided &c.

Billa Vera Bernard Trott fore man In ye [name of] ye Rest Jany 8 1689–0.

Boston. 11o January 1689 Thomas Pound being arraigned in Court upon this Indictmt upon reading the same thereto pleaded guilty

Attestr IsA ADDINGTON Secry [1]

XXIX

John Kent Master of the Briganteen Merrimack of Newbury and Johnathan Woodman (of full age) one of ye Company belonging to sd Briganteen Sworn Say That upon the twenty seventh day of August, 1689, comeing with sd Briganteen from New Yorke through Marthas Vineyard Sound bound for Boston they were chased by a Sloop and comeing to Anchor in Homes hole in ye Evening of ye aforesd day; the said Sloop came to anchor by them and put abroad a red flagg at ye head of their Mast and the sd John Kent was comanded on board said Sloop and about Ten men armed of ye sd Sloops Company went in ye Boat of said Sloop on board ye Briganteen and haled her to ye Sloops Side and forceably took out of sd Briganteen twenty halfe barrells of Flower two hogsheads of Sugar and one hogshead of Rhum and three small fire arms which they took into ye sd Sloop and carryed away with them, there being about five and twenty men in number on board sd

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2537: 6.

Sloop most of them armed. Eleazer Buck being one of said Sloops Company then on board, said Eleazer Buck being now a prisoner at ye Barr, who at that time said he was enticed away on a pretence of goeing against ye French

Boston. 13° January 1689. JOHN KENT
Sworn in Court of Assistants JONATHAN WOODMAN
Attest^r^ Is^A^ ADDINGTON Sec^ry^ [1]

XXX

The Deposition of John Pickett aged thirty Yeares or thereabout mast^r^ of the Sloope Brothers Adventure of New London and Stephen Lomar aged Thirty Seven Years or thereabout mate of s^d^ Sloop, Testify and Say, That on the First day of Octob^r^ 1689 being Tuesday and rideing att an Anchor in Homes hole Bound for Boston from New London afores^d^ and Loaden with provisions, haveing beene Forced by Badd weather to an anchor, came to Saile the said Tuesday about Seaven of the Clock in the morning and about nine came up to them a Pirats boat knowne by the name of Capt Pounds Boate and Boarded them with Seaven men and Commanded their helme by force to steere [th]em to the Said Pirates Sloope that Lay off, and when neere them brought them to an anchor, and then more of ye Piratts Company came on board in their Boate, and declared that they wanted Provisions and took out of them what they wanted; the particulars to what att present they know is taken away as followeth, Viz^t^ Thirty Seaven barrells of Porke, three barrells of beeife, Eleven bushells of Pease in one sack, Seaven firkins of Butter, nineteen or Twenty Cheeses, Six Barrells of Indian Corne, and what quantity in Baggs ye piratts carried away not yet knowne, with Severall other things wch belong to ye s^d^ Sloop and Farther Say not

JOHN PICKETT
STEPHEN LOMER

John Pickett & Stephen Lomar psonally Appeared And made Oath to ye Truth of what is above written Octob^r^ ye 7th 1689 before

JA. RUSSELL Assist [2]

XXXI

BOSTON 19th Octob^r^ 1689.

Thomas Pound Examined Saith, That about the Eighth or Tenth day of August last past in the present year, 1689, this Examinant together with twelve men more vizt Tho. Hawkins, Thomas Johnson

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2537: 8.
[2] Ibid. no. 2520.

Henry Dipper, Richard Griffin, Richard Hodges, Eleazer Buck, William Dun, Daniel Lander, Samuel Watts, William Warren, John Sickadan and Benj^{a} Blake a Boy, Seven of them being Armed, went off from Boston in Thomas Hawkins his Boat, tooke water at the South End of the Town neer the Signe of the Bull, haveing agreed and combined together, to take the first Vessell they should come up withall and go away to the West Indies to make a Voyage against the ffrench, went from Boston upon a Thursday about one aclock in the morning, and Sayled into the Bay, and the next day being Friday about three aclock Spake wth a Sloop belonging to Nantasket, and bought some ffish of the men that Sayled in said Sloop, when they came neer up with said Sloop, they kept all the men in Hawkins his Boat close save ffive who pretended to be affishing, two or three houres afterward they came up with a ffishing Katch belonging to Salem one Chard master, and boarded her, and tooke the said Katch, and put three of the Katches men into Hawkins his Boat and sent them on shoar, the other two of the Katches men were willing to Stay and go in the Katch.

The Examin't further Saith that they Sailed with said Katch to Casco to water and upon arrival there two of the Garrison Souldiers came off in a Canoe on board the Katch and told us they would go along with us, vizt Jno Lord & James Daniel, and said they would go ashoar and fetch some more men, and accordingly in the night said two men with ffive more came on board the Katch bringing with them their Cloths and Armes and So they Sayled with said Katch the same day from Casco toward Cape Cod, and came to anchor off the highland of the Cape, and rode all night, the next morning they Espyed a Sloop at anchor neer to them, and sent our Boat with seven or Eight armed men and tooke the said Sloop whereof one Stephen Cross was master, the Sloop belonging to Piscataqua and was laden with deale boards, and then this Examin't and his Company went into said Sloop, and put the Sloop's Company into the Katch and sent them away, And put in with said Sloop to Cape Cod, and some of the Company went ashore (whereof Tho: Hawkins was one), and killed ffour Shoats, and wooded and watered, and then Sayled to Martyn's Vineyard Sound, and on or about the twentyeth day of August met with a Briganteen belonging to Newbury, John Kent master from New Yorke, and sent the Boat with ffour or ffive hands on board said Briganteen, and brought her neer to o^{r} Sloop's side, out of which Briganteen wee tooke Eighteen halfe barrels of Flower, two hogsheads of Sugar and one hogshead of Rhum, and three small Armes and so dismist the Briganteen. After which Sayling through the Sound with the wind blowing hard at North

North East wee were forced to Virginia and went into Yorke River where we were kept by Easterly winds Seven or Eight dayes, two English men and a Negro came on board us in a Float and came away with us; the said men brought with them a peice of black Searge and some yards of Linnen Cloth and an old Mison Saile and some Gaules, the men were named John Gidins and Edward Browne. From Virginia wee came back into the Sound, and at Tarpolin Cove met with a Barque blonging to Salem riding in said Cove William Lord master, and went on board her and bought an Anchor of him for which paid a Cask of Sugar about ffour hundred weight and sold to said Lord ye Negro wee brought from Virginia at the price of twelve pounds for which he drew a bill upon Blaney at Elizabeth^s^ Island. Then wee came over the Sholes in company of Lord's Barque, as far as Cape Cod, and the Boat going on shoare there Hawkins left us. Afterwards upon a Saturday night about three weekes since wee Espyed a Sloop and weighed and gave chace to her and brought her to anchor under the Cape, who said they came from Pensilvania, enquired of them whither or no they had any Porke on board, they saying that they had none wee dismist them, and wee went back again over the Sholes, and at Homes his Hole met with a Sloop riding there one John Picket master from new London (as he said) out of which Sloop wee tooke thirty nine barrells of Porke and Beife, Seven firkins of Butter, Thirteen cheeses, three barrels of Indian Corn and Eight bushells of Pease. From thence wee removed to Tarpolin Cove, there lay about fforty Eight houres intending for Corazo, and upon ffriday the ffourth day of October instant, Cap^ne^ Samuel Pease Comander of a Sloop from Boston came up towards us, and wee came to Saile, and stood away, but Capt^ne^ Pease out Sayled us and fired severall Shot towards us but did not strike our Vessell, wee descried their King's Jack before they ffired; after wee had received severall Shot from the s^d^ Sloop there was a red fflagg put up at the head of our Mast, and our men fired at them, and wee continued fireing one at another about the space of an hour, this Examinant received two Shot one under his Ribs and another in the Arme, ffour of our men were slain and nine wounded. Thomas Hawkins was many times on shoar at severall places at Elizabeth Islands, Cape Cod and Casco, and was never restrained or confined on board as a Prisoner. Afterwards Pound said that Dun, Lander, Warren & Watts came on board Hawkins his Boat in Cap^ne^ Edwards his Boat in ye Broad Sound.

THOMAS POUND.

This Examina^con^ taken ye day and year first above written before the Governo^r^ and Sundry of the Magistrates met at the Town house in Boston, Signed by s^d^ Pound.

IS^A^ ADDINGTON.

William Dun, Daniel Lander, Samuel Watts and William Warren, Examined Say, that these Examinants went in Company of Thomas Pounes and others in Thomas Hawkins his Boat, lookt at Poune to be their Comandr and were along with him from the time of his going from Boston sometime in the beginning of August 1689, until the time they were taken by Captne Pease, and were belonging to him and assisting at the Seising and robing of all the Vessells.[1]

XXXII

Boston Octobr ye 4th 1689.

Thomas Hawkins examined sayth that on ye eighth day of August last abt 11h at night he went out from heare with five men besides himself Vzt Thos Pounds Thos Johnson Eliazer Buck John Siccadam Richd Griffin a Gunsmith & Benj Blake a boy intending for Nantaskett & there to put ye five aforementioned on shoar for wch they had payd him before 2s 6p money & wn yey came to Long Island they brought him to anchor & rid yr till morning, then they told him they wd goe out afishing with him & when yey came nere Lovells Island they heard men launching a boat & sayd there they ar, & yn a boat came off to ym & layd ym on board, being five of ym, vzt, Danll Saml & William thir surnames he (not) knowing & one Wm Dun &c & yn towed his boat out to sea, & threw his fish casks overboard, Sth yt Pounds Griffin Buck & Johnson had guns; & yt ye last five had armes but know [not] what, yn yey went on board a Nantaskett Sloop & bought a Rlls worth of Mackrell of ym & then stood off to sea again & he went to Sleep: ye 9th yey went aboard ye Ketch belonging to Salem Mrs name Chard & tooke her & gave his boat to three of the men & two of sd Ketches Company went with them; ye 10th day went Eastward & arrived at Cascoe how long he was going knows [not], yr yey filled water, stole a calfe & three sheep from an Island; yn yr came 7 souldiers on board of ym in ye night & Pounds with ym, yn yy cam to Cape Cod & tooke a sloop yr belonging to Piscataq. laden with boards & gave ye Sloops company the Catch to carry her home to ye Owners, yn yey hurried up into ye Sound & rid in Tarpollin Cove & yr spyed a vessell & followd her into Holms's hole wch was a Brigantine wch yey siezed & tooke out of her 20 Casks of flowr 2 hhds sugr & 1 hhd Rum & three small armes: yn filled [water] & went to Virginia to buy provitions with sd goods. yr yey heard yt ye man a war Catch was sunk & yr Frigat was going upon ye Careen, so yt yey could [not] follow ym, yr Pounds & Johnson went on shoar in ye mouth of

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlv. 216.

James River, & ye sloop lay onground 24 hours & after yey gott her onfloat tourned out again, & thought yey were chased by a sloop but outsayled her & she stood into James River again: while yey were in Virginia, two men came on board in a float named Jno Giddings & Edw. Browne, whom yey w^d^ [not] suffer to goe on shoare again y^n^ yey went on board ye sloop to wch ye s^d^ Giddings &c belonged & brought from thence a ships Mizen sayle a p^s^ searge p^s^ of Dowlas 10 Books Galls & Copperas as they told him, he being kept in ye hold most of ye time they were in Virginia wch was about 6 or 7 deyes, y^n^ came from Virginia & went into tarpollin Cove again & filled water, y^n^ came out & chased Alsops Catch into Martins Vineyard, went on board a Brig^n^ Wm Lord master & y^r^ Alsops men told y^m^ y^t^ Hawkins w^d^ be hangd if ever he came to Boston, & y^n^ yey told ye Examinent wen yey came on bord again y^t^ y^r^fore he had better stay contentedly wth y^m^, & by y^t^ means he had leave to come onshoar upon ye Cape neer ye Race point & after he was on shoare he made his escape from y^m^ & went to ye fisherman at work y^r^, & desired ye s^d^ fisherman to preserve him from s^d^ Pounds & his men in case yey sh^d^ find him, & y^n^ meeting with Mr Loper desired him to let him goe with him to Boston w^r^ he arrived y^s^ day. he further S^th^ y^t^ a Negro came on board of y^m^ while at Virginia belonging as he s^d^ to Capt Dunbar of Yorke River wch yey brought away & putt him on bord Lords ship: also y^t^ ye time he came from Pounds & his Crew was Saturday last about noone

THOMAS HAWKYNS

Examinent cap^t^ Die p^r^dict cor ELISHA COOKE Assist.[1]

XXXIII

Anno R: R^s^. et Reginae Gulielmi et Mariae p̄m^o^ Tuesday the seventh of January. 1689.

The Court met by Adjournm^t^ and sat de die in diem (Except the Sabbath) untill the seventeenth of ye same month.

Holden by Thomas Danforth Esqr Deputy Governo^r^

James Russell		John Richards	
Samuel Appelton		William Johnson	
John Hathorne	Esq^rs^	Elisha Hutchinson	Esq^rs^
Samuel Sewall		John Phillips	
John Smith		Jeremiah Swayne	

8° Jan^ry^ Severall Bills of Indictment against divers prison^rs^ for piracy and murder were comitted to the Grand jury.

[1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 2359:12.

9th. the Grand jury brought in their bills of Indictment & were dismist untill munday the 13th instant at one oclock.[1]

Thomas Pound of Boston marriner being Indicted by the Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen upon their Oath's by three severall bills of Indictment, as followeth. That is to say. 1st. That he sd Pound upon friday the ninth day of August 1689 on the high sea's vzt about three Leagues from halfe way Rock in the Massachusetts Bay, upon the Katch Mary of Salem Hellen Chard master and upon the sd. master and men with force and Armes an Assault did make And as a Felon and pirate wth swords and Guns did enter, and the sd Katch wth her appurces and Lading of Fish being the value of sixty pounds of the goods and Chattels of their Majesties Liege people from the said Master felonously tooke and carryed away &ca. 2d. Also that he said Thomas Pound upon the twenty seventh day of August 1689. on the high sea's Vzt. in martyns vineyard Sound, upon the Briganteen merrimack of Newbury John Kent master an Assault did make and with force and Armes the said Briganteen did Enter and out of the said Briganteen of the goods and Chattels of their Majesties Liege People to the value of fforty pounds feloniously & piratically from the sd. John Kent did take and carry away &ca prout in ye Indictmt. 3d. Indictmt. That the said Thomas Pound on the fourth day of October 1689. upon the high sea's That is to say, in Martyns Vineyard Sound upon the Sloop Mary of Boston then sayling under their Maties Colours and upon the Comander namely Samuel Pease and Company, then and there upon their Maties Service, said Pound being under a Red fflagg which he in defiance of their maties Authority purposely put up at the head of the mast, with force and Armes and Assault did make and with Bulletts which he out of small Gun's feloniously shott the body of the said Samuel Pease in severall places did strike and mortally wound, of which mortall wounds the said Samuel Pease did grievously languish untill the twelfth day of the said October and then of the said mortall wounds dyed. And so the said Thomas Pound of his malice forthought on the day aforesaid the said Samuel Pease in manner and forme aforesd did feloniously kill and murther contrary to the peace of our sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, their Crown and dignity, the laws of God and this Colony, —. The said Thomas Pound, being arrainged at the Barr upon Each of said Indictments severally, confes't himself guilty of the charge laid in his Second Indictment as aforesd. relating to the Briganteen Merrimack John Kent Master, unto the other two

[1] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 305.

Indictment pleaded not guilty and put himself on Tryal by God and the Country. The Jury were called and Sworn, who upon a full hearing of the Evidences sworn on behalfe of their ma^ties^ and what was said by the prison^r^ in his defence, brought in their Verdicts and found the s^d^ Thomas Pound guilty of the Felony and piracy whereof he hath been Indicted: And also guilty of the felony and murder whereof he hath been Indicted. The Court adjudged the said Tomas Pound to have the sentance of death pronounced against him (which was accordingly declar^d^ by the Deputy Govern^r^) That is to say, That he said Thomas Pound be returned to the place from whence he came and from thence be carryed to the place of Execution and there be hanged by the neck untill he be dead.

17th. Janry.

The Court likewise ordered that John Green marshall Generall cause this sentance to be executed upon the s^d^ Thomas pound — on Munday the twenty seventh of this instant January and that the secretary (being thereto by Law appointed) signe warrant for the same.[1]

23d.

17th January 1689 Present Tho. Danforth Esqr Dep^t^ Govr, John Richards, James Russell, Sam^ll^ Appleton, Wm Johnson, John Hathorne, Elisha Hutchinson, John Smith, Jonath^n^ Corwin, John Phillips, Jeremiah Sweyne

The Court Adjudged and ordered that the severall persons hereafter named tryed at this Court for their lives, That is to say Thomas Hawkins found guilty of Piracy, Thomas Pound, Thomas Johnston, Eleazer Buck John Sickterdam William Dun Richard Griffin, Daniel Lander and William Warren severally found guilty of ffelony Piracy and Murder Samuel Watts found guilty of murder. William Coward, Peleg Heath, Thomas Storey, and Christopher Knight severally found guilty of Felony and Piracy ha[ve] the Sentance of death pronounced against Each and every of them (That is to say) to be returned to the place from whence they came and from thence be carried to the place of Execution and there be hanged by the neck untill they be dead. — which Sentance was pronounced against Each of the said persons severally by the Depty. Governo^r^ They being brought and Set to the Barr.[2]

Adjourned to Thursday 23th. of January instant at nine in the morning and then met.

Present. Thomas Danforth Esqr Dep^y^ Govern^r^

Wait Winthrop
Sam^ll^ Shrimpton
Sam^ll^ Sewall Esq^s^
John Smith
Jon^s^ Corwin

John Richards
William Johnson
Elisha Hutchinson Esq^s^
John Phillips

[1] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 307–309.

[2] i. 320–321.

Ordered that Thomas Pound, Thomas Hawkins, Thomas Johnston, William Coward and Eleazer Buck ffive of the condemned prison^{rs} sentanced to be hanged, be Executed on Munday next the twenty seventh of January instant, notice thereof to be forthwith given them by the Marshall; And that John Green Marshall Generall cause the Sentance of this Court pronounced against them to be Executed upon them and every of them on Munday the 27th instant. And the Secretary (being thereto appointed by Law) to signe warrant for the same.

The Court dismist.[1]

XXXIV

To The honnorable Simone Broadstreet Esqr and Councill and Representatives

The humble Peti$\bar{c}$on of will warren Samuell wattes & Daniell Lander humbly sheweth to your honnors that wee being under the Command of Thomas Edwards Commander this Ten months Past not haveing our wages humbly Requesting that yor Honno^{r} would be Pleased to Conci$\bar{d}$er our Poore Condition Lyeing in y^{e} Goale, and that wee may have ou^{r} wages to defray ther Charges hear wee understand that he is bound Away for Sea and have not made any Compliance with us and wee being under Close Confinement not haveing the opertuni^{ty} of Lookeing after our wages humbly beg$\bar{i}$ng your honno^{rs} Assistance and your Petione^{rs} Shall for Ever Pray [2]

XXXV

To the Honble the Governo^{r} Dep^{ty} Governour, with the Worship^{ll} Magistrates now assembled in the Court of Assistants Sitting in Boston Jan^{ry} 16 1689

The Humble Petition of Daniel Launder William Warren and Samuel Watts prison^{rs} and Convicted Malefactors

Most humbly Sheweth to yor Hon^{rs}

That yor Poore afflicted and distressed Petition^{rs} and prison^{rs} having been not above seven dayes in this country (and butt two dayes after they were cleared from Capt Edwards Ship and not then rec^{d} their wages, before they were Simply beguiled and Enticed and deluded in Boston by a parcell of men Strangers to ye Petitio^{rs} (two of them by name called Eliezer Buck and Thomas Johnson) to goe against the french, telling them they had a Vessell in ye Bay fitted with provisions ammunition and hands, for said designe, judgeing to returne back in

[1] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 321–322.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 301.

Two or three Months time, upon which faire pretences (through Ingorance) not doubting of the Truth thereof, they went downe to ye Islands in their Mast^rs^ boate with Expectation to meet wth ye s^d^ Vessell fitted as afores^d^ but instead thereof went on board Hawkins Boate where were severall of the Company, wch boate plyed about ye bay ye Company told ye peticon^rs^ they Expected to meet with her butt at length Espyeing a Ketch in The Bay ye company took her the contrary to ye petition^rs^ consent who begged of them for gods sake not to meddle with any English men, acquainting y^m^ that assuredly they would Hazzard their lives, butt by no meanes could be disswaded therefrom and after the Ketch was taken they went to Casco Bay (pretending to y^r^ peticon^rs^ that they were to Stay on board ye s^d^ Vessell till they got on board ye Vessell fitted to goe ag^t^ ye french as afores^d^ which proved butt a sham to ye Petitio^rs^) and in Casco Bay after the company had taken a Sloope there & sent home ye Ketch, they proceeded farther till at length Taken by Capt Pease, and in the fight with him the peticon^rs^ fired not one Gun nor offered to doe the same Butt now fforasmuch as yor Peticon^rs^ Stand convicted of the Piracy and murder proved against them, and daily expect the Sentence of death to be righteously prounced upon them, Yett yor poore distressed petition^rs^, humbly praye yor hon^rs^ for Christ Sake to putt on bowells of Compassion, and y^t^ when ye Sentence is passed on them, their Maj^ties^ and yor hon^rs^ mercy may be Showne to these their poor Subjects and Objects of pitty in their distresse by repreeving them from the Sentence of Death justly demerritted for that they were soe foolishly and Ignorantly drawne to the perpetracō of that wickedness wch was never intentionally in their hearts however really committed and in soe doeing yor poore petitio^rs^ shall ever acknowledge their Maj^ties^ & yor hon^rs^ great Grace favour and clemency to them:

And as in duty bound shall ever pray

DANIEL LAUNDER
WILLIAM WARREN
SAMUEL WATTS [1]

XXXVI

24 January 1689 Present the Deputy Govr [&c.]

Agreed that this Convention be henceforth termed a General Court and be Accounted such in all Respects.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty The humble Address, and Petition of the Govern^r^ and Council and Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay Conveyed in General Court, at Boston

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 150.

May it Please Your Majesty We have been Hon^{d} with the receipt of Y^{r} Maj^{ties} Several Gracious Letters of the 30th of July, the 12th & fifteenth of Augt last past and do with all humble and hearty thankfulness Acknowledge the goodness of God in the Favour, We have found in Your Maj^{ties} Gracious Acceptance, and Answer of our former Addresses, And that Y^{or} Majes^{tie} has been graciously Pleased to Authorise and empower us to Continue the Administration of the Govern^{t} over Y^{r} Colony; Which We humbly informed Yo^{r} Maj^{ty} we were in the exercise of according to our Charter Rules. Your Maj^{tys} Command relating to the Rose Friggat were forthwith Observed, and Your Other Comands for the Sending home Sr Edmund Andros, and others alike Seised, and under Confinem^{t} are now attended by this first Opportunity of Shipping, We have also dispatch'd some Gent^{n} from hence to wait upon Your Matie with this our Address have impowered them; together with some others upon the Place (already concerned for us) to manage our Affairs On whose behalf We humbly Supplicate Your Maties favour. We are Sensible, That there are those, who have been Industrious to inkindle, and forment disturbances among us that they might have Plausible Pretences to Misrepresent us, wch Carriage is the Less Surprising to us, when we reflect upon many of their Words, and Actions manifesting their disatisfacion to the Alteration of the Govern^{t} in England. We also crave Leave humbly to Acquaint Your Maj^{ty} That Several ill Men combining together have Coimtted divers felonies and Piracys, and that we might Put some Stop to their progress in so fatal a Design, We were Necessitated to grant Comissions to Suppress, bring in, and Secure them; In wch enterprise the Captn Commissioned for that Service was Slain and four of the Pirates, Notwithstanding w^{ch}, and during the imprisonment of the Remainder, Others were so insolently hardy as to Surprise and run away with another Vessell, and her Cargo. These daring Mischiefs constrained us for the Necessary Preservation of the Peace, after Tryall, and Condemnation, to Order the Execution of Some of the Instigators and Leaders of those Enemies of Mankind, for the deterring others from the like Intollerable Practices Having Confidence that what hath been done in that regard will be no way Offensive to Your Maj^{ty} We humbly Supplicate Yo^{r} Maj^{tys} farther Grace and favour for the Continuation and Confirmation of our Anc^{t} Charter Rights and Priviledges both Civil and Sacred For the obtaining of which the Estates and Lives of Our Fathers, & Predecessors were expended. . . .

May Your Maj^{ty} have a Long and Prosperous Reign So Prays, Your Maj^{ties} very Loyal, & Dutyfull Subjects and Humble Suppliants, The Govern^{r} and Council, and Representatives of Y^{r} Colony of the Massa-

chusets Signd Simon Bradstreet Govr Boston Jany 24th 1690. The above written Address was voted and Agreed by the whole Court.[1]

XXXVII

The Governour and Councill of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

To all unto whom these presents shall come Greeting &c^{a}

Know ye That Whereas Captain Samuel Pease and Lieutenant Benjamin Gallop did voluntarily Offer and haveing received Co^{m}ission from the Governour and Councill of the aboves^{d} Colony did Expose themselves with their Company in an Expedition for the Suppression of Pirates that infested this Coast and had Surprized taken and plundered severall Vessells and Goods belonging to their Majesties Liege People; which Expedition (allthough the said Cap^{ne} Pease therein lost his life) was attended with that good Success that the said Captain and Company Subdued the said Pirates and divers of them together with the Sloop or Vessell wherein they Sayled and severall of the Goods by them taken as afores^{d} were by the said Lt Gallop and Company brought into the Port of Boston in ye month of October last past. Whereupon Proclamation was publickly made for the Persons claiming the s^{d} Vessell or Goods to appear and shew forth their claims by a Set time and to Agree with the said L^{t} & Comp^{a} for Salvage of ye same: And some principally concerned in the Vessell appearing & refusing to pay the Salvage demanded the time prefixed being now long since elapsed

The Govr & Councill do declare that the s^{d} Lt Ben Gallop & Company for their hazard Loss time & Expense in the recovering of S^{d} Vessell and Goods out of the hands of ye Pirates do very well deserve the s^{d} Vessell and goods Or the full value and worth thereof

Signed S. Bradstreet Govr

15° ffeb^{ry} 1689–90.[2]

XXXVIII

Feb. 20, 1689–90. Present Thomas Danforth Esqr Dep^{y} Govern^{r} Major Winthrop, Major Richards, Coll^{o} Shrimpton, Mr Russell, Mr Johnson, Mr Hathorne, Mr Hutchinson, Capt Sewall, Capt Smith Mr Corwin, Major Phillips

Upon Reading the Petition of Thomas Hawkins found guilty of Piracy, at the Last Court of Assistants for this Colony, and sentenced to be Put

[1] General Court Records, vi. 106.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 238.

to Death, Humbly Praying the ffavour of this Court, The Court do remitt the S^d^ Sentence of Death unto the Said Thomas Hawkins, and he paying the Charges of the Prosecution and Imprisonm^t^, his release from Prison is hereby Ordered. The Magistrates Ordered that the Said Thos Hawkins pay Twenty [silver] Marks [1] in Money for the Charges of His Prosecution and imprisonment. . . .[2]

Voted that William Warren be remitted the Sentence of Death, which was justly Passed upon Him by the Last Court of Assistants, for Felony, Piracy and Murder, And paying the Charges of his Prosecution, and imprisonment his release from Prison is hereby Ordered. The Magistrates Order that Said Willm Warren Pay to the Treasurer Twenty Marks in Money for Charges of Prosecution & Imprisonment [as also Samuel Watts, Daniel Lander, Richard Griffin, John Sickterdam, Eleazer Buck and William Dunn].[3]

XXXIX

An acc^t^ of the Fight between the Rose ffrigatt and a ffrench Man of War off of Cape Sables.

New England.

We left Piscataqua the 19th of May and on the 24th of same off of Cape Sables were chased by a ffrench Man of Warr of 30 Guns full of Soldiers for Port Royall or Canada, Our Convoy, Capt George when the Enemy came up under English Colours hailed him Thrice & answer'd me tell you by and by, Imediatly put Abroad his ffrench Colours and fired a broad side on the Rose and not less than 300 small armes, the Rose made close to him, & then gave him his Fire to good purpose, and Our Ship Capt Clark on his Quarter, we continued an Obstinate fight at half Musquett shott distance near 2 hours, Capt Holmes having only Two Guns stood off, the Rose had her Mizzon shott down, her Ensign, her sailes and Rigging much Torn but so Bored ye ffrench Man's sides that his Ports were made Two or three into one it was almost quite Calm, else we had Run Thwart him with our head, and possibly might have sent him Low enough but we had not winde enough, so we Lay on his Quarter which we fired, that he was necessitated to cutt down and Cast into ye Sea wch was so much as to burn in Our View half an hour as it floated in ye Sea We saw his Capt and Lieu^t^ fall & believe we could

[1] £ 13. 6. 8. Coles's Dictionary (London, 1701) gives the value of a mark silver as worth 13s 4d, and of a mark gold as 33s 4d. See Sewall's Diary, i. 202 note.

[2] General Court Records, vi. 116.

[3] vi. 119–120.

not Kill less then a hundred of his men, his Tops were full of Grenadiers & ffuzees wch we saw fall like Pidgeons and Multitudes of his men Slaughtered on his Decks, we had taken him for Certain would Our heavy Ship have workt, but he was a quick Sailor and so gott away Capt Georg and Mr Wiggoner Slaine with Muskett shott, 5 Comon men more were slain, 7 desperately wounded Mr Maccarty's man Michael lost his arm, Paul Main, Sam Mixture and Tho: Hawkins the Pirate amongst the slain, we had none kill'd or wounded on Board us save only a dogg kill'd. We had only Two Guns 15 Musqetts 30 Men. Our Canvas and Riggin wounded with their Chain Shott and Ball [1]

XL

An abstract out of severall Letters Rec^d^ from New England by a small Vessell from Road Island, one Mr John Strainge master, written to Thomas Brinley

Boston July the 7th 1690

An abstract of a Letter from Thence in the same vessell.

There has lately been on our Coast a french Privateere or Pirot of 26 Guns come from St Malo's in January has taken 13 sayle of vessells and gone to St Peter's at New foundland: this same vessell about five or six weeks agoe mett as they say with Capt George 200 Leagues off this Coast with two mast men Engaged Capt George four hours found him to strong for him ran for itt; ye Capt says he tooke Perticular aim att a Command^r^ on the Deck (who was brandishing his sword and Encouraging his men) & shott him downe; soe that tis concluded here twas Capt George; wch god forbid, I wish he may live to appeare at White hall this french man lost 12 men & 30 wounded saies had he received a broad side more he had beene taken, complains that Capt Clarke fell on his quarter & Raked him fore & aft wounded a great many of his men.

There is talke of a garrison lost at Exeter, Piscataqua and two foot Company's cutt off by the Indians, wee are Encompassed with troubles.[2]

XLI

Falmouth July ye 8th 1690.

Honoured S^r^

Its my duty to Acquaint you of my Arrivall here with some Proseedings of new England sence your departure. That upon ye 17th of May last ye Indians with severall french did sett upon Casco and burnt

[1] Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), Phips, i. 31.

[2] Ibid. i. 55.

ye fort and towne and tooke all before them Carrying away men women & Childering and did send into Piscataqua that they would be there suddenly; samon falls taken Major frost besett and all ye Rest of ye Province of Maine Deserted Yorke Excepted: I am afraid that this Sommer they will doe a greate deale of danage moore then thay can expect if they have not Releife from England, its the Generall descourse but they make little Resistance nor take any care, Upon ye 19 of may we sailed and 40 Lea SE by E^t^ from Cape Sables ye 24th of May: we mett a french man of Warr of 30 Gunns who came along our side and bid us strike for ye King of france and fired a broadside into us, but in two hours wee satisfied him wee would not goe, disabling him in such a manner I question whether he got in to ye Shore safe, and thanks be to god lost but very few men: and Came to little damage, for Capt & Master was Killed and 3 men more and 7 men wounded: We hope in some small time to injoy ye happeynesse to Pay our Respects to you and hope shall not be out of your mind: Paul Magen dyed of his Wounds: We Remaine

S^r^

Your humble servants to Command

WM BANTON
THO: POUND

In hast to saue ye Post

S^r^

Wee humbly desire your honour to favour us with a line or two for we know not how long we shall stay here

We came with ye mast shipps

From on Board Their Majesties Ship Rose Capt Condon: Comand^r^

[*Addressed*] For Sr Edmund Andros at The Lord Cravens in Drewery Lane London.[1]

Mr. MATTHEWS also read the following communication, prepared by Mr. Roger P. McCutcheon:

AMERICANA IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS, 1648–1660

The English newsbooks had become fairly well established before either the journalists or the tradesmen awoke to the possibilities of advertising. It is true that Mercurius Britannicus on February 1, 1626,[2] mentioned as "this day published an excellent Discourse,"

[1] Gay Transcripts, Phips, i. 53.

[2] All dates are New Style, unless otherwise specified.

the Epithalium Gallo-Britannicum. This, however, was an "isolated instance." [1] Aside from such publications as achieved notoriety through condemnation by Parliament, notices of books began to appear with regularity in 1646. Since 1643, Samuel Pecke had edited A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament, a weekly newsbook of some importance, which ran (after 1649, with John Rushworth as chief editor) till 1655. Oxford had just surrendered, and Pecke paused in his discussion of the victory to recommend to his readers "a booke now in the Presse and ready to be published, entituled *Magnalia Dei Anglicana*, or *Englands Parliamentary Chronicle*, and the most exactest hitherto collected," not forgetting to name the booksellers of this "exact Narration." [2]

Press notices of this sort, printed as news, yet including the names and locations of the interested booksellers, come out frequently after this. No less than seven such notices occur in the Perfect Diurnall alone, before Henry Walker, in Perfect Occurrences for April 2, 1647, announced the Divine Right of Church Government.[3] At first no charge seems to have been made for such announcements. Editors inserted them from friendship for the booksellers, or from genuine interest in the books themselves.

In July, 1650,[4] an important change took place. The book notices were no longer printed as news items, but were placed together on the last page of the newsbook. Usually they were printed in small type, and were separated from the news by a rule. After this change, notices of books appear almost every week. It is worth mention that these advertisements usually read as "this week published," and that at first the booksellers listed books only once. By December 1, 1651, however, the same books are advertised in successive weeks as "newly extant." [5]

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[1] J. B. Williams, History of English Journalism, p. 26.

[2] Perfect Diurnall, no. 156, p. 1250, July 27, 1646. The book was written by John Vicars. Professor C. N. Greenough points out the probability that the title of Cotton Mather's great work, Magnalia Christi Americana, was modelled on this.

[3] Williams, p. 121, calls this notice of Walker's "the first practical realization" of a scheme of advertising. But Pecke's first notice antedates Walker's by nine months.

[4] Perfect Diurnall, no. 33, p. 392, July 29, 1650.

[5] Ibid. no. 104, December 8, 1651.

In 1651 advertisements of a different nature begin to appear. These are at first "lost notices;" later we find medical advertisements and professional cards. Books made up most of the advertising as late as 1655, when the Publick Intelligencer separated the books from the other advertisements.

Both in number and value, there is much variety in these early advertisements. One week's list may comprise half a dozen books; in the next issue, only a single volume may be advertised. A like variety is noticeable in the importance of the books. A series of sermons, if preached before Parliament, received as much space (and probably was rated as highly) as a tract of Milton's. Needless to say, these book notices form a valuable addition to the well known but incomplete Thomason Catalogue.[1]

Of particular interest are the notices of Americana, which appear first while book advertisements were being carried as news items, and which continue to occur after the advertisements and the news are separated. The following titles have been taken from the remarkable set of English newsbooks in the Gay Collection in the Harvard College Library.[2] Occasionally books have been included because of their connection with well-known Americana, but most of the titles bear in themselves the reason for their inclusion. The books are listed in the order of their appearance, with references to the newspapers where the advertisements occur. The references have been made especially full, since the pagination and the numbering of these early journals are often inaccurate. The advertisements are reprinted as they occur, without corrections. In addition, the dates assigned to the books by the Thomason Catalogue are included in parentheses; books which are not listed in the Thomason Catalogue are marked non-Thomason. Copies of books found in four libraries are indicated by the following abbreviations:

A = Boston Athenaeum
B = Boston Public Library
H = Harvard College Library
M = Massachusetts Historical Society

[1] In the Gay Collection alone are 1028 tracts not listed in the Thomason Catalogue.

[2] Mr. Frederick L. Gay had himself noted many of these titles, as Mr. John H. Edmonds calls to my attention. To Mr. Edmonds I am indebted for several suggestions.

1. There is newly set forth in print a briefe, but excellent Treatise, containing the Doctrine of godlinesse, or living unto God, wherein the body of Divinity is substantially, proposed, and methodically digested by way of Question and Answer, by that Reverend and learned Teacher, M. *Ja. Norton* of New England; printed for *Edmund Paxton*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Chaine neer the Doctors Commons.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 242, p. 1946, March 20, 1648.[1] (Non-Thomason.)

While this is the first *advertisement* of an American book in an English newspaper, Nathaniel Rogers's Letter discovering the Cause of Gods continuing Wrath against the Nation (copies in A B H), dated from Ipswich December 17, 1643, and printed in London in 1644, had been given considerable space in two newspapers on its publication. Rogers on p. 10 blamed the Parliamentary organ, Mercurius Britanicus, for "scornefull dishonours put upon his Majesty." Mercurius Aulicus, the royalist newsbook printed at Oxford, rejoiced that such a book had been printed in London according to order. The account reads: "The scurrility of their Pamphlets is grown so unexpressibly shameful, that the Zealots of *New-England*, do both preach and write against it, for an instance whereof be pleased to looke into a Printed Letter written by Master *Nathaniel Rogers*, now in *New-England*." Britanicus in defence admitted that he had gone far, but by way of jest, "that baiting my *Intelligence* with some sport, I might be read, as well in the *Court* as the *City*," and cited "Master Peters" and "the famous and godly Master Prynne" as worthy examples of his own course: see Mercurius Britanicus, no. 46, p. 365, August 5, 1644. The controversy was still on three weeks later: see Mercurius Britanicus, no. 49, p. 387, September 2, 1644.

2. *There is a Book intituled* Virginia, *Impartially examined of a smale price, and sould by Mr.* Bourne *on the South side of the Royal exchange, and* Mr. Mariot *next to the Kings head Tavern at the lower end of Chancery lane, which treats of* Roavoke, *now called* Carolina Virginia, *and* Maryland, *and hath the approbatien of the wisest and knowingest men to be the greatest and best foundation for this Kingdomes good, by way of Trade, that was ever yet discovered. It is a booke directing men of all conditions to the improvement of their Estates; written only and solely for the publike good by Mr.* Bullock, *And since it is not fit a booke of such a nature should be stifled: I thought good to incert it here, that all men might know where to have it.*

Perfect Diurnall, no. 301, p. 2484, May 7, 1649. (April 25, 1649, by William Bullock, Thomason.) B

Bullock was never in Virginia, as he tells us in his introduction, but in spite of the fact that he had to write the book in six nights, as he

[1] The newspapers at that time had double dates, the one cited in the text being dated March 13–20. As here printed, the date of the day of publication only is given.

says, it abounds with details of the highest interest. This is reprinted in Force's Historical Tracts, vol. iii: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1136.

The use of italics for emphasis was not a general practice in the book notices of this period.

3. And a small peece of the discription of the new World, *America* Islands and Continent, &c. by *George Gardiner* of *Peckham*, Esquire; are to be sold by *Tho. Pierrepoint*, at the signe of the *Sunne* in Pauls Church-yard.

Perfect Diurnall no. 59, p. 760, January 27, 1651. (January 6, 1650–51, Thomason.)

Gardiner's book is not in the British Museum, nor is it in Sabin.

4. *Christ the Fountaine of life*, Sundry choyce Sermons upon part of the fift Chapter of first Epistle of Saint *Iohn*, by Mr. *Iohn Cotten* of *New England*. Sold by *George Calvert* at the half Moone in Watlingstreet.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 74, last page, May 12, 1651. (June 4, 1651, Thomason.) B H

5. The Saints Digniry[1] and Duty, together with the danger of Ignorance and hardnesse, by that reverend Divine *Thomas Hooker* of *New England*, are to be sold by *Francis Eglesfield* at the Marigold in *Pauls* Church-yard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 79, last page, June 16, 1651. (July 8, Thomason.) H M

6. There is published a new impression of that excellent book Intituled, *The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened*; Preached in *Concord* in *New England*, by *Peter Bulkeley*, sometimes fellow of Saint *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and are to be sold by *Tho. Kembe* at the *Harrow* in *Duck-lane*, and *Andrew Kembe* at St. *Margarets* Hill.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 97, p. 1388, October 20, 1651. (Non-Thomason.) A B H M

The first edition was in 1646 (B M). This was Bulkeley's most famous work. Tyler, in his History of American Literature, i. 217, calls it "one of those massive, exhaustive, ponderous treatises into which the Puritan theologians put their enormous Biblical learning."

7. Also the Jewes Synagogues, a Treatise concerning the ancient Orders and manner of worship used by the Jewes in their Synagogue Assemblies, gathered out of the Jewish Rabines, and such moderne Authors, as have beene most conversant in the study of Jewish customes. By *Will. Pinchton* of Pringefeild in New England. . . . sold by *I. Bellamy* at the three Lyons in Cornehill by the Exchange.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 102, p. 1468, November 24, 1651. (December 31, 1652, Thomason.) B H M

All copies are dated 1652.

8. Americans no Jews, or improbabilities that the Americans are of that race, by *Hamon L'Estrange* Knight, printed for *Hen. Seile* over against Dunstans Church Fleetstreet.

[1] Misprint for "Dignity."

Perfect Diurnall, no. 103, p. 1502, December 1, 1651. (October 5, 1651, Thomason.) H

The Harvard copy is dated 1652. The author was Sir Hamon L'Estrange (1583–1654), though the book is "often erroneously attributed to his son," Hamon (1605–1660) (Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, xi. 994). It is a rejoinder to Thomas Thorowgood's first tract, Jewes in America (1650), and was answered by Thorowgood in 1660.

9. There is newly published a Book intituled, The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody; or a Rejoynder to Mr. *Cottons* Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience. . . . printed for *Giles Calvert* at the Black spred Eagle neer the West end of Pauls.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 133, p. 1956, June 28, 1652. (April 28, 1652, Thomason.) B H

A part of the controversy between Williams and Cotton, which had begun in 1644. Professor Gammell in his Life of Williams calls this unusually mild for a controversial work: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1196.

10. There is newly published, The City[1] Magistrates power in matters of Religion debated and impartially stated according to bounds and grounds of Scripture, and all objections answered. *With an answer to a Pamphlet called, Ill news from New England.* By *Tho. Cobbet* Teacher of the Church of Lyn in *New England*. . . . sold by *Ph. Stephens* at the gilded Lyon in *Pauls* Church yard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 166, p. 2508, February 14, 1653. (February 15, 1653, Thomason.) B H

The B and H copies are dated 1653. The Ill news from New England (1652, B H M) was by "John Clark of Road Iland, Physician." The book carries on the title-page a very interesting endorsement from Obadiah Sedgwick, who "allowed" the book to be printed.

11. Strength out of weaknesse, or a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. . . . sold by *John Blague* and *Samuel Howes* at their Shop in Popes head Alley.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 140, last page, August 16, 1652. (August 4, Thomason.) B H M

Number 6 of Eliot's Indian tracts, and the first one published by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England, which was incorporated in 1649. It covers Eliot's labors for the year 1651, with letters from several others: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1191. B also has the second and the third editions, both dated 1652.

[1] Misprint for "Civil."

12. A Treatise of Liturgies, power of the Keys, and of matter of a visible Church: in answer to Mr. *Ball*. By *Tho. Shepperd*, late Pastor of New England. . . . sold by *Andrew Crook* at the green Dragon in Pauls Church yard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 154, p. 2316, November 22, 1652. (November 20, Thomason.) H

The Harvard copy is dated 1653.

13. The Sea mans Grammer; containing most plain and easie directions, how to Build, Rigge, Yard, and Mast any Ship whatsoever, with divers practical experiments in the Art of Gunnery, also the charge and duty of every Officer in a ship and their shares: with the use of the petty Tally. Written by Captain John Smith, sometime Governour of Virginia and Admiral of New England, sold by Andrew Kemb at St. Margarets Hill in Southwark.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 158, p. 2380, December 20, 1652. (November 6, Thomason.)

14. A Discussion of that great point in Divinity, The sufferings of Christ; And the question about his righteousness, Active, Passive, and the Imputation thereof; By *John Norton* Teacher at *Ipswich*, in New-*England*. Sold by *Geo. Calvert* at the half-Moon, and *Joseph Nevill* at the Plough in *Pauls* Churchyard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 195, p. 2972, September 5, 1653.[1] (August 11, Thomason.) B H M

Norton was "appointed to draw up this Answer by the Generall Court," in reply to William Pynchon's Meritorious Price of our Redemption. Pynchon had been brought up before the General Court on account of his book, and admitted some overstatements; his sentence was postponed. Pynchon returned to England in 1652, as a result of the trouble: see Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 357. Norton's work evidently struck his publisher as a bit hazy, for we find a note from "The Stationer to the Reader," which gives a very brief outline of the treatise, "For the better understanding of the following Treatise" (p. 1).

15. A History of New England, from the English planting in the year 1628 till 1652. their form of Government civil, military, and ecclesiastick. Their wars with the Indians, their troubles with Gorlonish, their manner of Gathering Clunches,[2] with the names of their Governors, Magistrates and Ministers.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 218, p. 3116, February 13, 1654. (November 29, 1653, Thomason.) A B H M

By Edward Johnson, and usually known by the running title of "Wonder-working Providence." It is the earliest published narrative

[1] Misdated "1652."

[2] Misprint for "Churches."

relating generally to New England. For a long time this was attributed to Thomas Hooker. It had a poor sale in England, and the bookseller four years later bound it up as a part of Gorges's America Painted to the Life: see no. 27, below; Church Catalogue, iii. 1218; Sabin, ix. 281. All copies are dated 1654.

16. The Orthodox Evangelist, containing the Principle points in Religion, with the state of the blessed, the Condition of their Souls from the instant of their dissolution, and of their persons after their resurrection, by *Iohn Norton* Teacher of the Church at *Ipswich* in *New-England*. . . . Sold by *H. Crips*, and *Lodo. Lloyd* at their shop in *Popes head Alley*.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 237, p. 3638, June 26, 1654. (May 9, Thomason.) B H M

17. A Brief Exposition with practical observations upon the whole book of *Ecclesiastes*, by the late worthy Divine Mr. *John Cotton*, published by *Anthony Tuckney* D. D. and Master of St. *John* Colledge. . . . sold by *Ralph Smith* at the Bible in Cornhill, London.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 241, p. 3702, July 24, 1654. (Non-Thomason.) A B H M

B, H, and M also have the second edition, 1657.

18. The Covenant of Grace, discovering the great work of a Sinners Reconciliation to God; together with certain quaeries tending to Accommodation between Brethren: written by Mr. *John Cotton* of *Boston* in *New-England*: Whereunto is added, A discuss of Civil Magistrates power in Matters of Religion; by some Elders of divers Churches: Printed for *John Allen* at the Rising Sun in *Pauls* Churchyard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 256, p. 3932, November 6, 1654. (Non-Thomason.) B H

The title-page was printed to cover three pamphlets published in 1654: Cotton's New Covenant, his Certain Queries, and The Result of a Synod at Cambridge. See Sabin, v. 16. The B and H copies are dated 1655. No. 19, below, is a later advertisement of the same book, for a different bookseller, Egglesfield. The names of both Allen and Egglesfield appear on all the title-pages, however, and it may be that Allen was the original projector of the edition, being joined later by Egglesfield, who then advertised the book as his own. Allen afterwards sold the Treatise of the Covenant of Grace: see no. 30, below. No. 18 has a note "to the Reader" signed by "Thos. Allen," who prepared no. 30 "for the Press."

19. The Covenant of Grace, discovering the great work of Sinners reconciliation to God; By Mr. *John Cotten* of *New-England*. . . . sold by *Francis Egglesfield* at the Marygold in St. *Pauls* Churchyard.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 274, p. 4220, March 12, 1655. (Non-Thomason.)

20. *America*, or an Exact Description of the West Indies, more especially of those Provinces under the Dominion of *Spain*, faithfully represented by *N*:*N*: Gent and are to be sold by *Edw*:*Dod* at the Gun in *Ivy*-lane.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 292, p. 4500, July 16, 1655. (June 9, Thomason.) A B

This was apparently written to instigate the English to conquer the Spanish dominions in America. The map printed with this is from the same plate as the map in Father Thomas Gage's New Survey of the West Indies, London, 1655 (copies in A B H), and was later used for Gorges's America Painted to the Life: see no. 27, below, and Church Catalogue, iii. 1239.

21. There is puplished a brief Exposition, with practicall observations upon the whole book of *Canticles*, never before printed; by that late pious Divine, Mr. *John Cotton* pastor of *Boston* in *New England*. Published by *Anthony Tuckney*, D.D. Printed for *Ralph Smith*, at the Bible in *Cornhill* near the Exchange.

Perfect Diurnall, no. 301, p. 4644, September 17, 1655. (Non-Thomason.) B H

Not to be confused with A briefe Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, first printed in 1642, and again in 1648. (B has 1642 and 1648; H has 1642; M has 1648.) This is a distinct treatise, differing in arrangement, and containing about twice as much material: see Sabin, v. 14.

22. *The Method of Grace in the Justification of Sinners*. Being a Reply to a Book written by Mr. *William Eyre* of *Salisbury*, entituled, *Vindiciae Justificationis gratuitae*, or, The Free Justification of a Sinner justified. By *Benjamin Woodbridg* Minister of *Newbery* in *Bark-shire*. Sold by *Edmund Paxton* in *Pauls Chain* neer Doctors Commons.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 314, p. 7041, June 19, 1656. (June 10, Thomason.) B H M

Woodbridge was the first graduate of Harvard College. He received his degree in 1642, and shortly afterward returned to England. He became minister of Newbury in Berkshire, and was silenced for nonconformity in 1662. Cotton Mather called him "*a Star of the first Magnitude* in his Constellation." See Sibley's Harvard Graduates, i. 20–27.

23. Anti-Socinianism, or a confutation of certain gross Errors, and *Socinian* Heresies, lately published by *Will Pinchyn* Gent. in a Dialogue called, *The Meritorious Price of our Redemption*. Also a brief description of the Lives, and a true Relation of the Death of the Authors of the *Socinian* Heresie, and when, and by whom it was brought into *England*. By *N. Cheney*, M.A. and Minister of Gods Word.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 313, p. 7025, June 12, 1656.[1] (September 16, 1656, Thomason.)

[1] The newsbook is wrongly dated June 2–12, instead of June 5–12.

In the British Museum Catalogue, the author's name is given as Nicholas Chewney.

The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption, published in 1650, had been answered by Norton: see no. 14, above. It was condemned to be burnt in Boston by the marshal: see Sabin, xvi. 153.

24. The Doctrine of Life, or of Mans Redemption, by the Seed of *Eve*, the Seed of *Abraham*, the Seed of *David*, &c. Also sundry other Fundamental Points are discussed and cleared from some common mistakes; as *Daniels* Chronology of Seventy Sevens, about the Jews calling: With the true Nature of our Lords Sufferings. By *Edward Holyoke* of *New-England*. Sold by *Nath. Ekins*, at the Gun in St *Pauls* Church-yard.

Publick Intelligencer, no. 108, p. 92, November 16, 1657. (Non-Thomason.) B H

The author, of Lynn, Massachusetts, left a copy of this book to each of his sons-in-law, "as their best legacy:" see Church Catalogue, iii. 1261. All copies are dated 1658.

25. *There is this day published the Life and Death of that ever deserved*ly famous Minister of Christ (in the Work of the Gospel) Mr *John Cotton*, formerly Preacher of the Gospel at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, since Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Boston* in *New-England*. By *John Norton* now Teacher of the same Church, Author of a Book, entituled, *The Orthodox Evangelist*. Both sold by *Lodowick Lloyd* at his shop next to the Castle Tavern in *Cornhil*.

Publick Intelligencer, No. 118, p. 426, April 4, 1658. (April 14, 1658, Thomason. For the Orthodox Evangelist, see no. 16, above.) A B H M

In addition to the subject matter, this book is of interest since it contains at the end a five-page catalogue of books published by Lloyd. Not until much later did the booksellers regularly avail themselves of this means of advertising.

26. A Practical Exposition on the first Epistle of *John*, with Observations, Reasons, and Uses. By *John Cotton*, late Pastor of Boston. The second Edition, much corrected, and enlarged with the Addition of an Alphabetical Table.

Publick Intelligencer, no. 128, p. 561, June 7, 1658. (Non-Thomason.) B M

The first edition, copies of which are in H and M, was printed in 1656. The title-page reads: "A Practicall Commentary, or An Exposition with Observations, Reasons, and Vses upon the First Epistle Generall of John." While the advertisements for the most part follow the title-pages very closely, similar departures are found.

27. *America* Painted to the life. The true History of the *Spaniards* proceedings in the Conquests of the *Indians*, and of their Civil Wars amongst themselves, from *Columbus* his first discovery to these later times. As also of the original undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into those parts, with a perfect relation of our English discoveries; for the better under-

standing of those Countreys, a Map is affixed. Published by *F. Gorges* Esq; . . . sold by *Nathaniel Brooks* at the Angel in *Cornhil.*

Publick Intelligencer, no. 163, p. 221, February 14, 1659. (March 2, 1659, Thomason.) A B H M

See no. 15, above. The title-page, in red and black, makes an effective advertisement. There is no doubt that Johnson's book, bound in with this, was included without Gorges's knowledge. An advertisement in Mercurius Publicus for September 13, 1660, states that Gorges felt himself much injured by the inclusion: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1218.

28. The History of the World; or an account of Time. Compiled by the Learned *Dionisius Petavius;* and continued by others to the year of our Lord, 1659. Together with a Geographical Description of *Europe, Asia, Africa,* and *America.* Sold by *Humphrey Moseley* at the Princes Arms in St. *Pauls* Churchyard, *Luke Fawn* at the Parrot in Pauls-Churchyard, *Francis Titon* at the three Daggers in Fleetstreet, *George Sawbridge* at the Bible on *Ludgate*-hill, and *Richard Tomlins* at the Sun and Bible in Pyecorner.

Publick Intelligencer, no. 163, p. 220, February 14, 1659. (Non-Thomason.) A B H M

29. A Catechism containing the chief Heads of Christian Religion. Published at the desire, and for the use of the Church of Christ at *New Haven* in *New England.* By *John Davenport* Pastor, and *William Hooke* Teacher.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 565, p. 412, May 5, 1659. (May 5, Thomason. Also advertised in the Publick Intelligencer, no. 175, p. 412, May 9, 1659.)

30. A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, as it is dispensed to the Elect Seed, effectually unto salvation. Being the substance of divers Sermons preached upon *Acts* 7. 8. by that eminently holy and judicious man of God, Mr. *John Cotton,* Teacher of the Church at *Boston* in *N.E.* The second Edition, by a Copy far larger then the former, and corrected also by the Authors own hand. This Copy was fitted for the Press by Mr. *Tho. Allen* Minister in *Norwich.* . . . sold by *John Allen* at the Rising Sun in *Pauls* Churchyard.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 568, p. 460, May 26, 1659. (May 26, 1659, Thomason.) B

H has the 1671 edition, which according to the title-page was "corrected, and very much Enlarged, by the Authors own Hand," although Cotton died in 1652.

31. A Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children, in answer to xxi Questions; wherein the state of such Children when Adult, together with their duty towards the Church, and the Churches duty towards them, is discussed by an Assembly of Divines at *Boston* in *New-England.* . . . sold by *Sam Thomson* at the Bishops-head in *Pauls* Churchyard.

Publick Intelligencer, no. 181, p. 508, June 20, 1659. (June 4, 1657, Thomason, the day the assembly was actually held.[1]) H

[1] The title-page of the H copy, after the material given in the advertisement, reads: "by an Assembly of Divines meeting at Boston in New England, June 4th

32. Golden Apples, or seasonable councel from the Sanctuary to the Rulers of the Earth, held forth in the resolution of sundry Questions and Cases of Conscience about Divisions, Schisms, Heresies, Blasphemies, and the Toleration of them. By Mr. *Anthony Burgess*, Mr. *Edm. Calamy*, Dr. *Hill*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *John Cotton*, Dr. *Sibbs*, Dr. *Amesius*, Mr. *Jere. Burroughs*, &c Brought together by *Sam. Clarke*, Pastor of *Bennets Fink*, *London*. Sold by *Tho. Underhil* at the Anchor and Bible in *Pauls* Churchyard.

Publick Intelligencer, no. 183, p. 556, July 4, 1659. (July, 1659, Thomason.) B M

33. The Christian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ. By *John Eliot*, Teacher of a Church of Christ at *Roxbury* in *New England*.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 594, p. 872, November 17, 1659. (October 26, Thomason.) B

This had been written nine or ten years before it was printed. After the Restoration, the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, fearing that the republican sentiments expressed in the book "might be represented to their disadvantage," condemned and suppressed the book in May, 1661, and a retraction by Eliot himself was made public. A very rare book: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1264; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 357; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. pp. 5–6.

34. The Heart of New-*England* rent at the Blasphemies of the present Generation, Or a brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers, demonstrating the destructive nature thereof, to Religion the Churches and the State with remedies against it, by *John Norton*, Teacher of the Church of Christ, at *Boston* in New-*England*. . . . sold by *John Allen* at the Rising Sun in Pauls Church- Yard.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 603, p. 1033, January 19, 1660. (January 12, 1659–60, Thomason. The book is also advertised in Publick Intelligencer, 212, p. 1029, January 23, 1660.) B

The Colony had passed a law against Quakers as early as 1654. In October, 1658, Norton was appointed to write a book on the doctrines of the Quakers. It was published first in Cambridge, 1659, then in London in 1660. In return for his services, Norton was given a grant of land by the General Court. He was not unused to writing books by order: see no. 14, above, and Church Catalogue, iii. 1293. Copies of the 1659 Cambridge edition are in H and M.

35. The Parable of the Ten Virgins opened and applied from *Matth.* 25. 1,–13. Wherein the Difference between the sincere Christian and the most

1657. Now Published by a Lover of Truth. London . . . 1659." From the preface it appears that the manuscript had been in England for some time, and was finally printed to show the continuity between the English and the colonial creeds. I find no indication of the author; the preface, indeed, declares it a joint production of the Assembly in question.

refined Hypocrite, the Nature and Characters of Saving and Common Grace; the Danger and Diseases incident to flourishing Churches or Christians, and other spiritual Truths of great importance, discovered, and practically improved: By *Thomas Shepard*, late worthy Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge* in *New England*. Sold by *John Rothwel* at the Fountain in Cheapside, and by *Sam. Thomson* at the Bishops-head in Pauls Churchyard.

Mercurius Politicus, no. 612, p. 1183; March 22, 1660. (Non-Thomason. The book is also advertised in Publick Intelligencer, 223, p. 1183, March 26, 1660.) B H M

36. *Jews in America*, or, Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additionals to the former Conjectures. By *Thomas Thorowgood, S.T.B. Norfolciensis*.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, no. 36, p. 577, September 3, 1660. (July 26, Thomason.) H

Thorowgood was a friend of John Eliot's, and an efficient promoter of missionary work among the Indians. He had published a first part in 1650 (copies in B H). This is a new work, in answer to L'Estrange's Americans no Jewes: see no. 8, above. Thorowgood appends a twenty-eight page letter of John Eliot's on this subject, which affirms the belief, rather common then in New England, that the Indians were descended from the Lost Tribes: see Church Catalogue, iii. 1298.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE exhibited an engraved portrait of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and read the following note on a portrait of her which once hung in the Boston Town House:

The early education of Jonathan Belcher, the son of Andrew a Councillor of the Province, included a few years spent in Europe, where his friendly associations were with the Princess Sophia. The following letters, now first printed, relate to her portrait which he brought with him on his return home late in 1705 as a present to the Province. The Act of Settlement in 1701 vested the right of the Crown of England in her on account of her Protestant faith. It will be remembered that the Electress Sophia, born in 1630, was a daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I; that in 1658 she married Ernest Augustus (1629–1698), later (1679) Duke and then (1692) Elector of Hanover; that among her children were George Lewis, afterwards George I of England, and Sophia Charlotte (1668–1705), who in 1684 married Frederick I (1657–1713), first King of Prussia; and that she died May 28, 1714, or a few weeks before Queen Anne, whose death occurred August 1st.

I

London Decembr 27th 1704

Mr John White [1]

Sr Since my last of July 7th I reflect with regret on my Negligence, That I have not 'Ere now done you ye Justice and my Self the honour and Satisfaction of writing you Very pticularly, for my long Silence and remisness I humbly Ask yr pardon, I do assure, It has not been from any want of a due Respect, but in Londn A Man hardly knows When to Set down to write, so many pleasing objects Continually prest themselves to your View, and Every day Affords you something New and diverting, I doubt not but my father has hinted to you my design of going into Holld and Germany, Since my last I have made a Tour of about 1000 miles in those Countries and Its too tedious to Relate here, What Variety I saw in those places, so shall Omit pticulars, 'till I have the pleasure to set down with you for A Mo or so, only to Relate my travels. I will Just tell you That Holland Is a fine, pleasant Country A place of Vast trade And A people neat to ye last degree Germany has many pleasant towns, at Hannover I was Entertain'd by the Princess Sophia (who Is next heir to the Crown of Engld) as If she had been my mother, She has done our Countrey the honour of her picture, Which I shall bring with Me. Indeed all parts of Europe, Where I have been Seem to be gardens of pleasure and delight, I take a great deal of Satisfaction, in the Revolution of my thoughts on my travels. I have wrote my father by this Conveyance And Sent him all publick news, which I doubt not he will Comunicate to you, as I have opportunity shall write you Again, hoping you will pardon my Impertinency; pray remember yr Charge Most pticularly for shall make pticular Inquiry of that Matter on my return When yr leisure will allow, the favr of a line shall be a great obligacon [ ] health and happiness being with [

Sr yr Ass[ ]

[ ]

[*Addressed*] To
Mr John White
Mercht
In Boston
N England
p the packet
[ ]

[*Endorsed*] Belcher to White
1704
about his Travels [2]

[1] John White (H. C. 1685).

[2] Belknap Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), vii. 7. The endorsement is in Belknap's hand.

II

BOSTON Feb. 6th 1705[–6].[1]

Sr

At your Arrival two months Since you acquainted me of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia's favour to this Province, in bestowing upon them her Effigies, which I have now order'd to be disposed in the Council Chamber, with her Majesties.[2] And I desire your Attendance with the Council And Officers of the province presently, to drink her Majesties & Royal Highness: health, it being her Majesties birthday.[3]

And I further desire you to take the first Occasion to Acquaint One of her Royal Highness's ministers with whom you may have a Correspondence of our duty herein

I am sr

your very humble
servant

J DUDLEY.

Mr. Belcher
[*Addressed*] To Mr Jonathan Belcher
These [4]

[1] As, when this letter was written, Belcher had been in Boston for two months, and as Belcher was in London on December 27, 1704, it follows that Dudley's letter to Belcher was written February 6, 1705–6. Belcher's arrival is mentioned neither in the Boston News Letter nor in Sewall's Diary.

[2] In a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations, dated March 10, 1705, Dudley said: "By the last ships I received H.M. picture and coat of armes, the armes were the next day fixed in the Council Chamber; and I issued warrants to the Sheriffs forthwith to reforme the armes in all their Court-houses before the next session of any Court. H.M. picture I have set up in my owne house, where it is alwaies in the view of all masters of sea, strangers *etc.*" (Calendar of State Papers, American and West Indies, 1704–1705, p. 448: cf. Palfrey, History of New England, iv. 295 note). Exactly when Dudley removed Anne's portrait from his own house to the Council Chamber does not appear, unless the letter in the text means that it was removed on February 6, 1706.

[3] Anne's birthday was no doubt celebrated each year from 1703 to 1714. The celebration in 1705 was thus described in the Boston News Letter of February 12:

On *Tuesday* the 6th Instant, being Her Majesty's Birth Day; The Honourable the Lieutenant Governour, and the Gentlemen of Her Majesties Council, with

[4] Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), Miscellaneous, i. 172. On October 29, 1706, it was "Ordered. That Mr Commissary Belcher take care to provide an Iron Raile to be placed at the foot of her Majty's Picture affixed in the Council Chamber to keep persons off from rubbing it, and a handsom Curtain to draw over and cover it from being soil'd with dust; and a handsom Curtain to draw over and Cover the Princess Sophia's Picture" (Council Records, iv. 325).

III

Copy of a Letter from the Governo^R of New-England to Jno Chamberlayne Esq^R

Boston March 1st 170⅞

S^r

At Mr Jonathan Belcher's last return from England he brought with him the Picture of Her Highness the Princess Sophia which he acquainted me was a present to the Province, I forthwith disposed it in the Council Chamber in this Place with Her Majestie's; I am very desirous that any just acknowledgment of this Honour and favour done to the Province should be made, but having no Correspondent nor Acquaintance in Her Highness's Court, nor having any Letter from thence, I knew not who to write to:

Mr. Belcher is yet Solliciting that he may have something proper to send thither advertising of his doing his Duty.[1]

Sr You are at Home in Her Maj^ties House, and I can freely refer it to you in my Name to write to your own Correspondent in that Court (where I well know you have been) to do me and Mr Belcher right in that matter, I am

S^r

Yo^r most humble Servant

Joseph Dudley.[2]

IV

May It please your Royal Highness

When I had the great honour & happiness (four years past) to pay my respects & duty to yourself & most serene family, I Very well remember the particular mark of Respects, you were pleas'd to do Her Maj^ty: of Great Britain's Subjects in New England, by honouring them with your

---

the Militia Officers, The Gentlemen and Merchants of this Place, Attended on His Excellency the governour to the *Town House*, where they Drank Her Majesties Health, Her Royal Highness the Princess *Sophia*'s, His Royal Highness Prince *George*'s; His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*'s; And Prosperity to Her Majesties Forces by Sea and Land. The *Town-House*, and several Gentlemens Houses at night being full of Illuminations (p. 2/2).

The Lieutenant-Governor was Thomas Povey, while George was Queen Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark.

[1] It is possible that this letter was taken to England by Belcher himself, for on March 13, 1708, Sewall took leave of him and he did not return to Boston until April 29, 1709 (Sewall's Diary, ii. 220, 254).

[2] Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), Miscellaneous, i. 174.

Effigies, As a present, and I as well Recollect the honour you were pleas'd to do me, by Comanding me to write your Royal Higness from thence of Its reception & the promise I then made you of sending some small matters from thence, Which was the product of that Countrey and not Comon here or of the growth of Europe: —

It is with no small Confusion, that I Reflect on my Negligence in not so doing, and how to Apologize or what Excuse to Make I know not, unless That my having now made a Journey purposely to throw myself at your Royal Higness's feet, & humbly ask forgiveness, May be something of Atonement for my fault, And I herewith, offer you the thanks of Her Majesty's Governour in N England for your Respect to that Countrey, and have brought with me the Candles [1] of which I formerly spoke, and an Indian Slave, A native of my Countrey, of which I humbly ask your Royal Highness's Acceptance & am with all Imaginable Respect & duty.

Most Illustrious Madam
Your Royal Highness's
Most Obedient
Humble servant
JONA BELCHER.

HANOVER.
September 12th 1708.[2]

What became of the Electress's portrait? When the Town House was burned in 1711, we are told that "Some Gentlemen took care to preserve Her Majesties Picture,"[3] but there is no mention of Sophia's portrait. But that, too, evidently escaped the fire, for we hear of it again in 1739. On June 6th of that year, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, —

[1] Were they bayberry candles? On June 5, 1739, the Corporation of Harvard College voted to send to Joseph Mico in London "a box of thirty or fourty wt of Bay-berry Candles, as a Small Acknowledgment of his great Kindness to us, in taking Care of Mr Penoyer's Legacy for us" (College Book, iv. 218).

[2] Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), Miscellaneous, i. 173.

Belcher's visits to Hanover were well known, for on September 23, 1714, "Mr. *Jonathan Belcher*, A Gentleman who had been Twice at the Court of Hanover, on the Occasion of His Majesty King *GEORGE*'s Accession to the Crown, and his being Proclaimed, made a very Splendid Entertainment for His Excellency the Governour and Council, with a great many other Gentlemen, at his House in Hanover Street, where were Drank His Majesties Health, The Prince [of Wales], Royal Family, *&c.* the House being all over very finely Illuminated" (Boston News Letter, September 27, p. 2/2).

[3] Boston News Letter, October 8, 1711, p. 2/1.

A Motion was made and seconded by divers Members, that Mr. Agent *Wilks* be directed to procure Copys of the Pictures of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY of glorious Memory, from the best Originals that can be found at full Length, in order for their being set up in the Council Chamber, with the Pictures of their Majesty's Royal Successors &c.[1]

And on June 7, —

The Motion made the 5th[2] Instant for sending for Copys of the Pictures of their late Majestys King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, was revived, and after some Consideration thereon the following Vote passed, *viz.*

Whereas this Government have the Honour of the Pictures of the late Queen ANNE, *King* GEORGE *the first, and his present* MAJESTY,[3] *together with the late Queen* CAROLINE,[3] *and the Princess* SOPHIA:

Voted, That Mr. Agent *Wilks* at the Charge of the Government in the most suitable Manner that may be, procure Copys from the best Originals that can be found of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, in the fourth Year of whose Reign His Majesty's good Subjects of this Province were happily incorporated by the present Royal *CHARTER*, and that the Pictures be at full Length, and set up in the Council Chamber.

Sent up for Concurrence.[4]

The only allusion, except the above, I have found to the portrait of Sophia is in an address delivered in 1885 by the late Dr. George H. Moore, who said: "Before the year 1739, the gallery had been enriched by the addition of portraits of King George the First and King George the Second, together with those of the then late Queen Caroline and the Princess Sophia." And in a footnote he added:

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[1] House Journal, p. 18.

[2] Presumably an error for the 6th.

[3] "The Pictures of their Majesties King *GEORGE* II. and Queen *CAROLINE*, beautifully drawn at length, are put up in the Council Chamber in this Town, and according to the Inscription at the bottom of them, they are the Gift of His Majesty to this His Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, at the Desire of His Excellency JONATHAN BELCHER, Esq; Governour of *New-England*" (New England Weekly Journal, October 19, 1730, p. 2/1).

"An Accompt presented by Will[m] Price of his time and trouble in framing & setting up the Kings & Queens Pictures, mending Picture Frames &c, amounting to the sum of £ 7.

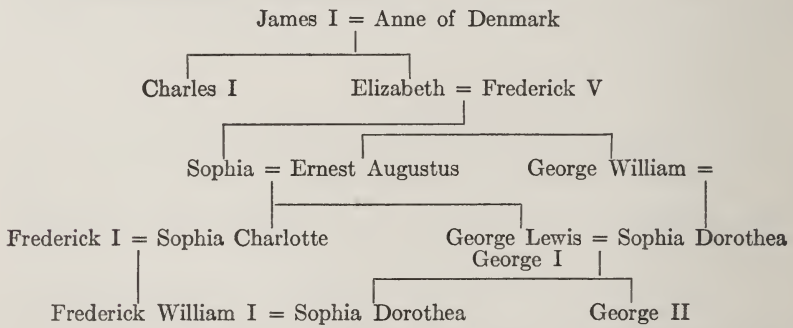
"Advised & consented that a Warr[t] be made out to the Treasurer to pay to the s[d] Will[m] Price the sum of Six Pounds in full of the s[d] Accompt" (Council Records, February 19, 1731, ix. 278–279).

[4] House Journal, p. 21: cf. Massachusetts Province Laws, xiii. 571.

"Princess Sophia — sister of George II, wife of Frederic William I of Prussia, and mother of Frederic the Great." [1] For several reasons this identification cannot be accepted. First, the House vote distinctly says "Princess Sophia." The daughter of George I and sister of George II was not Sophia, but Sophia Dorothea.[2] Secondly, in the House vote the word "late" refers in the one instance to Queen Anne and George I, and in the other instance to Queen Caroline (who died in 1737) and Sophia. Thirdly, Sophia Dorothea had in 1706 married Frederick William I, the second King of Prussia, and did not die until 1757. Obviously in 1739 she would not have been called "Princess Sophia" — even if that had been her name — since for thirty-three years she had been Queen of Prussia. Fourthly, there would have been no pertinency in sending to Boston the portrait of a woman who, though the daughter of one king and the sister of another, was in no way connected with this country. No doubt the sole reason why the Electress Sophia sent her portrait by Belcher was because she was heir to the throne of England. Finally, if it be asked why Sophia was called "Princess" and not "Electress," the title by which she is historically known, the reply is that on the death of her husband in 1698 she ceased to be Electress, and that from 1698 to her death in 1714 she was usually called by her contemporaries the Princess Sophia.[3]

[1] Prytaneum Bostoniense, p. 18; Old State House Memorial, sixth edition, 1893, p. 217.

[2] The following table will be useful:



[3] In the Act of Settlement (1701) she is called "the most Excellent Princess Sophia Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hannover." On February 1, 1705, N. Luttrell wrote: "Some dayes since, the queen of Prussia, daughter to the princesse Sophia of Hanover, dyed at Hanover" (Brief Historical Relation, v. 515). On March 11 and July 3, 1701, he called her "the princesse Sophia, dutchesse

Though the portraits of Anne and of Sophia survived the great fire of 1711, they succumbed to that of December 9, 1747, which completely destroyed the interior of the Town House. "As the Fire began in the middle or second Story," says a contemporary account, "the Records, Books, Papers, Furniture, Pictures of the Kings and Queens, &c. which were in the Council Chamber, the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and the Apartments thereof in that Story, were consumed." [1]

The portrait I have brought to-day is a mezzotint, loaned to the Bostonian Society in 1881 and given to it in 1886 by the late William H. Whitmore. It bears the following inscription:

The true Effigies of the most Illustrious Princess Anna Sophia of Hanover declared by a late Act of Parliament for settling the Succession in ye Protestant line to succeed to the Crown of England after Her Matie Queen Ann and her Royal Issue. Done from ye Original brought from Hanover by ye R^t^ Honble Tho: Ld Raby. and dedicated to his Lordshipp by his most humble Servant I.B. Sold by Iohn Bowles opposite to Stocks Mark^t^ & at Mercers Hall Cheapside I: Simon fec: Cum Privilegio

Thomas Wentworth (1672–1739) was created Baron Raby in 1695 and third Earl of Strafford in 1711; on the coronation of Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, as first King of Prussia in 1701, he was sent to Berlin as envoy; in 1703 he was again sent as envoy, and, after visits to the Hague and Hanover, reached Berlin in June; he paid a visit to England in July, 1704, but was back in Berlin in November of that year.[2] The portrait brought by Raby is not the portrait reproduced in the mezzotint now exhibited, for the plate has undergone various changes.[3]

dowager of Brunswick" (v. 26, 67); on October 18, 1701, "the princesse Sophia, electoresse dowager" (v. 100); and elsewhere the Princess Sophia (v. 168, 170, 405, vi. 24, 26, 34, 79, 154, 538). In his will, dated December 6, 1727, Governor William Burnet bequeathed to his son Gilbert "Gold and Silver Medals bearing the images of King George the First, and the Princess Sophia, and King George the II.; and the gilt tea-table plate, all of which were given to my father by the said Princess Sophia, late Electoress Dowager of Brunswick" (Collections New York Historical Society, Abstracts of Wills, ii. 350).

[1] Boston News Letter, December 10, 1747, p. 2/1. On June 29, 1749, the Council "Voted that his Excellency [Governor Shirley] be desired to request of his Majesty, the Pictures of the Royal Family to be set up in the Council Chamber in the room of those that were lost in the late Fire, as also his Majesty's Arms to be set up in the Council Chamber" (Council Records, xii. 108).

[2] See the notice of him in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[3] The plate originally contained the portrait of Sophia brought to England by

Mr. HORACE E. WARE communicated a note on the periodical cicadas, and said:

Under date of the year 1633 Governor Bradford speaks of an invasion of the Colony during the spring by a vast swarm of insects:

It pleased Y^e^ Lord to visite them this year with an infectious fevoure, of which many fell very sicke, and upward of 20. persons dyed, men and women, besids children, and sundry of them of their anciente friends which had lived in Holand; as Thomas Blossome, Richard Masterson, with sundry others, and in ye end (after he had much helped others) Samuell Fuller, who was their surgeon & phisition, and had been a great help and comforte unto them; as in his facultie, so otherwise, being a deacon of ye church, a man godly, and forward to doe good, being much missed after his death; and he and ye rest of their brethren much lamented by them, and caused much sadnes & mourning amongst them; which caused them to humble them selves, & seeke ye Lord; and towards winter it pleased the Lord ye sicknes ceased. This disease allso swept away many of ye Indeans from all ye places near adjoyning; and ye spring before, espetially all ye month of May, ther was such a quantitie of a great sorte of flies, like (for bignes) to wasps, or bumble-bees, which came out of holes in ye ground, and replenished all ye woods, and eate ye green-things, and made such a constante yelling noyes, as made all ye woods ring of them, and ready to deafe ye hearers. They have not by ye English been heard or seen before or since. But ye Indeans tould them y^t^ sicknes would follow, and so it did in June, July, August, and ye cheefe heat of somer.[1]

Lord Raby and was "dedicated to his Lordshipp by his must humble Servant, E.C. W Faithorne fec. Cum Privilegio. Sold by E Cooper at the 3 Pigeons in Bedford Street." Then that portrait was "entirely erased, and a different one of the same person substituted with the face nearer the top of the oval, without high cap or lappets, with a black veil and jewels at breast, 'W Faithorne' erased." Then another change took place, "E.C." and the address were erased and instead, "*I.B. Sold by Iohn Bowles opposite to Stocks Markt & at Mercers Hall Cheapside;* before 'fec,' *I Simon,* by whom probably the alteration only was executed." See J. C. Smith, British Mezzotinto Portraits (1884), ii. 475, ii. 819, iii. 1115. For portraits of Sophia, see, besides those listed in the A.L.A. Portrait Index, W. H. Wilkins's Caroline the Illustrious, i. 88, and A. W. Ward's The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession (1903), where several are reproduced.

[1] History of Plymouth Plantation (1898), p. 374. Reference to this irruption of insects is also made by Morton in his New England's Memorial (1669, p. 91); by Josselyn in 1674 (Account of Two Voyages to New-England, p. 254); by Hubbard in his History of New England (written about 1680, but not printed until

The flies to which Bradford refers were probably seventeen year cicadas, sometimes erroneously called seventeen year locusts. The last appearance of the swarm indigenous to Plymouth and Barnstable Counties was in 1906. They were then very abundant in the towns of Sandwich, Falmouth, and Bourne.[1] This swarm is next expected to appear in 1923. The difficulty, however, in placing the swarm of 1906 in succession of the swarm of which Bradford tells is that if we trace back the seventeen year periods from 1906 the ancient swarm should have appeared in 1634, not in 1633. If, however, it shall ever be shown that the Bradford swarm actually appeared in 1634 — in which case, of course, Bradford was mistaken in the year[2]

1815), pp. 194, 662; and by Prince in 1755 — all under the year 1633, and all based on Bradford's account. Prince says:

'*This Spring*, especially all the Month of *May*, there are such [Numbers] of 'a *great Sort* of *Flies*, like for Bigness to *Bumble-Bees*, which come out of Holes, 'in the Ground [in *Pc*] replenish all the Woods, eat the green Things, and make 'such a constant yelling Noise, as all the Woods ring of them, and [deafen] the 'Hearers. The *Indians* tell us that Sickness will follow: and so it [proves] in '*June*, *July*, and *August*. They have not by the *English* been heard or seen be-'fore or since (*br*) [i.e. to the Beginning of 1647, when Gov *Bradford* ends *his* '*History*: but have in like Manner at distant Periods risen up since, and are 'known by the Name of *Locusts*.'] (Annals of New England, 1755, ii. 92.)

The abbreviations *Pc* and *br* stand respectively for Plymouth Colony and "Gov *Bradford's* History, in Mss.;" while "The Articles of *Plymouth Colony*" are distinguished "by single *Comma*'s."

[1] Cf. Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1909, Part ii. pp. 201–204.

[2] In 1907 C. L. Marlatt wrote:

"The Plymouth swarm of 1634, the first after European settlement, was noted by the early Puritans and is referred to in the two earliest published notices of this curious insect. (See Bibliography.) One of these records gives the definite date of 1633, but, as shown by the subsequent appearances of the swarm, this date is probably an error for 1634. No published records have been found of the later appearances prior to 1789, but definite records have been made of each return since that year" (The Periodical Cicada, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Entomology — Bulletin No. 71, p. 58).

Though Bradford's passage, quoted in the text, could hardly have been written before 1646 (see his History, pp. 115, 123), yet several tests can be applied to its accuracy. First, Bradford speaks of an infectious fever of which "upwards of 20 persons died, men and women, besides children," and which did not cease until "towards winter." On July 12, 1633, Winthrop wrote: "Mr. Edward Winslow, governor of Plymouth, and Mr. Bradford, came into the bay, and went away the 18th;" and on July 24 Winthrop noted: "Much sickness at Plymouth, and above twenty died of pestilent fevers" (Journal, 1908, i. 103).

— or if it shall ever be proved that since then, from whatever cause, there has been an interval of eighteen instead of seventeen years be-

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Secondly, Bradford mentions by name three persons who died in 1633 — Thomas Blossome, Richard Masterson, and Samuel Fuller. Blossome must have died on or before March 25, 1633, as under that date there is mention of "Widdow Blossome;" and "Henry Rowly maried Anna, the late wife of Tho: Blossome, the 17 of October, 1633" (Plymouth Colony Records, i. 11, 16). Fuller died between July 30, 1633, on which day he made his will, and October 28 following, when his will was proved (Mayflower Descendant, 1. 24–28; Plymouth Colony Records, i. 18). Exactly when Masterson died I have been unable to ascertain. Thirdly, Bradford states that the disease "also swept away many of the Indians from all the places near adjoining." Under date of November, 1633, Winthrop noted "A great mortality among the Indians" (Journal, i. 111). Since Bradford was certainly right about the fever, about the death of Blossome and Fuller, and about the sickness among the Indians, it is rash to assume that he was wrong about the swarm of cicadas.

The first part of Mr. Marlatt's statement invites our consideration. The Plymouth swarm, he says, "is referred to in the two earliest published notices of this curious insect." Turning to his bibliography (p. 154 of his pamphlet), it is found that the second notice is Morton's New England's Memorial of 1669, which of course is a reference to the Plymouth swarm of 1633. But no such conclusion can be drawn from the first notice, dated 1666. This is a brief article entitled "Some Observations of swarms of strange Insects, and the Mischiefs done by them," printed in the Philosophical Transactions of January 8, 1666, No. 8, i. 137–138. Though the portion relating to this country is given by Mr. Marlatt (p. 146 of his pamphlet), it is quoted here in full:

"A great Observer, who hath lived long in *New England*, did upon occasion, relate to a Friend of his in *London*, where he lately was, That some few Years since there was such a swarm of a certain sort of Insects in that *English* Colony, that for the space of 200 Miles they poyson'd and destroyed all the Trees of that Countrey; there being found innumerable little holes in the ground, out of which those insects brake forth in the form of *Maggots*, which turned into *Flyes* that had a kind of taile or sting, which they struck into the Tree, and thereby envenomed and killed it."

It is to be noted that no year is given and that Plymouth is not mentioned, hence Mr. Marlatt's assertion that the notice refers to the Plymouth swarm is merely an assumption. It may equally well be regarded as an allusion to the swarm of which Winthrop wrote under date of 1648:

"About the middle of this summer, there arose a fly out of the ground, about the bigness of the top of a man's little finger, of brown color. They filled the woods from Connecticut to Sudbury with a great noise, and eat up the young sprouts of the trees, but meddled not with the corn. They were also between Plymouth and Braintree, but came no further. If the Lord had not stopped them, they had spoiled all our orchards, for they did some few" (Journal, ii. 348).

Who was the "great Observer" mentioned in the 1666 notice? The names of John Josselyn and of John Winthrop, Jr., immediately occur to one. Josselyn's first visit to New England was made in 1638, when he anchored before Boston

tween two successive appearances, the difficulty of establishing the succession will be removed. In the interests of natural history it is to be hoped that evidence will be forthcoming to settle the question in one of these ways or in some other way.

Mr. Henry Lefavour exhibited a leaflet described as follows:

The Rev. Joseph Belcher, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1690, was the minister of the church in Dedham from 1692 until his death on April 27, 1723. Afterwards there was found in his study a letter which has been printed in at least twenty-three editions,[1] though no copy of the first edition has hitherto come to light. The heading of the second edition is in part as follows:

A Copy of an excellent LETTER
Wrote by the Reverend
Mr. *J.E.* of *Guilford*, Deceased, to his Brother
Mr. *B.E.* of *Roxbury*,
Found in the Study of the Reverend
Mr. *Joseph Belcher*,
Late of *Dedham*, since his Decease:
The Second Edition, very carefully corrected
from Five several Manuscripts: . . .

It is dated at "Guilford, May 18, 1664;" is signed "J. E.;" and the colophon reads, "*Boston*: Printed in the Year 1738." The author was the Rev. Joseph Eliot (H. C. 1658) and the recipient was Benjamin Eliot, sons of the Apostle Eliot. The copy now exhibited is of the hitherto unknown first edition. The heading reads:

A Copy of a LETTER,
Found in the Study of the Reverend,
Mr. *Joseph Belcher*,
Late of *Dedham*, since his Decease,

An Answer to this Question,
How to live in this World, so as to live in Heaven?

July 3 and sailed from Nantasket October 15. In his second visit, he remained here eight years, arriving at Boston July 28, 1663, and leaving October 10, 1671 (Account of Two Voyages, 1674, pp. 12, 29, 41, 215). Josselyn was probably unknown in England until the publication in 1672 of his New England's Rari-

[1] See 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xviii. 467–471.

It is neither dated nor signed, but begins "Dear Brother." The colophon reads: "*Boston*: Printed & Sold by *B. Green,* in Newbury-Street. 1725."

Mr. HENRY H. EDES made some remarks concerning proposed legislation at the State House, whereupon it was —

Voted, That the Council be requested carefully to consider pending legislation proposing to repeal the Vital Records Act and to take, in the name of the Society, such action, if any, as the Council may deem expedient.

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ties. On the other hand, John Winthrop, Jr., was in London from October 15, 1661, to March 4, 1663 (see the Winthrop Papers, iv. 74–81); during that time he became a member of the Royal Society; and he was a friend and correspondent of Henry Oldenburg, the Secretary of the Royal Society: hence not improbably Winthrop was the "great Observer."

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1918

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 February, 1918, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford made a brief report of the proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies, held in Philadelphia the last week in December, with an outline of the proposed plans for the future.

Mr. Ford read the following communication:

SEWALL AND NOYES ON WIGS

The word periwig has a history. It has no claim to recognition, for it was of bastard origin and has almost passed into disuse except when resurrected by ambitious embryonic poets or dramatists who depend upon word coloring in place of substance. The proper word was peruke, itself of unknown or doubtful derivation, an Italian word *perruca*, passing into English through the French from *peruque* late in the fifteenth century. Ingenious speculations upon its beginnings have not resulted in overcoming phonetic difficulties. In both French and English of the sixteenth century a peruke was a natural head of hair, but already it was applied to an artificial object, a skull-cap covered with hair so as to represent the natural hair of the head, and the word was degenerating into a corrupt form of perwyke, whence periwig. Women first adopted the contrivance, as is only fitting in our gallery of beauties on public display, and

Queen Elizabeth is said to have had no less than eighty-five attires of false hair; while her rival Mary, Queen of Scots, by her indulgence in such vanities has queered her portraits with posterity, and added one more confusion to a complicated career.[1] From being an adornment or a substitute where nature was defective, the periwig became in the seventeenth century a distinctive feature of costume, and as a fashionable head-dress was carried to absurd extremes. Lyly wrote in 1579: "Take from them their perywigges, their paintings, etc., and thou shalt soone perceive that a woman is the least parte of hir selfe." Barnaby Rich, in The Honestie of this Age, etc. (1615), wrote: "These attire-makers within these forty years were not known by that name; and but now very lately they kept their lowzie commodity of *periwigs*, and their monstrous attires, closed in boxes, — and those women that used to weare them would not buy them but in secret. But now they are not ashamed to set them forth upon their stalls, — such monstrous mop-powles of haire, so proportioned and deformed, that but within these twenty or thirty years would have drawne the passers-by to stand and gaze, and to wonder at them." Players always wore periwigs, and, a century later, Cato at the first performance of Addison's play wore one costing fifty guineas. Courtiers under the Stuarts commonly wore periwigs, and hence the denunciation of them by Puritans. For men to wear their own hair long, displeased these judges of innovations, and Prynne wrote a tract on The Vnlovelinesse of Lovelockes (1628), which called out a savage remark from one of his oppressors at his trial — that he could grow Lovelocks to conceal his closely cropped ears.

A whole library could be collected on what has been written about hair, real or artificial, and wigs could furnish material for many essays, some of which would involve questions of great historical moment. I must confine my attention to a single chapter concerned with our colonial history. My task is to glance at the prejudice against wigs so strongly expressed by a leading character in the colony and province of the Massachusetts Bay, one whose interests ranged from counting hairs on the head to splitting hairs on the Apocalypse. I refer to Samuel Sewall, a performer who is

[1] Shakespeare's words "usurping hair" (Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 3) are interpreted by Malone as referring to the false hair, or periwigs, worn by ladies of that day, before men had adopted the practice.

never dull and never more interesting as a humorist than in his most serious moods.

Why Sewall should have entertained such a dislike of periwigs is difficult to imagine. He was not a bigoted adherent to puritan views, for he indulged himself in marriages and in funerals to an excess — mere pleasure to be derived from them being the measure. The follies and fripperies of fashion had been discouraged in Boston from the early days of the plantation, as John Cotton's preaching against veils and Governor Winthrop's discouragement of treating.[1] Expense of dress does not figure in Sewall's Diary as a growing evil, and the cost of a periwig could not have been large.[2] No one would claim that Sewall had a correct eye for beauty, either in persons or in nature, and would thus be led to condemn wigs as tending to ugliness. The æsthetic did not appeal to him, little as there was in his surroundings, and the difference between hair, some hair, and no hair, would not have engaged his thoughts if personal looks alone were involved. If he rested upon the Scriptures, that source of all inspiration and test of truth, he could not have gained much comfort. The writer in Canticles (iv. 1) says: "Thy hair is like a flock of goats, that lie along the side of Gilead," not a compliment acceptable to woman; and Michal, David's wife, when she deceived Saul's messengers, represented David's head on the pillow by a net of goat's hair. The Nazarite vow obliged man and woman to let the hair of their heads grow long; but the later priests did not wear the hair long but polled their heads. Sewall himself had his hair cut once in three or four months when a young man.[3] In 1689, when in England, he agreed "to pay for being trimmed by the quarter," that being the custom, and it cost about 2*s.* 4*d.* a quarter.[4] As a special indulgence, a week after paying his barber he was trimmed by his cousin Henry Ward.[5] He must have seen many periwigs while on his English mission, and the sight did not modify his dislike of the manufactured adornment. It is impossible to give the

[1] See, for example, Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 126, 274.

[2] Anthony Wood paid 32*s.* 6 *d.* for a periwig in 1668, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for a block. (Clark, Life and Times of Anthony Wood, ii. 129, 130.)

[3] Diary, i. 2, 4.

[4] i. 256, 285. Anthony Wood paid 4*s.* per quarter.

[5] i. 285. For a later mention of being trimmed, see ii. 169. On December 25, 1706, he paid 6*d.* for "a great Tooth'd comb at Dwight's."

cause of this dislike, and we must content ourselves by extracting from his Diary the comments he made as he saw the use spread among his neighbors. If he failed to stem the tide, he has left us in no doubt of his convictions.

Massachusetts Bay was becoming degenerate, the older generation said. It is always becoming degenerate. We have been so told at intervals, and that may be true and yet account for its vitality and strong influence. In Sewall's day both clergy and laymen discouraged what improprieties they met. Mr. Willard, speaking to the seventh commandment, "condemns naked breasts." [1] In 1685 the ministers formally complained of a dancing master who had set up mixt dances at the time of meeting on Lecture Day, and was reported to have said that "by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N[ew] E[ngland] to dance. Mr. [Increase] Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances." [2] Mr. Allen devoted a sermon against observing December 25 — our Christmas — calling it anti-Christian heresy and speaking against the name.[3] Increase Mather, in March, 1687, preached "sharply against Health-drinking, Card-playing, Drunkenness, profane Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, etc." [4] — perhaps the presence of Andros in town adding to his zeal. A May-pole occasioned almost a riot at Charlestown.[5]

The clergy appear to have been divided on the subject of periwigs, showing that it had not reached a decision by a council.[6]

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[1] Sewall, Diary, i. 96. Much of this kind of moral "uplift" was doubtless suggested by reading English sermons on like topics. For example the Rev. Thomas Hall, "a plain but fervent preacher" at King's Norton, printed in 1654 "Comarum Ἀκοσμία. The Loathesomeness of Long Haire. . . . With an appendix against Painting, Spots, naked Backs, Breasts, Arms, etc., together with a Discovery of the Nakedness, Madness, and Folly of the Adamits of our time."

[2] i. 104, 112, 145. Cf. "An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing," 1684. As I write the Vatican has issued a letter against modern dances, mentioning some by name.

[3] Diary, i. 115. [4] i. 169. [5] i. 178.

[6] But see p. 115, below, and the law passed by the General Court in October, 1679, which recited:

"Whereas there is manifest Pride openly appearing amongst us in that long Hair like Womens Hair is worn by some men, either their own, or others Hair made into Perewigs: And by some Women wearing Borders of Hair, and their

Sewall mentioned Alsop's [1] sermon to Hayward as an argument against. Picture his feelings on a Sabbath six years later when Cotton Mather, in preaching on Hypocrites, seemed to glance at his pet antipathy. "In his proem said, *Totus mundus agit histrionem.* Said one sign of a hypocrit was for a man to strain at a Gnat and swallow a Camel. Sign in's Throat discovered him to be zealous against an innocent fashion, taken up and used by the best of men; and yet make no conscience of being guilty of great Immoralities. 'T is supposed means wearing of Perriwigs: said would deny them-

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Cutting, Curling, and Immodest laying out their Hair, which practice doth prevail and increase especially amongst the younger sort.

"This Court doth Declare against this ill custome as Offensive to them, and divers sober Christians amongst us, and therefore do hereby exhort and advise all persons to use moderation in this respect; And further do impower all Grand juries to present to the County Court such Persons, whether Male, or Female, whom they shall judge to exceed in the Premises; and the County Court are hereby Authorized to proceed against such Delinquents either by Admonition, Fine, or Correction, according to their good discretion."

The law was one of a series intended to turn the people "again unto the Lord our God from whom we have departed with a great Backsliding."

Attention may be called to an earlier protest, twice recorded in the Corporation Records of Harvard College (College Book i. 53 and College Book iii. 29):

"Forasmuch as the wearing of long haire after the manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians, hath begun to invade new England contrary to the rule of Gods word wch sayth it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the Commendable Custome generally of all the Godly of our nation until wthin this few yeares Wee the Magistrates who have subscribed this paper (for the clearing of o^{r} owne innocency in this behalfe) doe declare & manifest o^{r} dislike & detestation against the wearing of such long haire, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober & modest men, & doe corrupt good manners. Wee doe therefore earnestly entreat all the Elders of this Jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause) to manifest their zeal against it, in their Publike administrations, and to take Care that the members of their respective Churches bee not defiled therwth, that so such as shall proove obstinate & will not reforme themselves may have god & man to bear witness against them. The third Month, 10. day 1649."

This was signed by Governor Endecott, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Richard Bellingham, Richard Saltonstall, Increase Nowell, William Hibbins, Thomas Flint, Robert Bridges, and Simon Bradstreet.

[1] Vincent Alsop's "What distance ought we to keep, in following the strange Fashions of Apparel which come up in the days wherein we live?" This was Sermon XXI in Samuel Annesley's collection entitled "A Continuation of Morning-Exercise Questions and Cases of Conscience, practically resolved by sundry Ministers, In October, 1682," London, 1683, pp. 589–632. Remarks on wigs will be found on pp. 605, 608, 610, 628.

selves in any thing but parting with an opportunity to do God service; that so might not offend good Christians. Meaning, I suppose, was fain to wear a Perriwig for his health. I expected not to hear a vindication of Perriwigs in Boston Pulpit by Mr. Mather; however, not from that Text. The Lord give me a good Heart and help to know, and not only to know but also to doe his Will; that my Heart and Head may be his."[1] Perhaps this may have been one of the reasons for the differences which occurred between Sewall and Mather on several occasions.

July 8, 1677, he was shocked by the appearance in church of a female Quaker, "in a Canvas Frock, her hair disshevelled and loose like a Perriwigg, and her face as black as ink."[2] Unable properly to describe her condition he compares her disordered head to a periwig. In 1685 he noted two persons taken into the church wore periwigs on the occasion,[3] and late in the same year he remonstrated with John Hayward, the Public Notary: "I speak to him about his cutting off his Hair, and wearing a Perriwig of contrary Colour: mention the words of our Saviour, Can ye not make one Hair white or black: and Mr. Alsop's Sermon. He alledges, the Doctor advised him to it."[4]

His position was strengthened by receiving a manuscript treatise against periwigs from the Rev. John Higginson in November, 1697, with directions to do with it as he pleased. "I mention'd Printing it. He said [he] would not have it done while he liv'd however."[5] But a second shock awaited him, when the son of his own clergyman, young Josiah Willard, came out in a wig. Sewall expands on the subject:

Tuesday, June 10th, [1701]. Having last night heard that Josiah Willard[6] had cut off his hair (a very full head of hair) and put on a Wigg, I went to him this morning, Told his Mother what I came about,

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[1] Sewall, Diary, i. 342. See a reference to another sermon by Mather on Apparel, ii. 174.

[2] Sewall, Diary, i. 43.

[3] i. 95.

[4] i. 102.

[5] i. 464. It was never printed.

[6] Son of Samuel, born June 21, 1681, and therefore quite old enough to determine how he should wear his hair. He was for many years Secretary of the Province.

and she call'd him. I enquired of him what Extremity had forced him to put off his own hair, and put on a Wigg? He answered, none at all. But said that his Hair was streight, and that it parted behinde. Seem'd to argue that men might as well shave their hair off their head, as off their face. I answered men were men before they had hair on their faces, (half of mankind have never any). God seems to have ordain'd our Hair as a Test, to see whether we can bring our minds to be content to be at his finding: or whether we would be our own Carvers, Lords, and come no more at Him. If disliked our Skins, or Nails; 't is no Thanks to us, that for all that, we cut them not off: Pain and danger restrain us. Your calling is to teach men self Denial. Twill be displeasing and burdensom to good men: And they that care not what men think of them care not what God thinks of them. Father, Brot. Simon [Willard], Mr. [Ebenezer] Pemberton, Mr. [Michael] Wigglesworth, [Urian] Oakes, Noyes, (Oliver), [William] Brattle of Cambridge their example. Allow me to be so far a *Censor Morum* for this and of the Town. Pray'd him to read the Tenth Chapter of the Third book of Calvin's Institutions. I read it this morning in course, not of choice. Told him that it was condemn'd by a Meeting of Ministers at Northampton in Mr. [Solomon] Stoddard's house, when the said Josiah [Willard] was there. Told him of the Solemnity of the Covenant which he and I had lately entered into, which put me upon discoursing to him. He seem'd to say would leave off his Wigg when his hair was grown. I spake to his Father of it a day or two after. He thanked me that [I] had discoursed his Son, and told me that when his hair was grown to cover his ears, he promis'd to leave off his Wigg. If he had known of it, would have forbidden him. His Mother [1] heard him talk of it; but was afraid positively to forbid him; lest he should do it, and so be more faulty.[2]

His admonition appeared not to have convinced the young man, and to show his displeasure Sewall went on November 30, 1701, to another church — the Manifesto Church — instead of sitting under his own clergyman, Samuel Willard: "I spent this Sabbath at Mr. Colman's, partly out of dislike to Mr. Josiah Willard's cutting off his Hair, and wearing a Wigg," [3] thus visiting upon the father the fault of the son, and as his visit attracted some attention in the church, he takes no little smug satisfaction for the act. His feelings, however, were liable to be jarred from time to time, and it may be

[1] Eunice Tyng, second wife of Samuel Willard.
[2] Diary, ii. 36.
[3] ii. 48.

certainly assumed that he has not entered in his Diary all the cases where he felt obliged to protest or admonish. January 16, 1704, he noted that "The last Lecture and this Lord's Day Major [John] Walley appears in his Wigg, having cut off his own Hair." [1] Three days later the commissioners to visit the "disorderly poor" met at Sewall's house. Walley was one of the party and another was Captain Timothy Clark. "Capt. Clark took up his Wigg: I said would have him consider that one place; The Bricks are fallen etc. But here men *cut down* the sycamores. [Isaiah, ix. 10.] He seem'd startled." [2] Two years pass before he returns to the subject. January 12, 1706, "Capt. [Andrew] Belchar appears at Council in his new Wigg: Said he needed more than his own Hair for his Journey to Portsmouth; and other provision was not suitable for a Wedding. Jany. 13th appears at Meeting in his Wigg. He had a good Head of Hair, though twas grown a little thin." [3] He merely mentions Nathaniel Henchman and his "Flaxen Wigg," and notes the misbehavior of Henchman towards himself.[4] A eulogy on Ezekiel Cheever, schoolmaster, ends with the sentence "He abominated Perriwigs." [5]

As he advanced in years his feelings were less frequently expressed. In 1715 he notes that "Mr. Pemberton appears in a Flaxen Wigg," [6] but he entertained no strong liking for that minister, in fact he was uncharitable in his comments. When Thomas Prince returned from England in 1717 he attended a meeting at which Sewall was present; "but not thinking of him, and he having a Wigg on and Russet Coat I saw him not at all." [7] How Sewall could not have seen him at all, and yet could accurately describe his dress, or disguise, is a mystery like unto some in the Apocalypse. Perhaps the wish to ignore one in a wig controlled his eyesight. Nemesis however had started in pursuit of the judge, and in October, 1720, "At Council. Col. [Penn] Townsend spake to me of my Hood. Should get a Wigg. I said twas my chief ornament: I wore it for

[1] Diary, i. 92.
[2] i. 93.
[3] i. 152.
[4] i. 222.
[5] i. 231.
[6] iii. 54.
[7] iii. 135.

sake of the day."[1] But worse was to come, for he was paying court to Madame Winthrop, and she said to him that very evening "something of my needing a Wigg." Four days passed before he could reply to the suggestion. "As to a Periwig, My best and greatest Friend, I could not possibly have a greater, began to find me with Hair before I was born, and had continued to do so ever since; and I could not find in my heart to go to another. She commended the book I gave her. Dr. [John] Preston, the Church Marriage; quoted him saying 'twas inconvenient keeping out of a Fashion commonly used."[2] Such a comment, coming from a woman, meant a command which involved disaster if disobeyed. Sewall did not win Mrs. Winthrop.

Of barbers Sewall says but little. He mentions one John Bushnell, who died in 1667,[3] and the miserable death of William Clendon, the barber and periwig-maker, "being almost eaten up with Lice and stupefied with Drink and cold. Sat in the watch-house and was there gaz'd on a good part of the day, having been taken up the night before."[4] If the barber of the day practised tooth-drawing, we may add to the list the names of Robert Ellis[5] and —— Cutler.[6]

In one of the Sewall MS. volumes I found transcribed an essay on periwigs by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, and the finding has occasioned this paper, intended merely as an introduction.

Of the writer of this essay little need be said.[7] He was born at Newbury, Massachusetts, December 22, 1647, a son of Nicholas and Mary (Cutting) Noyes. Graduating at Harvard College in 1667 he preached for some years at Haddam, Connecticut, where it would have been well had he remained in a life of honorable obscurity. He was called to Salem in 1682 to become the colleague of the Rev. John Higginson, and ten years later attained a cruel notoriety for his participation in the witchcraft reign of terror. Among the worst of the misguided agents of the Lord in that time, his conduct can plead nothing in his favor towards mitigating the decision

[1] Diary, iii. 270.
[2] iii. 272.
[3] i. 111.
[4] i. 158.
[5] i. 494.
[6] ii. 251.
[7] See Sibley, Harvard Graduates, ii. 239.

of posterity, or the curse extorted by his brutality from Rebecca Nurse, a curse apparently so directly fulfilled. Six years after the culmination of the witchcraft outbreak the Governor and Council asked Noyes to deliver the election sermon. It reads almost like a sarcasm to find his subject "New Englands Duty and Interest, to be an Habitation of Justice, and Mountain of Holiness." His senior and colleague in the Salem Church, the Rev. John Higginson — a name to conjure by — described the text as containing "something prophetical and something didactical." Drawn from Jeremiah, who contributed one good word to the English language, Noyes considered it as one of the occasions on which the prophet came "with milk and honey in his mouth." If only the preacher could have shown some realization of his own shortcoming, and in place of turning to the departure of Judea and Jerusalem from justice and holiness he had reviewed the nightmare of six years before in Salem, and given some evidence of a chastened spirit and a contrite heart; if in place of glorifying the final restoration of the Jews, he had written one word of pity for those he had so terribly judged, one word of remorse for his unspeakable bearing towards the poor wretches whom the babbling of children had placed in his power. He uses the word justice sparingly in the sermon, substituting for it the word righteousness, on which he expatiates roundly; but the infinite mercy of God, which he praises, had no reflection in him of a finite mercy, which he needed. Much exercised by the primitive apostasy of man — that original sin of which, thank Heaven, we are all sharers — he could not see the more portentous sin which would damn him for all time.

An habitation of justice New England certainly was not, for the colonists were still too thickly encrusted by the prejudices, customs and laws of the past to breathe or move freely in surroundings which were redolent of freedom. And the ministers must bear their full share for importing and practising the institutions of the past. Persecution in England did not produce a freedom from persecution in Massachusetts, and the very profession which should have been taught forbearance by its own severe experience led in making the plantation such an example of injustice as to call out a royal protest from the mother country. The training of a minister in that day seems to have been curiously wanting on the human side, that which

tempers justice with mercy and softens bigotry into tolerance. Attempt to read the books these masters of divinity studied, and one is repelled by matter and form. Do dry leaves make the waving forests? They did once, but a whole life history lies between the budding branches and the dry stubble on the ground. So these examples in dialectics require an interpretation which only severe disciplinary study can secure, and in the end the result seems hardly to justify the undertaking. Capable in dispute, Noyes had not opened his mind to the living blood which vivified the protestant and made progress possible. He indulged in verses, but they are without merit and not indicative of an imagination which in its generosity expands the vision.

He never married, and died December 13, 1717. The "obituary" of him in the Boston News-Letter of December 23, 1717, gives all the good that can be said of him when his faults have been forgotten. It was prepared by Joseph Dudley, but in its original shape Campbell refused to print it. Sewall abridged it, and his editing made it acceptable to the printer.[1]

Between Mr. Noyes and Judge Sewall there were years of intimacy and common tastes. Among their sympathies was a liking for dealing with the mysteries of the Apocalypse. We find them in 1697 disputing about the fifth seal,[2] but it is doubtful if Noyes accompanied Sewall to the "Bleu Bell" to refresh after the dispute. So solemn a matter required years to solve, and Sewall had "bickerings" with Noyes at various times, an example of which will be found in the Diary, ii. 99, and seems scarcely worthy of any attempt at elucidation. It is doubtless a defect in us that we are unable to look upon the subject with the same seriousness; but interpretation of Scripture upon new lines has weaned us from the older controversies so inextricably involved in the letter of revelation. In dealing with the question of hair Mr. Noyes at least shows himself a not unworthy disputant, and he enumerates his points with a somewhat lighter touch than he employed in his election sermon. At all events this essay should be preserved in print, if only as a gloss on Sewall's Diary. The wonder is that Sewall did not print it himself. Did he degenerate at some later time? Not according to his portrait.

[1] Diary, iii. 154, 156.

[2] i. 453.

Nicholas Noyes on Wigs

Reasons against Wearing of Periwiggs; especially, Against Mens wearing of Periwiggs made of Womens hair, as the custom now is, deduced from Scripture and Reason.

It removeth one notable Distinction, or means of distinguishing one man from another. For so is a man's own Hair: One man differing from another in Hair; as to Color, thickness, thinness, streightnes, curledness. A man with his Hair cut off, and anothers put on, looketh not as he did before; especially, if before of Light colourd hair, now dark: or before dark, now Light: before, thin, streight hair; now bushy, and curled, and longer than before; or other the like difference, which is most familiarly made by those that wear perriwigs. So that he that wears a Perriwig doth in effect put on a Vizzard, and disguiseth himself. And the same man ordinarily keepeth diverse Perriwigs differing one from another in length, Colour, Culres, or the like: sometime wearing one, sometimes another: so that such a one is strangely inconsistent with himself; and unlike to day, to what he was yesterday; and so less liable to be known. Now to affect a Disguise, is not the guise of a good man; but of a bad one. Job 24. 14, 15, 17. It is recorded of Saul and Ahab, and Jeroboam's wife, that they disguised themselves; which gives no Credit to the Cause, if their persons and cases be duely considered. But it may be said, that Jacob disguised himself. And it may be answered, It was with Goat's hair, and not with womens: and he did not cut off his own. But the especial Answer is, that it was in him evidently a particular Lie, and a Cheat, and was fruit of Unbelief, done in Sin, and followed with Sorrow. If it be said that Josiah disguised himself, and went into the Battel, It may be answered, This Instance availeth but little, unless it had succeeded better with him: for it fared with him as it did with Ahab. And Jehosaphat escaped better in his kingly Equipage, and Royal Apparel. Yet if it be Lawfull for a man to disguise in Battel; Is it therefore in Peace? if upon extraordinary Occasion, is it in Ordinary? But Josiah should not have engaged in that Battel: and disguising himself did not preserve him. 2 Chron. 35. 22 etc. If it be said, One of the Sons of the Prophets disguised himself, 1 Kings, 20. 38. It may be answered, It was on a particular Occasion, and for a short time, and to make him look like a Souldier for an advantage to his Office, that his Reproof might take the more Effect upon a hard-hearted King. It was to make him look unlike himself, and unlike a Prophet, or a Son of a Prophet. But he did not ordinarily goe in a Disguise, as

in the case in hand. And supposing it lawfull on extraordinary Occasions; that it is so far from proving it lawfull on Ordinary; that it rather proveth the contrary. And as for this of Perriwigs, they are many times used for Disguise by the worst of men, as by shaven crownd Popish Priests, Highway Robbers, etc. Dr. Annesly, when by the iniquity of the times, he was forced to abscond, and conceal himself in the day; went abroad in the evening to take the aer, and then put on a Perriwigg. When he called for it, he usd to say (as his son-in-law [1] told me) Give me my Rogue; implying that when he had a Perriwigg on, he did not look like himself, nor like an honest man.

2. It removeth one notable visible Distinction of Sex: for so is Hair, as is evident by 1 Cor. 11. 6, 7, 14, 15. And it is obvious to every one, that Mens Hair, and Womens Hair are not ordinarily alike: And if they were, there were no temptation to make Perriwiggs of Womens Hair for Men: and so diverse just prejudices against the Perriwiggs in use, would be removed. Nay men might ordinarily make them of their own Hair; which would yet be less offensive. Whereas now Women are shaven or shorn, and so in that respect are more like Men: being, when shorn, really unlike what they were before, and unlike other modest, and honest Women that would not be shorn or shaven on any tentation. And men putting on their Hair, have hair like Women; and not like Men; as is noted of the Locusts, those Harpyes of Hell: Rev. 9. 8. They had Hair as the hair of Women; plainly implying that Mens hair, and Womens hair is not alike. Now this Transmutation of the visible tokens and Distinctions of Sex, is not lawfull; as is undeniably proved by Deut. 22. 5. It is manifest that the hair of Perriwiggs ordinarily, pertains to Women, growing on Womens heads, having been their Glory and Covering for many years; and therefore must needs be unlawfull for Men to wear. And if a Man for this reason; viz. distinction of Sex, might not wear a Womans Habit; much less might he wear a Womans Hair. The Words in Deut. 22. 5 are very plain, and very terrible: The Woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a Man; neither shall a Man put on a Womans Garment: for all that doe so are abomination to the Lord thy God.

3. It removeth one notable distinction of Age, which is necessary to be known, because of some Duties depending on it. (1) In respect of Mens selves. The frequent Sight of Gray hairs is a Lecture to men, against Levity, Vanity, and youthful Vagaries and Lusts. It calls for a gracious, grave, and majestical deportment, lest they defile the gray hairs with youthfull folly, and Lusts: it puts men in mind of their Mor-

[1] John Dunton, the bookseller.

tality; as the Flourishing of the Almond Tree doth of the approaching Summer; Eccles. 12. 5. Whence when gray hairs are removed out of sight; and youthfull ones in stead thereof, in view (as it is oftentimes in the case of Perriwiggs) it hath a natural tendency to make men forget that they stand upon the edge of the Grave, and on the brink of Eternity. Gray Hairs are here and there upon them; and they are not aware of it; Hose. 7. 9. And indeed, how should they be aware of it, when they are removed out of their sight? For, Out of Sight, out of mind; as saith the Proverb. (2) In respect of Others. Others are obliged to rise up before, and honour the Old man: the demonstrative token of which is his Gray hairs. But strangers to old men cannot so well distinguish of the Age of those they converse with, when youthfull hairs are grafted on a gray head; as is oftimes in the case of Perriwiggs. Are we bound to rise up before the youthfull hair of Girls, and young Women? Levit. 19. 32. Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the Old man. It is evident by that Text, that an Old mans face should ordinarily be accompanied with Gray hairs. And when Perriwiggd men are known to be old, tho' they do their utmost to conceal their Age. Yet such Levity and Vanity appears in their [1] affecting youthfull Shows, as renders them contemptible, and is in itself ridiculous. And so the Old man comes to be despised; contrary to the Law of God, and good of human Societies: and the young men led into tentation to this Evil, by Old mens appearing on the Stage without the badge of their Age and Honor; which would chalenge Respect. The Beauty of Old men is the Gray head. Prov. 20. 29. (3) In respect to God Himself, relating to some of his divine Perfections; particularly, his Majesty and Eternity; which are in some respects shadowed forth in Old men, when they wear their Gray hairs, the Livery of their Old Age: Especially, when a gracious heart is adorned with a gray head: Prov. 16. 31. The hoary head is a Crown of Glory, if it be found in the way of Righteousness. And therefore when God's Majesty and Eternity are set forth in Scripture, it is with white hair, denoting that He is indeed the Ancient of Days; Dan. 7. 9. Rev. 1. 14. His head and his hairs were white like Wool, as white as Snow. It is not therefore meerly good manners, to honor the Old man: but Religion; such a one bearing the image of God in those respects more than they that are younger. Levit. 19. 32. Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the Old man, and fear thy God; implying that they want the Fear of God, as well as good Manners, that don't rise up before the hoary head. So that when aged persons dissimulate their Age by putting off

[1] "or flowers" is written in the margin against this line.

their Gray hairs, and by putting on youthfull looking hair: they do it, not only in their own wrong, to the loss of some degrees of due honor: but also to the wrong of those they lead into tentation, to despise Old men; which is contrary to the Law of God. Moreover they do wrong to God Himself, whose Fear is promoted by reverence due to Gray hairs.

4. Wearing Perriwigs proceeds many times from a Discontent at God's Workmanship. He that likes not his hair because of Color, etc., doth in effect say to his Maker, Why hast thou made me thus? contrary to Rom. 9. 20. Isa. 45. 9. which were it but to an earthly father, is enough to bring a Wo. Isa. 49. 10. Wo to him that saith to his father, What begettest thou, or to the Woman, What hast thou brought forth? For such bring discontent with their hair and Looks, do thereupon affect, and effect to change it. And altho' they themselves cannot make one hair white or black; yet are so bold with Him that could and did make it of that Color that offends them, suppose white, or black, or red, etc. And this is undeniably a breach of the Tenth Commandment; for a man to be discontent with his own hair, which God made for him, and gave to him: and to covet anothers, which God made for another, and gave to another. To covet anothers Hair, is a sin of the same kind with coveting our Neighbours House, or his wife. For the same Command forbids coveting any thing that is thy Neighbours: Exod. 20. 17.

5. Wearing of Perriwigs evidently marreth the Workmanship of God, and so defaceth his Image. For God and Nature, or God in Nature hath suited mans Complexion and Hair; and in nature they are suited, as Naturalists observe. *Pilorum enim differentia est pro qualitate cutis Animalium,* as Aristotle observed *Lib. de gener.* And this is evident in divers Instances. When the Constitution is hail and flourishing, the Hair is so: and as the Constitution gradually declines and changeth, so doth the Hair. Prov. 20. 29. The glory of young men is their strength: but the Beauty of Old men is the Gray head. Therefore it deforms an Old man, to put on him a young persons Hair: as it would deform a young man, to put him on Gray hairs; which is the beauty of old men, not of young. And the Hair, for the most part at least, is colourd and qualified according to natural Causes in the Constitution. Such as is the predominant Element, such is the predominant Temperament, such is the predominant Humor in the Body: and according to that the Flesh and Skin: and according to all these, the Hair, as Physicians know and shew; and is [*blank*] observable to every observing Eye. So that between the Periwigg hair, and the Complexion of him that wears it, there is ordinarily, a manifest Incongruity: so that he that hath Skill in Physiognomy, shall be able to know that this hair could not grow upon

that head, no more than Salt-Marsh can grow upon a Hill. And for this reason there is for the most part, an incongruity between a mans hair, and a womans Complexion: and between a Womans hair, and a Mans Complexion: The hair of Women being suitable to their soft, moist, cold Constitution: but not to the Masculine hot and dry Constitution. And consequently, in the case in hand, there must needs be an unnatural incongruity between the Complexion, and Hair, when the Complexion and Constitution is Masculine, and the Hair Feminine. Rev. 9. 7, 8. Their faces were as the faces of Men; and they had Hair as the Hair of Women. Now if this were not unnatural and incongruous, and a kind of Monstrosity, to see things so heterogeneous linked together; I see no reason for such description. Note other parts of the Description together with these; Man-faced, Woman-haird, Lion-toothed, Scorpion-taild, Horse-shapd, etc., and it describes such a Medly going to make up a Locust, as we call neither Fish, nor Flesh, nor good red Herring. And what the Poet said of the Mermaid, *Desinet in piscem mulier formosa superne.* And in the case of Periwigs, we may say, *Desinet inque vium mulier formosa superne.* So also to put black hair on the flesh and skin that naturally produceth Red, Yellow, or Light Colourd hair, is unnatural, and incongruous: so likewise to put red hair, or yellow, or Light-colourd, on Flesh and Skin that naturally produceth black. So Youthfull hair, and sunk eyes, deaf ears, wrinkled faces and palsyed heads, etc. are not more suitable, than the Blossoming of Appletrees in Autumn, when the Leaves are falling off. And thus Nature teacheth, that Perriwigs are undecent and unsuitable on this very score; the Trimming not being suitable to the Cloth, nor the Crop to the Soyl.

6. It seems to be unlawfull, and most foolish and absurd for a Woman to part with her Hair to adorn a Man. And if it be so, it must needs be unlawfull for Men to desire it, and buy it, or beg it, or use it in Perriwigs. (1) It is a Glory to a Woman to have Long Hair, 1 Cor. 11.15. and therefore a Shame to her to part with it by being shorn, or shaven. 1 Cor. 11. 6. Because if it be a Shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven; it is indisputably an Argument taken *ab Absurdo*, and therefore a foolish and absurd thing for a Woman to be shorn or shaven. Which yet is ordinarily done in order to [furnish] perriwigs. But such consult their own Shame. (2) Her Hair is given her for a Covering to herself, not to another, 1 Cor. 11. 15. So then the End God gave it her for, is perverted. And their brains are exposed to Reproach and Damage who thus uncover their own barns, to thatch others anew; which surely none would doe, unless their own barns were empty; seeing

the Recompence is, in stead of well-set hair, to have baldness: which in Scripture is accounted a Curse. Isa. 3. 24. (3) It seems a Disorder in religious Worship, that offends the Angels, for a woman to pray shaven or shorn, 1 Cor. 11. 5, 6, 10, 13. Judge in your selves, is it comly that a Woman pray unto God uncovered? Yet in the sense of that Text and Context, she that is shaven or shorn, prays unto God uncovered, if she prayeth at all to God: for her hair was given to her for a Glory, and for a Covering, as is there manifest. And if by reason of other Covering, men see not their bald Crowns, yet the Angels of God see them; and they cannot be hid from the all-seeing Eye of God, who seeth how ingratefully she hath parted with her Glory, and Covering, which He gave her. (4) A Woman degrades her self unto the rank and quality of a Beast, when she submits to be shorn as the Beasts are, to cover others with their hair. What a shame is it to women to be content to be made such fools of by men? that when some mens Perriwigs are made of the hair of a Horses tail, and others of a Goat's beard; that they should voluntarily suffer themselves to be so abusd as to part with their hair to make Perriwigs also! And Womens hair and Goat's hair many times goe into the same Perriwigs, as if they were *ejusdem farinae*, or birds of a feather. Nay the woman, of the two, that parted with her hair voluntarily, is more goatish, or at least foolish than the Goat, that parteth with his involuntarily; tho' it be to be so honorably matchd as to be hangd Cheek by jole with a Woman's hair. What a mad World would it be, if women should take the same affection to wearing of Men's beards; as Men do to Women's hair? Would they not be accounted meer Viragos, or virile Houswives? And by the same reason, why should it not be accounted Effeminacy in Men, to covet Women's hair; which is a token of Women's Subjection, when they wear it themselves for a Covering: and to have it cut off, a token of Immodesty. Moreover, what mazd work would it make with Women-kind, if they were bound to supply all Mankind with Perriwig-Stuff? For the Sheep to be dumb before the Shearer, is admired Patience; and yet that is comparatively, no Wonder to this. Because God gave her her Wool for that end. And the Sheep is so subject to Man, that he may at his pleasure cut his Throat, as well as her Wool; and eat her Flesh, and tan and wear her Skin, as well as her Wool. But God hath not so subjected Women to Men. But as Virgil said of Sheep

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis Oves

so it may be now said of Women,

Sic vos non vobis mulieres crinificatis.

If the hair of Women be so necessary and usefull, as it is pretended in

this Age, for Perriwigs: perhaps the next Age may find a way to spin it, and make Cloth of it. And their Skins well tannd may make good Leather: and at length they will become very profitable Creatures to Men.

7. The Folly and Absurdity of Mens Perriwigging of themselves with Women's Hair, appears in many Particulars. (1) It is a Shame for a Man to wear long hair; but Perriwigs are usually long Hair. And if Nature teacheth that it is a Shame for a Man to wear long hair tho' his own: Nature must teach that it is much more shamefull to wear Long hair of another bodys; and especially of Women's. It was no Shame for Men to wear their own short hair: it must needs therefore be shamefull to part with it for that which it is a Shame for Man to wear; viz. Women's long hair. (2) Women's hair, when on their own heads, is a token of Subjection: How comes it to cease to be a token of Subjection, when Men wear it? It was made for a token of Subjection in the Wearer; and is no more a token of Superiority in Men: than wearing the Breeches is a token of Subjection in Women. 1 Cor. 11. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc. (3) To be beholden to another without Cause, is ignominious in a high degree: for the Borrower is Servant to the Lender, at least in some degree. It was an abatement of Solomon's Glory, that it was not genuine, and connatural, as the Lilies Glory was. Sin exposed Men to this Shame and Misery, to be beholden to some of the Creatures for Clothing and Covering. But in the case of Hair, there is no such need; seeing God and Nature provided for every man hair of his own. In cases of extraordinary Casualty, when the head is left bare, other supply may be made by Perriwigs made of the hair of other Creatures. There is no need to rob Peter, to pay Paul, and to make one bald, that ought to be covered; that another may be covered, that might be conveniently covered some other way. (4) For a man to pray coverd, is absurd and shamefull, and dishonours Christ. But so doe Men when Perriwigd. For the Woman's hair is given for a Covering; and is so to whomsoever wears it in that Length and Abundance, that is usual in Perriwigs: and consequently, such dishonor Christ. 1 Cor. 11. 4. (5) It is a foolish Exchange, to exchange the Living for the dead. In this case, as well as in others, A living dog is better than a dead Lion. A mean head of Hair living, sweet, lively-colourd and brisk through its constant derivation of its natural juice from the Soil where it first sprung up, is to be preferd before the most flourishing Perriwigg, that is lopt off from the root, and derives no more vital Sap: but is always withering and decaying, and needs artificial Oyle and Perfumes, to keep it from Putrefaction. (6) A good man would set the more Price upon his own natural

Hair because Christ said, The Hairs of your head are all numbred. Mat. 10. 30. And that an hair of their head shall not perish. Luke, 21. 18. That God will have the same Regard to beggd, or borrowd, or bought Perriwigd hair; we have no Security. When the 3 Children were cast into the fire, not an hair of their head was singed: if they had wore Perriwigs, it had been well if they had escaped so. If Samson had thought to have thatched his shaven crown, and mended his broken Vow with a Perriwigg of Delilah's Hair; though it might have been longer than it was before, and much longer than it was grown to at the time he made the Philistines Sport: I question whether he had had such an extraordinary Assistance, as he had when he pulld down the house on the Philistines heads. If the Baldness of Elisha's head had come by a voluntary shaving of his head, to make room for a Perriwigg made of Womens Hair: the children that laughd at his bald head, might, for ought that I know, have done well enough for all the Bear's. For it had been a ridiculous thing for the old Prophet to have voluntarily laid aside his gray hairs, for to make way for a more florid appearance in a borrowed Dress in some foolish youthfull Woman's hair. (7) There is manifest Pride, Levity, Vanity, Affectation in Perriwigs. For they are not made in imitation of Mens Hair, as it naturally groweth. Whereas Art should imitate Nature, where it pretends to mend the accidental defects, or decays of Nature. Let all the World judge, whose perriwigg Locks dont hang in their Eyes, whether the Perriwigg part of Mankind, as to Hair, look like them that go in their own Hair. Whereas the Perriwigs might as easily be made to imitate the honest guise of those Christians that wear their own Hair; if men desired to have them so: and would be less offensive than they are now. (8) It will not be an easy thing to account with God for so much needless Cost and Expence as is now laid out on Perriwigs. And much more would the Expence be, if the Fashion should prevail among the Generality. Alass, that men should be so prodigal and profuse this way, in an Age so barren and fruitless as to good Works: and when they are so much needed for the maintaining the Government in Order and Honor, and for building Forts, and maintaining Souldiers to defend the Plantation against the Enemys that will take off the Scalp, both Skin and Hair, if we fall into their hands. They that do little or nothing for relieving the Poor; and are backward in maintaining the Worship of God, and make Poverty their Excuse; and yet might bate all the Cost of Perriwigs, as well as the paring of their Nails: Will be found ill Stewards of the Estates which God hath given them. (9) If all the foregoing Arguments prove no more than that there is an Appearance of Evil in it; yet that is enough

to prove that Perriwigs of Womens hair should not be worn by Christian Men: seeing Christians are required to abstain from all Appearance of Evil. Neither should we for so small a Temptation, run the Venture of living in a Course of Sin; and of being Exemplary to others in what is Doubtfull, and, very many good Men think, sinfull: and are offended and grieved at the Sight of Christians that have Faces like Men; and Hair like the Hair of Women: and are especially grieved, when they see Magistrates and Ministers, that are in Reputation for Wisdom, Honor and Office; and ought to be Examples to others in what is Good, are, in their Opinion, become Examples in what is Evil.

Finis.

Transcribed out of the original Manuscript of the Reverd. Mr. Nicholas Noyes, written with his own Hand. January 15th, 1702–03.

S. S.

Mr. Albert Matthews exhibited a Journal kept by Edward Goddard in 1726, and communicated the following paper, prepared by Mr. Brewer Goddard Whitmore, the owner of the manuscript and a descendant of the writer of the Journal:

EDWARD GODDARD'S JOURNAL OF THE PEACE COMMISSION TO THE EASTERN INDIANS 1726 [1]

The controversy between the General Court and the Governor, in Massachusetts — particularly keen after the arrival of Governor Shute in 1716 — was by no means excluded from the realm of military affairs.[2] Thus the attempts on the part of either arm of the government adequately to meet the recurrent depredations of the Eastern Indians proved nugatory until the abrupt departure of Shute for England in 1722,[3] the complete success of a surprise attack upon the Jesuit Rale at Norridgewock in 1724, and the disaster which overtook the Lovewell scalping expedition at Pigwacket the

[1] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Matthews and to Dr. S. E. Morison for aid in the preparation of the manuscript for the press.

[2] H. R. Spencer, Constitutional Conflict in Provincial Massachusetts (1905), p. 133.

[3] Shute embarked on board the Sea Horse December 27, 1722, and sailed January 1, 1723; cf. our Publications, xvii. 66–68.

year following, brought about a cessation of hostilities by something like common consent. It fell to the lot of William Dummer, the acting governor, to frame a treaty with four delegates of the Indians at Boston toward the end of 1725 and to arrange for a formal ratification at Falmouth during the summer of 1726.[1] The General Court saw to it, however, that the Lieutenant-Governor and the quorum[2] of his Council should be accompanied "to the eastward" by their own Clerk serving as temporary Clerk of the Council, and by a sort of committee of safety, composed of ten carefully chosen Representatives.[3]

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[1] On December 15, 1725, the Indian delegates were admitted to the Council Chamber and "Articles of Submission and Pacification" were signed: see House Journal of that date, pp. 75–76; Boston News Letter, December 16 and 23.

[2] By the Province Charter, seven constituted a quorum: see our Publications, ii. 18.

[3] The following extracts relate to the choice of Councillors and Representatives. Two bodies were appointed: one a committee to consider claims and titles to land, the other to assist at the ratification.

"*Ordered*, That *John Stoddard* Esq; go up with a Message to the Honourable Board, to Acquaint them that the House is ready to proceed to the Choice of Seven Gentlemen, to be present at the Ratification of the Treaty with the *Indians*, agreable to the Instrument delivered by His Honour the Lieut. Governour, to the *Indian* Delegates" (December 22, 1725, House Journal, p. 89).

"*Edmund Quincy* Esq; brought down the following Vote of Council, *viz.* In Council, *December* 22. 1725. Ordered, That the Honourable *William Tailer* Esq; *John Turner* Esq; and the Secretary [Josiah Willard], with such as shall be appointed by the Honourable House of Representatives, be a Committee to receive the several Claims or Titles (that may be had or obtained) of the *English* to the Lands in the Eastern Parts of this Province; and to repair to *Falmouth*, at the Time proposed, for the Ratification of the late Treaty, and that they procure the said Claims and Titles, and take care as far as possible to make out the same to the Satisfaction of the *Indians*; and to distinguish and ascertain what Lands belong to the *English*, in order to the Effectual Prevention of any Contention or Misunderstanding on that Head for the future. Sent down for Concurrence. Read.

"*Voted*, That this House will proceed to the Choice of Five Persons to be Employed in the Affair contained in the above Vote of the Honourable Board, to Morrow Morning (December 22, 1725, House Journal, p. 90).

"The Vote of the Council brought down last Night, for appointing a Committee to be present at the Ratification of the Treaty with the *Indians* according to the Instrument delivered by His Honour the Lieut. Governour to the *Indian* Delegates, and sent down for Concurrence. Read and Concur'd, and *Voted*, That Col. *Dudley*, Col. *Stoddard*, Mr. *Lindall*, Mr. *Shove*, and Mr. *Wain-*

Of these, Edward Goddard, whose journal for the period of his attendance at the ratification of the treaty follows, was not the least

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wright, be joyned with the Committee of the Honourable Board, in that Affair" (December 23, 1725, House Journal, p. 91).

"A Message from His Honour by Mr. Secretary, *Viz.* Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, . . . *I am satisfied of the good Disposition of the several Tribes to Maintain the Peace, and that the Delay of the Ratification must be attributed to the* Penobscut Indians *sending Intelligence so late to the other Tribes, . . . and therefore I have appointed the* 15*th. of the next Month to meet them at* Casco *for that End, and I purpose to have the Company of several of His Majesty's Council, and if you think proper to Appoint any of your Members to attend that Service, it will be very Acceptable to me*" (June 9, 1726, House Journal, p. 32).

"The House Entred into the Consideration of His Honours Message of the Ninth Instant, and came into the following Vote, *Viz.*

"*Voted*, That Maj. *John Quincy* and Capt. *Amos Turner* be added to the Committee, Appointed by this Court the 23*d.* Day of *December* last, to Receive the Claims or Titles of the English to the Lands in the Eastern parts of the Province, and to repair to *Falmouth* at the Time Proposed for the Ratification of the Treaty, *&c.* And that Mr. *Thomas Cushing*, Maj. *John Chandler*, Col. *Richard Kent*, Capt. *Daniel Epes*, *Henry Phillips* Esq; Capt. *Edward Goddard*, Capt. *Thomas Wells*, Mr. *Edward Arnold*, Col. *Paine*, Mr. *John Paine* and Maj. *Samuel Moodey* be added to the aforesaid Committee, who are hereby desired to Attend His Honour the Lieutenant Governour at the Ratification of the late Treaty with the Indians, according to His Honours Appointment for Meeting the Indians the Fifteenth of the next Month at *Casco*. Sent up for Concurrence" (June 17, 1726, House Journal, p. 54).

"*Symonds Epes* Esq; brought down the Vote of the 17*th.* for Appointing a Number of the Members of the Court to Attend on His Honour the Lieut. Governour at the Ratification of the late Treaty to be held by His Honour's Appointment the 15*th.* of *July* at *Casco*, pass'd in Council, *viz.* In Council *June* 22*d.* 1726. Read and Concurr'd with the Amendments, *Viz.* Dele the words — *be added to the aforesaid Committee who are hereby desired* — and add — *be desired together with the said Committee* — and *Ordered*, That *John Otis* Esq; be of the Committee for Claims in the room of the Secretary, and that *John Wheelwright*, *Elisha Cooke*, *Joseph Hammond*, *Samuel Thaxter*, *Thomas Palmer*, and *Edward Hutchinson* Esqrs; be desired to Attend His Honour the Lieut. Governour at the Ratification. Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Concurr'd" (June 23, 1726, House Journal, p. 65).

It would appear, then, that as finally constituted the committee on claims and titles consisted of three Councillors and seven Representatives, as follows, the names of Councillors being printed in italics: William Dudley (H.C. 1704) of Roxbury, then Speaker; Timothy Lindall (H.C. 1695) of Salem; *John Otis* (1657–1727); John Quincy (H.C. 1708) of Braintree; Edward Shove of Dighton; John Stoddard (H.C. 1701) of Northampton; *William Tailer*, Lieutenant-Governor from 1711 to 1716 and from 1730 to 1732; Amos Turner (*d.* 1739) of Scituate; *John Turner* (1671–1742); and John Wainwright (H.C. 1709) of Ipswich. And

notable. Born at Watertown on March 24, 1675 — the son of William Goddard, citizen and grocer of London, who, being reduced in circumstances by losses at sea, came with his wife and three children to New England in 1666 — Edward suffered the loss of his parents when he was scarce sixteen. He modestly rates both his portion and his capacities for shifting in the world as small, but some ingenuity in the use of the pen and "something of a faculty and inclination about teaching youth" kept him always from "pinching wants."[1] In June, 1697, he married Susannah Stone, daughter of Simon Stone of Watertown and sister of the Rev. Nathaniel Stone of Harwich,[2] and about 1708 moved to Boston, where he purchased "for about 30 pounds 3 rights in Hains' farms, so called." After six years, however, he removed to Framingham, — partly because he was able to sell his acquired rights at a profit; partly because three children born to him at Boston had died in infancy and he perceived the fourth "to be seized with the same inward languishment." Thereafter such honors as his townsmen could bestow came fast upon him. Selectman and town clerk for many years; lieutenant and then captain of a troop;[3] Representative to the General Court from 1724 to 1733; member of the Council for the next three years; — he spent his strength and substance freely, in exacting — if narrow — public service.

The inexorable, consistent grimness of the provincial Calvinist

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those appointed to attend Dummer at the ratification were six Councillors and eleven Representatives, as follows, the names of Councillors being printed in italics: Edward Arnold of Duxbury; John Chandler (1665–1743) of Woodstock; *Elisha Cooke* (H.C. 1697); Thomas Cushing (*d.* 1740) of Boston; Daniel Epes (1679–1760) of Salem; Edward Goddard of Framingham; *Joseph Hammond* (*d.* 1753); *Edward Hutchinson* (1678–1752); Richard Kent (1673–1740) of Newbury; Samuel Moody (H.C. 1689) of Falmouth; John Paine (*d.* 1731) of Eastham; Nathaniel Paine of Bristol; *Thomas Palmer*; Henry Phillips (1681–1729) of Charlestown; *Samuel Thaxter* (1665–1740); *John Wheelwright* (*d.* 1745); and Thomas Wells (1678–1750) of Deerfield.

[1] From Edward Goddard's manuscripts, extracts from which are printed in W. A. Goddard's Genealogy of the Descendants of Edward Goddard (Worcester, 1833), pp. 64–83.

[2] Simon Stone (1631–1708); Rev. Nathaniel Stone (1667–1755; H.C. 1690). Cf. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 229–230; Bond, Watertown Genealogies (1860), i. 585–586.

[3] Goddard "also held commissions as Lieutenant and Captain of a troop" (Barry, History of Framingham, p. 261).

seems to have been his in full measure. He suffers no touch of humor or of vagrant fancy to shade the clear outlines of his daily exposition; the least robust of his sons he gives to Harvard and the church; he fills notebooks with minute abridgments of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World and Hoadly's Vindication of the Ancient Prophets; he glories in theological controversy, and splits the church at Framingham upon the flinty reefs of doctrinal decrees. The "great sickness" of 1754 took heavy toll from certain definite sections of the town. Edward Goddard survived by scarce a fortnight the son [1] whom he had given to the church; his wife, by some five days.

Other contemporary accounts of the ratification are to be found in the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith,[2] and in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society.[3] The Massachusetts House Journals and the contemporary newspapers should also be consulted.

JOURNAL OF EDWARD GODDARD, 1726 [4]

Memorandum 1726

July 8th Left my family in health [5] & Sett out for Boston in order to wait upon his honr the Lieut Governr at the ratification of the Articles of Peace with the Eastern Indians at Falmouth in Cascoe Bay, remaind at Boston from Saturday July 9th till Thursday July 14.

14th Between the hours of 9. & 10. A.M. Set Sail from the long wharf in Boston. Three Sloops Employed in that Affair vizt the Commodore Sloop Susannah Capt John Robinson Commander, having on Board his Honr the Lieut Governr [6] with five of his Majesties Council, & a Number of Gentlem̄. which together with Waiters & the Sloops-Gang made up in all 56. persons. Sloop Dragon Capt Richard Langdon

[1] Rev. David Goddard (1706–1754; H.C. 1731). Edward Goddard died February 9, 1754; his wife died February 4, 1754; David Goddard died January 19, 1754.

[2] Second edition (1849), edited by W. Willis, pp. 46–47.

[3] First Series (1853), iii. 377–405.

[4] A fly leaf contains the words:

1726
Memorandum
Edwd Goddard
1726

[5] At Framingham.

[6] William Dummer, acting governor from January 2, 1723, till July 18, 1728.

— Commander, with Ten of the House, & a Number of Gentlem̄, which together with Waiters & Sloop Gang made up in all 41. persons Sloop Merry Meeting Capt Sanders [1] Comm^{dr} wth Officers Souldiers & Sloops-gang in all about 65 persons. The Lt Govern^{r} giving the Signal by firing a Gun 20 Min. past 10 The Castle Saluted with Eleven Guns, the Comodore fired 5. guns the Dragon 7. & the Castle 3. more, We then stood away, Wind N.E. small gale, came to anchor in Nantasket Road at 4 pm.

15. Friday between 4 & 5. AM. the Comodore giving the Signal We came to Sail, Wind at North, a smal Gale, Course E N E. at 6. came up with the light house,[2] At 10. were becalmd ab^{t} 2 Leagues below the Brewsters till between 5 & 6. p m, then Stood about North for Cape Anne Wind ab^{t} West, Small Gale. About Midnight We doubled the Cape & had a good gale of Wind at West, Stood N E. & by N. this day many of our Comp^{a} sick.

16. Saturday, 4 a Clock A M. the wind slackend At 8. We made Aggamentus hill [3] about 5 Leā North from Piscataqua,[4] at ab^{t} 11. Cape Elsabeth, at 4. p.m. were up with Wood Island [5] near Winter harbour [6] (s^{d} Island bearing from us W N W.) between 6. & 7. doubled the Cape & at 9. came to Anchor about 2 Mile from the Town of Falmouth

17. Sabbath day, at 6. A M We weighed Anchor, Towed up to the Harbour where we Arrived at 7. Govr Wentworth [7] Saluted with 5 Guns, ours returnd 5 Guns each, in all 15. & 3. after from the Shore which we Went on Shore, Under discharge of all the Artillery Viz. the Commodore 10 Dragon 10. Merry Meeting 5. the Piscatqua Brigg 3. & 3 from the Shore, Went to Meeting at 11. The Massachusett Comp^{a} in Arms Lead, & the Piscataqua Men (being 12 in Number) bro^{t} up the Rear. Mr Shurtliff [8] preached in the forenoon from Jer. 2. 19. &

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[1] Thomas Sanders, of Gloucester; entered the service of the Province in 1725; commanded the Province sloop of war at the siege of Louisburg; and in 1761 was sent by Gov. Bernard to convey Professor Winthrop, of Harvard College, to Newfoundland where the transit of Venus might be observed. (W. Goold, Portland in the Past, pp. 222–223.)

[2] Boston Light.

[3] Mt. Agamenticus, 673 feet above the sea, some 6 miles due west of Bald Head Cliff.

[4] Now Portsmouth.

[5] Wood Island Light off Fletcher's Neck. Not to be mistaken for Wood Island near Portsmouth Light.

[6] Biddeford Pool.

[7] John Wentworth (1671–1730), Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire under Shute, who took chief command after the latter's abrupt departure in 1722.

[8] Rev. William Shurtleff, of Portsmouth. He was born at Plymouth, grad-

Mr Fitch [1] in the afternoon from Psal. 47. 7. After the Exercise in each part of the day we returnd to Our Sloop.

18. Monday AM. went to Town, Viewed Some part of it (the Scittuation Very pleasant & Commodious) abt noon returnd to our Sloop PM. Writt home. Enclosed to Mr Hubbard [2]

19. Tuesday. AM. went to Town, Viewed the Northerly part of it, (the Land there very fruitful & good) This day his Honr went to Papuduck [3] (abt a Mile from the Town) at 3. PM. The Vessels Saluted him with 15. Guns, at his going off & 15 more at his return. I returnd to the Sloop abt noon & continued on Board the afternoon & Wrote home, Directing to Capt John Alden [4] for Conveyance.

20. Wednesday AM. went to Town Viewed the Sy part, (the land good & Sittuation pleasant) this day Govr Wentworth & Gentlem. of Piscataqua, with the Gent of ye House With the Chaplains & Sundry other Gentlem̄ Dined with his Honour the Lieut Governor in the parade of Majr Moody's Garrison [5] Under the Aynings of the Susanna & Dragon After Dinner the Kings health began at which (a Signal being given) the Vessells in the Harbour fired Round, After followed the Prince & princess's health,[6] then the Lt Govrs Health & prosperity to each Government. In all 72 Guns were fired.

21. Thursday, I went to the Town in the Morning (& after a Short Vissit made to one of Our Company Sick on Shore [7]) returned to our

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uated from Harvard College in 1707, and came to Falmouth as chaplain of the New Hampshire officials. (Goold, p. 192; Smith's Journal, p. 46.)

[1] Rev. Jabez Fitch, born 1672, son of James Fitch of Norwich, Connecticut. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1694, and settled at Portsmouth, N. H., in 1725. (Smith's Journal, p. 46.)

[2] Probably Richard Hubbard, doorkeeper to the General Court.

[3] Papuduck or Purpooduck, the region now known as South Portland. Purpooduck Point is now called Spring Point. (Willis, History of Portland, p. 96.)

[4] "Yesterday died Capt. *John Alden* of this Place, in the 65th Year of his Age" (New England Weekly Journal, February 2, 1730). He was a son of the Capt. John Alden (died March 14, 1702) who was accused of witchcraft in 1692, and a grandson of Pilgrim John Alden.

[5] Maj. Samuel Moody, son of the Rev. Joshua Moody (H.C. 1653) of Portsmouth. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1689, and commanded the fort at New Casco (between what are now called Bartlett and Princes Points) from 1709–1716. He then moved to Old Casco (now Portland) and became leader of the little colony there. On what is now Hancock Street, he built and armed the garrison house to which the diary refers.

[6] George, afterwards George II, and Caroline.

[7] Probably Edward Shove from Dighton, Massachusetts. He was admitted inhabitant of Falmouth in September, 1727. (Smith's Journal, p. 53.)

Sloop, about 4 p m. Wind SE it begain to rain blew hard & continued raining the greatest part of the Night: N.B. ab^{t} 2 p m Coller[1] (who had before our Arrival been sent in a Schooner to St Georges) Arrived here with a Letter to his Hon^{r} from Wenemuit Chief Sagamore of the Penobscut Tribe.

22. Fryday. I went to Town in the Morning Vissited the Same Sick person; returnd to our Sloop to Breakfast, His Hon^{r} the Lieu^{t} Govern^{r} was pleased to Communicate to the Members of the House (here present) by the hands of Mr Wainwright[2] the Letter of Wenemuit dated July 19. Wherein the S^{d} Sagamore Insists upon it to have his Hon^{r} meet the Indians at Pemaquid, Alledging that 'twas a busy time with them. And that their Fathers could not come so far as Casco Also the Copy of a Letter Signed by his Hon^{r} & by Governour Wentworth & Maj^{r} Mascareen[3] Dated July 21. purporting That their Hon^{rs} expect the Indians do attend them at Falmouth According to Articles Stipulated at Boston, promising them Safe Conduct, & Allowing them three days after Capt Sanders s Arrival at St Georges (who Set Sail this day with their. Hon^{rs} Letter) to prepare & come as many as can in Sanders if they See cause

23. Saturday I went on Shoar, Vissited Mr Shove,[4] returnd at noon to the Sloop, writt home Directed to Mr Swift[5] About 11. A M. 3 Indians Viz^{t} Avexis[6] Guillaum & Martin,[7] came from St Georges in a Birch Canoe. This day his Hon^{r} the Lieu^{t} Govern^{r} being Invited to Dine with Govern^{r} Wentworth & the Other Gentlemen of New Hampshire the Briggateen in which those Gentlemen Arrived here fired four Rounds in All 20. Guns.

24. Sabbath day, Most of our Company Stayd on Board the Sloop,

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[1] Richard Coller or Collier came from Plymouth Colony in 1715. He died in 1732. (Willis, History of Portland, pp. 321–322.)

[2] John Wainwright (H.C. 1709): see p. 154, below.

[3] Paul Mascarene, later Colonel, who had been a party to the treaty and was the commissioner of the government of Nova Scotia. (Smith's Journal, p. 157.) For an excellent sketch of Mascarene, by J. M. Hubbard, see Capt. R. H. R. Smythies's Historical Records of the 40th Regiment (1894), pp. 527–545.

[4] Edward Shove of Dighton already referred to.

[5] Rev. John Swift (H.C. 1697), minister at Framingham from 1701 until his death in 1745. Edward Goddard withdrew from his church in 1733. (Barry, History of Framingham, pp. 112, 262.)

[6] Avexis or Arexis, one of the four Indian delegates who had signed the treaty at Boston. (Collections Maine Historical Society, iii. p. 380.)

[7] Victor Martin or Martyn (ibid. p. 380).

Mr Robinson [1] preach'd to us in the forenoon from 49 Psal. 8. Sung. 49 ps. 6.7.8.9. 10 v.

49 Psal 8. The Redemption of the Soul &c Doct. that all the things of this world are not sufficient to redeem a Soul from death.[3]

1) Prep. The Imortal Souls of men Are Subject to Spiritual Death. 1) the Souls of men Are Imortal 2) they are capable notwithstanding of a spiritual death. 1)x. & this is evident 1) from their uncompounded nature 2) from the Universal consent of Nations 3) from those everlasting habits which are Inherent in them, 4) in that it does not Depend upon the Body for its being & Existence

2) Prep. That all the world cannot redeem the soul from Death. this truth Evinced

1) That in Order to a Souls redemption it is absolutely necessary that all the sins of a man Should be pardoned 2) In order to a Souls redemption a Satisfactory ransome must be given to God for it. 3) In order to a Souls redemption the Wounds which the souls of men have received by sin must be cured.

1) Nothing less than the blood of Jesus Christ can heal the wounds of our Souls 2) the sanctifying Graces of the Spirit of God are necessary to the healing of the wounded souls of men.

Mr Pemberton Preach'd [4] with us in the Afternoon from 10 Acts 42. Sung 2 first Staves of 50 ps.[5] Sung 4 last v of the 2d ps. Some that came on Board us after Meeting informed us that 27 Children were Baptized this day at Falmouth by Nr Fitch; & one at Papudduck by Mr White [6]

After Meeting P.M. Mr Wainwright came Aboard & Acquainted the Gentlemen of the House that his Honr Sent his servise to 'em & Directed him to Communicate to 'em the conference had with the 3. Indians Yesterday, The Substance where of was A Mutual Compliment & an

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[1] Later referred to as "our chaplain." Perhaps the Rev. John Robinson (H.C. 1695) of Duxbury.

[2] Here are some words in shorthand.

[3] Here follows a résumé of the sermon in shorthand.

[4] "A Memorial of *Ebenezer Pemberton* Chaplain at His Majesty's Castle *William*, praying that his Sallary may be advanced to 50 *s.* per Annum, . . . read and Committed to the Committee of Muster-Rolls" (Massachusetts House Journal, June 1, 1726, pp. 18–19). He graduated at Harvard College in 1721, later settled in New York, and was pastor of the New Brick Church in Boston from 1754 to 1777.

[5] Here follows a résumé of the sermon in shorthand.

[6] Rev. John White, who claimed his ancestor's titles to land in Purpooduck in 1749. (Smith's Journal, p. 47.)

Acc° from the Indians that the Occasion of their comeing was to know Whether his Hon^r had rec^d the Letter Sent from their Sachem.[1] Mr Wainwright further Informed us that his Hon^r designed to Sail up the Bay to Morrow ab^t 8. a clock in the Morning & that he desired Our Company in the Sloop Dragon & in the Evening

as We Sat in the Cabbin came a fowl
'twas thought portentous 'cause it was an Owl
Ill Omens I 'le not fear but this I 'le Mind
To have a care of ranking with that Kind

25. Monday. The Comodore giving the Signal by firing a Gun We came to Sail with the Gentlemen of New Hamp-Shire at ab^t 8. Morn; We saild within ye Islands of Cascoe Bay Northward of great Shebeag[2] & ¼ after 2 P M came up wth Small point bearing ab^t N. from us, At 3 We came up With Sugadahock Isl^d[3] Near to this Island is a Large rock at the Mouth of the River from Whence this River takes its name. at 5. we came up with Capt Penhallows[4] Garrison On Arrowsick Island,[5] who saluted the Commodore with 5. Guns (the Commodore returned one) & Saluted our Sloop with 2 (we returned one) and then they Saluted the Newhampshire Brig^a with 4. Guns, who returned one. George Town on Arrowsick Island is Said to be About 7 Miles from the Mouth of the River.[6] The Commodore ab^t ½ hour after 6. & ab^t 3 Miles up the river (which is but ab^t 40 Rods Wide in Some places, thô very deep) run foul of us, And afterwards ran Aground but got off Again In Sailing up the River We had a Stiff gale & many flaws coming off the Shore which made it difficult geting up. Ab^t 7. P.m We came to Anchor in the river called Kenebeck (Al^s Sagadehock) ab^t 2 & ½ Miles Above Penhallo's Garrison, & directly Opposite to Col° Minots Farm,[7] NB. That from the entrance of the River to the place where we came to Anchor I Saw little or no good Land thô it Appeared after that ye Land above is good but Great Mountains of Rocks on both Sides the River

26. Tuesday. Between 4 & 5. A M. I Went above deck where I Saw the Barge & 3 Whale Boats go off from the Commodore up the River in which were (as we afterward heard) his Hon^r with diverse other

[1] In the margin is a hieroglyphic, evidently the mark of the sachem.

[2] Now called merely Chebeag Island.

[3] Sacchetyhock or Parker's Island, now Georgetown.

[4] Capt. Samuel Penhallow, in the service of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from 1703. (Goold, p. 159.)

[5] Near the present Arrowsick.

[6] Kennebeck Mouth.

[7] The Rev. Joseph Baxter on May 2, 1717, notes Col. Minot's arrival at George Town. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxi. 54.)

Gentlemen of this & the New hampshire Governm^{ts} here we continued at Anchor all the rest of the day they went to Richmond & Fort Geo: at Brunswick

27. Wednesday, We were grievously Afflicted with Musketoes the night past, few of us had any qviet rest. ab^{t} 3. Morn. it began to rain, ab^{t} Noon the Boats returnd The Coxen of the Sloop Susanna came on Board our Sloop, told us that his Honour Sent him to Inquire how the Representatives did & said that his honour expected to have had our Company to Richmond, to which We replied that we had no knowledge of his Hon^{rs} going until he was gone, & that we had no Boats to go in, That We Should have been glad to have had the Birth of Some of the Young Gentlemen (Cadees) [1] in Accompanying his hon^{r} if We had been thought Worthy of it — Presented our duty to his hon^{r} The Coxen returnd, & then the Boats Saild towards Arrowsick Immediately. Ab^{t} 1. P.M. the Sloops Susannah & Dragon came to Sail Ab^{t} 3. came to Anchor Against Penhallows Garrison At Arrowsick. His Hon^{r} Sent to Invite the Representatives Ashoar, the Sloops and Garrison Mutually Saluted each other by the discharge of their Guns. The Representatives went Ashoar were Saluted from ye Garison & paid their respects to his honour & the Gentlemen & some of em signifying that they were very desirous to have Seen more of ye Eastern Countrey It was proposed that if they would Still go the Whaleboats (with hands) Should wait on em to Richmond & Brunswick & so to Cascoe, & soon after Sun Set we returnd to our Sloop. in the evening Capt Heath [2] came on Board with Message from his Hon^{r} that if any of the Representatives would go to Brunswick the Boats Should Wait upon them, Whereupon Some of em concluded to go.

28. Thursday, ab^{t} 5. Morn. 6. of the House Viz^{t} Tim^{o} Lynda Richd Kent John Quincey & Edward Arnold Esq^{rs} & Maj^{r} Chandler & Capt Wells [3] With some other Gentlem̄. Set Sail in 3 boats (the Number of men in all 36.) for Brunswick between 9 & 10 A. M. our Sloops with the Hampshi Brigg^{a} Set off from Arrowsick for Cascoe bay. the Comodore came to Sail ½ past 9. & ab^{t} the Same time the Guns were heard at Richmond, and the Comodore giving the Signal by firing one Gun the Garrison Saluted with five & the Comodore returnd 3. & then the Garrison fired 3 more, & we came All to Sail. At 11 A Signal was made by 2 Indians at the Southermost end of Arrowsick in a Conoe by

[1] I.e. Cadets.

[2] Joseph Heath, frequently in the employ of the Province as an interpreter. (Goold, p. 172.)

[3] See p. 129 note 3, above.

fireing Several guns, Our Vessels brought to, till the Indians came Aboard the Comodore & till we came to Atkinsons Bay [1] 4 Miles from Arrowsick & then made Sail Wind ab^{t} S W Course S.: from Pehallows to Segwin is ab^{t} 5 or 6 Miles the Island Segwin lies S from the Rivers Mouth ab^{t} a Mile, At ½ past noon came up with us Capt Sanders Sloop Merry Meeting from St Georges, having Several Indians On Board him: Small point Damaris Cove,[2] Segwin Sagadahoc rock [3] ab^{t} 1. P M. he came up with the Comodore & Saluted with three guns, the Comodore returned 3. & then Sanders fired one More : ab^{t} 24. Indians came with Sanders Wenemuit being one of them from Falmouth to Arrowsick is ab^{t} 12. or 13 Leagues.

29. Fryday. this Morning about 2 a clock Our Sloop Anchord in the Channel over against Portland [4] in sight of Falmouth houses, parting with the Comodore in the night we found Sanders & the Brigg^{a} in ye Morning at Anchor near us, but the Commodore behind We turnd up the Channel Way to Meet her She coming thrô Hussey's Sound,[5] & Met at ½ hour past 9. fell into a Line & Saild up to Town, then the Hampshire Brigg^{a} Sal ed his Hon^{r} with 5 Guns. the Commodore returnd 5. Hampshire 1. We Saluted with 5. Capt Sanders with 5 more, Maj^{r} Moody's Garrison with 3. Capt Collars with 3. Then his Hon^{r} went on Shoar, the Comodore firing 7. Our Sloop 7. Hampshire 5 & Sanders 5. Guns, his hon^{r} was rec^{d} by the Comp^{a} in Arms & Moody's Garrison fird 2 Guns.

P.M. We Went Ashore, paid our respects to his hon^{r} & the Gentlemen, returnd at night to our Sloop. ab^{t} 12 or 1. At night the Gentlem^{en} that went to Richmond & Brunswick in the Whaleboats Arrived Safe to our Sloop

30. Saturday. P.M. Mr Wainwright came on Board our Sloop with Message That his Hon^{r} had Appointed a conference to be had with the Indians at 3. a clock & desired the Gentlemen of the House might be present. the Representatives went Ashoar accordingly, soon after came 7. Canoos of Indians from an Island where they had lodg'd the last night called hog Island [6] & then his hon^{r} the Council & Representatives

[1] Now called Atkins' Bay.

[2] I.e. Damiscove Island.

[3] The words "Small point Damaris Cove, Segwin Sagadahoc rock" are in the margin.

[4] "The earliest English name by which the island now called Bangs', and the main land in Cape Elizabeth opposite to it, were known, was Portland." (Willis, History of Portland, p. 581.)

[5] Between Peaks Island and Long Island.

[6] Either Great Hog or Little Hog Island, now Great Diamond and Little Diamond respectively.

together with the Indians Marchd to the Meetinghouse Attended by the New hampshire Gentlemen & under the guard of the Company of Caddees & Winslows Company[1] & three Interpreters Viz[t] Jordan[2] Gil[es][3] & Bean[4] Being Sworn the Treaty began, the Number of Indians then present was 17. All of the Penobscut Tribe as they themselves declared Among whom were Wenemuit their Chief. After the conference was ended We drank the Kings Health his hon[r] & the other Gentlemen returnd in the Same Order to Major Moody's Garrison. & then the Representatives returnd to their Sloop. NB. his hon[r] Appointed a further conference to be had with the Indians on Monday Next, when the Signal Sh[d] be given

31. Sabbath day, Wee Agreed to keep the day in our Sloop. The Rev[d] M[r] Robinson Our Chaplain preached to us both parts of the day. A.M. Sung part of the 49 psal. 2 last staves. Text 49 Psal. 8.[5] P.M. Sung part of 90. 2 first staves Text : 2 Cor. 4. ult.[6] Sung. Last part 119 ps first Meeter. After Meeting a Message was brought that his hon[r] Invited the Gentlemen of the house to Dine with him On Monday Next

August 1. Monday. We Dined with his hon[r] the Entertainment was in the parade of Maj[r] Moody's Garrison under the 2 Aynings. This being King Georges Accession day the Vessells in the Harbour were Dressed in Colours, A Flagg at the Garrison & 2 Ensigns on Cap[t] Collars house, his Majesties health was drank the Vessells in the Harbour fired 2 Rounds, y[e] Garrisons also fired.

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[1] Capt. Edward Winslow's company of volunteers raised as a guard to the Lieutenant-Governor at the ratification. See House Journal, June 28, 1726, p. 73; August 24, p. 2. "An Accompt of Major *Samuel Moodey*, amounting to £ 7 for Twenty Barrels of small beer, supplied Capt. *Edward Winslow*, at the Ratification of the Peace at *Casco-Bay*. Read, and *Resolved*, that the Sum of Seven Pounds, be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury, to the Accomptant Major *Samuel Moodey*, in full discharge thereof. Sent up for Concurrence" (August 27, 1726, House Journal).

[2] Capt. Samuel Jordan, mentioned as an interpreter in the account of the conference (Collections Maine Historical Society, iii. 382, 399) and preferred by the Indians as being the most easily understood.

[3] Capt. John Giles or Gyles, in command of the block-house at St. Georges River. On November 25, 1726, he petitioned the Court to "take into Consideration his extraordinary Services in Interpreting to the Indians, and make such Enlargement to his pay . . . as . . . shall seem meet," and on December 1 he was allowed £ 18: House Journal, pp. 4, 15. For his "account of ye No of Indians in each tribe 1726," see Collections Maine Historical Society, iii. 355–358.

[4] Capt. Joseph Bean. (Ibid. iii. 381.)

[5] Here follows a résumé in shorthand.

[6] Here follows a résumé in shorthand.

P.M the Commodore giving the Signall 29. Indians came on Shoar from hogg Island the place of their Encampm^{t} in their birch Canoes & were Conducted up to Moody's Garrison & Seated at a long table by the Side of ours After drinking the Kings health both English & Indians Marcht to the Meetinghouse & had a conference. At night a large Bonfire was made on the Hill where Capt Silvanus Davis's fort [1] formerly Stood

2. Tuesday. I kept on Board being Indisposed for Want of Sleep the last night. All the rest of the Gentlemen Went on Shoar, a conference was had with the Indians in the forenoon. P M. The Gentleman who were of the Committee for claims went a shoar ye rest Staid in the Sloop. this Evening I went over with Col^{o} Kent to his lodging at Papooduck And lodg'd with him at Sawyers. where I rested well.

3. Wednesday. a Conference was had with the Indians twice this day. his honour & the Council having drawn up in writing to be proposed to the Indians, such a Clause as Seemed to some of the Gentlemen of the house (who had Seen it last night) to lead to a Separate ratification with the penobscut tribe only, and it being Intimated to us by one of the Council that If any matters relating to the treaty were contrary to our Minds Yet it must be Understood to be Agreeable to us if we were wholly Silent, Several of the house not having Seen that Paper, were desirous to see it, & accordingly proposed their desire to his hon^{r} who sent the paper by Mr Wainwright, But in a few Minuits we were called upon to Move to the hearing, so had no time to debate or Consider what was proper for us to Say in that Matter, which filld my mind with perplexities which I can't Yet get over, And nothing Else but the consideration y^{t} my Brethren of the house have not the Same thought in that matter could Induce me to be an Auditor or Spectator in the further prosecution of the Treaty Unless I had some Assurance of being reputed hereafter (as well as at present Only a Spectator, however in Submission to ye wiser Judgments of my Brethren, I Attended the latter conference, & shall from the same principle Endeavour to Attend for the future. This evening I went Over to Papooduck Side Again, & had a comfortable Lodging with Col^{o} Kent at his qvarters.

4) Thursday. This Morning Appeared a very bright & large Sun dog, on the Southerly Side of the Sun soon after its rising.

The Committee of the claims were Employed the forenoon in Ac-

[1] Capt. Silvanus Davis had been commander of the old fort at Casco. In the course of the wars he was taken prisoner and carried into Canada. (Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts (1795), ii. 21 note; our Publications, xvii. 45.)

quainting the Indians with the English Deeds & titles, We dined at Capt Collers with the Council

P M. a conference was had Again at the Meetinghouse wherein the Govr Assured the Indians of the Justice of the Governm^{t} respecting their Titles & that they Should have the Same priviledges with his Maj^{es} English Subjects in Impartial Trials thereon, with which they Seemed to be very well pleased, A ratification was Agreed upon with that Tribe to be Attended to morrow. This Evening I returnd to our Sloop, & Lodged there this night: NB. ye Ind^{ns} Engaged for ye Other Tribes so that if they continued in Hostilities their Young men should [1]

5. Fryday. The affair of the Ratification with the Penobscuts for themselves & as Delegates &c was Attended at the Meeting house, the Articles Agreed on at Boston read & Interpreted to the Indians & Assented to by them Article by Article with wch They Seemd well Satisfied, & then they all Signed the Same (Excepting the four that Signed at Boston Viz^{t} Loron [2] Fransaixway Magaunmbe [3] & Arixis [)] they also Signed that made at Nova Scotia or L'accadie, Many of the Gentlemen preSent Signing as Witnesses, this business took up the time from 11. to 3. then We Went to Maj^{r} Moody's & both English & Indians Dined Under the Aynings in the Parade of the Garrison. After Dinner the Kings health was Drank as also the Prince & Princess & prosperity to the Affair before us, At each, the Garrison & vessels in the Harbour fired round, We went again to the Meetinghouse & then the Indians Signd a Duplicate of the Treaty. then brake up & the Indians went of to their Island ab^{t} a League of & fired 3 Volleys At their Arrival & made a Large Bonfire. the Number that Came Ashoar this day was 38 Including 4 Sqvaws & 3 Papooses. ab^{t} 9 a clock we returnd to our Sloop

6. Saturday. ab^{t} 10. AM came Ashoar 12 Canoos with 44 Indians (Including Sq^{s} & Papooses) Ab^{t} 11. I with some others went Ashoar to hear what might be further Agre[ed] Upon relating to the Peace particlarly as to the Exchange of Captives, but nothing being said in public, ab^{t} 1. P. M. We returnd & Dined in our Sloop. After Dinner Drank the Kings health upon which our Sloop fired 7 Guns then the continuance of the peace & fired 7 more, then the New hampshire Brigg^{a} fired 5 (Some of their Gentlemen being at Dinner with us) & we returnd 7. then the Comodore & Maj^{r} Moody's Garrison fired Round, & the Gentlemen of the House all (except Mr Lyndall & my Self) Sett off in the Boat & at their setting off we fired Round. I Continued On board this

[1] Some words have been trimmed off.

[2] Alias Seguaron. (Collections Maine Historical Society, iii. 380.)

[3] Or Meganamoumba. (Ibid.)

afternoon to write for Mr Robinson, when the Gentlemen came Ashoar they were Saluted 3 Guns from Moody's, 5 from the Comodore 5 from the Piscataqva Brigg^a^ 5 from the Merry Meeting & 3 from Coller's, Then his Hon^r^ proceeded to the Meeting house & Together with Govr Wentworth Signed on their parts the ratification to the Indians & then his hon^r^ gave presents to them Viz^t^ to the 5 principals [1] each a Medall & a red Blanket a shirt and a white blanket to each of ye other Indians to 2 of the Young Indians who went on messages to to Canada each a Gun.[2] And then the Indians made a Dance at the place where the Old fort [3] stood The Soldiers fired 3 Volleys, & Some English Gentlemen Danced with them, this Dance continued till dark.

7. Sabbath day. We kept our Sloop & Mr Robinson Preach'd both parts of the day. About ½ past 5. p M. the Piscataqva Brigg^a^ came to Sail with Govr Wentworth & the other Gent On board, & at their going off they fired 5 Guns. Maj^r^ Moody 3. Coller 2. the Comodore 7. & the Brigg. 5. more, the Indians fired many Small Arms & the Brigg^a^ Saluted them with 3 Guns . this Evening Mr Lindall & Col^o^ Kent went home by his Hon^r^ permission

p Mr Robinson on Board the Sloop Dragon in Falmouth Harbour.

Sang part 90 ps. 13 to ye end of 16.[4] Sung 13th part 119 ps. 1 meetre.

Mem^d^ August 9. 1726. having harbourd an Opinion that inasmuch as none but the Penobscutt Tribe Appeard to ratifie the Articles of peace, a Bare declaration in writing Sygnifying that they had faild in the Articles, yet that the Governm^t^ w^ld^ continue the Trade so long as the Indians continued peaceable, would have more effectually answered all the Ends of the Treaty than all the Tedious & expensive Measures which have detaind us Since their coming, My thoughts have bin disturb'd & uneasy about our Staying, & nothing but the consideration that wise Providence has devolv'd the care on wiser heads than mine could qviet me

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[1] Probably the four Boston delegates and Wenemouett.

[2] Some of the words are interlined, making it difficult to know where they should be inserted. "Then His Honour Ordered the Presents to be delivered. And proceeded, There were two of your Young Men sent to *Canada* last Year, in the Service of this Province, I would see them, that I might make them a Consideration for their Trouble & Loss of Time in performing the Message, upon which only one of them, viz. *Loron's* Son appeared, the other the Sachem said was left at *Penobscut*, the Lieut. Governour taking two fine Firelocks in his Hand, presented one to him that was present, the other His Honour delivered to the Chief Sachem *Wenemouett*, desiring of him that it might be given to the other Young Man" (Collections Maine Historical Society, iii. 398).

[3] Fort Loyal.

[4] Here follows a résumé of the sermon in shorthand.

8th Monday. this day I spent with Mr Robinson over at Town in drawing a rough draft for a Lease of his farm. The Comee for claims were Sent for Ashoar, but nothing was done wherein they were concerned, none of the Indians went Ashoar (it being Wet Weather) except one Cannooe which came for Stores

9 Tuesday. Spent the day in writing and finishing Mr Robinson's Leases which were very large, & recd 5/ for the Counterpart, of Ingersell [1] & Blackstone, all the Representatives except Mr Phillips [2] & I went Ashoar, Attended the Conference with the Indians 1) abt the Methods to be taken by them to bring the other Tribes in to ratifie the peace 2) about the bringing in the Captives, in both which respects the Indians promised to do what they could. but withall Said that they had none of our Captives in their own hands.

10. Wednesday. A M. We Went Ashoar, abt 11 a clock the Signall being given the Indians came Ashoar, no conference was had till afternoon As We were returning to our Sloop to Dine Mr Wainwright came to us, with A Vote of Council which he told us his honr the Lieut Governr had directed him to acqvaint us with By which Vote the Council (Unanimously) Advised That all the Indian Captives in the hands of the English Should be delivered up, With out Inserting any proviso on behalf of the English Captives in the hands either of the French or of the other Tribes of Indians, Whereupon after Dinner We drew up & Signed the following Remonstrance Vizt

Falmouth Augst 10.1726.

May it Please Yor Honr

Althô as to Some former Papers (Shewn) relating to the ratification We have thought it our duty to be Silent, having no Opportunity or time for due consideration, Yet Where as a Vote of Council has been this day Shewn to us respecting the delivery of all the Captives now in English hands, some of whom can't be obtaind otherwise than by purchase, Wee Account it our Duty humbly to Signifie to Yor Honr That as We our selves are dissatisfied therewith, So We Shall not be Able to recommend it to the General Assembly of the Province to Grant Money for their redemption, Unless the Indians be effectually Oblig'd to purchase & bring in, at the same time such of our English Captives as have bin taken & Sold to the French as well as such as are in the hands of any of the Indians Included in the present Treaty.

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[1] Probably Benjamin Ingersoll, selectman and innholder at Falmouth, who moved to North Yarmouth in 1738. (Willis, p. 296.)

[2] See p. 129 note 3, above.

The aboves[d] Writing was Signed by M[r] Cushing Maj[r] Quincy, M[r] Arnold, Cap[t] Turner [1] M[r] Shove Major Chandler, Cap[t] Wells & my self, & Sent in to his Hon[r] by M[r] Wainwright Clerk of the Council, Who soon after informd us that his Hon[r] directed him to Acquaint us that the Council had been called together, & that the Question was put Whether they would reconsider their Vote, & It pass'd in the Negative Ab[t] 3. P. M. We Attended his hon[r] to the Meeting house M[r] Jordan the Interpreter Rehearsed to the Indians All the conference to Saturday Last, the conferences had since (not being Transcribed) was referrd to be repeated to them tomorrow. this Evening being Invited to the Council's Lodging We drank his hon[rs] health, & ab[t] 9 a clock returnd to our Sloop.

11. Thursday. Went Ashoar ab[t] 11. a clock the Signal being given the Indians came Ashoar ab[t] 30. in all, nothing was done in the forenoon. P.M. the rest of the conference was repeated to the Indians, his hon[r] Signed & deliv[d] a Copy of the Conference to the Indians, at Sun ab[t] half an hour high his hon[r] &c returnd to Moody's Garrison, the Indians went off in their Canoes to their Island. Cap[t] Franklin [2] in the Sloop George was Ordered to take them in with their Stores early in the Morning to transport them to Penobscut. The Soldiers fired 3 Volleys as the Canoes went off. This Evening at the Invitation of the Representatives, his hon[r] Visited our Sloop. We drank the Kings health, fired 7 Guns. Ab[t] 8 a clock his hon[r] went off again & We fired 7. More.

12. Fryday ½p. 9. AM. the Comodore gave the Signal for Sailing: at 10. his Hon[r] In his Barge Sett off designing for Winter harbour, the Dragon Saluted wth 7 Guns as the barge passed by, the Merry Meeting Saluted him with 5 Guns more. the Comodore with 7. Cap[t] Collar from the Shoar with 3. ¼. past 1. P.M. we came up with Portland point.[3] Wind SS.West. the wind was Small and it being Tide flood we gott abreast with Cape Elizabeth about Sundown and we was about a League to the East of it the Wind at Southwest & by West. Our course S.W. We stood off & on all night, made Very small progresse

13. Saturday, sometime in the night past (probably ab[t] 12 Or 1. a clock) We doubled Cape Elsabeth, (from Falmouth Harbour to the head of this Cape is 3 Leagues) Ab[t] 9. A.M. Wood Island bore from us W N W. this Island is ab[t] 5 Leagues from Cape Elsabeth. and lies

[1] Amos Turner of Scituate: see p. 129 note 3, above.

[2] David Franklyn, master of the sloop George, "a Transport in His Majesty's Service Eastward:" cf. Massachusetts Province Laws, xi. 10.

[3] Or Portland Head.

ab^{t} 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile distant from Winter harbour Fort (or Fort Mary) from Wood Island to Cape Porpus or Arundel it is 2 Leagues: Ab^{t} $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. the wind freshened at N. E course S W & by W & we qvickly came in Sight of the fort & houses at Winter harbour or Biddiford & ab^{t} 2 pm came in fair view of the houses in Cape porpus, & ab^{t} $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. discovered the houses at Wells wch bears ab^{t} West from this Cape Ab^{t} $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 his hon^{r} came off to us in his Barge from Winter harbour, We Stood South till 4. Wind at East a Small gale & grown Sea looking much like a Storm We came ab^{t} & Stood for Cape Porpus & got Safe into that harbour at 5. this Harbour is very Safe from all Winds being made by Sundry rocky Islands.[1] the Passage into it very Narrow this night was very Stormy

14. Sabbath day. remaind in the harbour of Cape Porpus [2] the former part of the day Mr Robinson preached in the forenoon

p Mr Robinson, On board the Sloop Dragon, in Cape Porpus or Arundel harbour: Sung 2 & $\frac{1}{2}$ Staves 2^{d} p^{t} of the 19. psalm. 13 Mat. 45. 46 [3]

P. M. ab^{t} $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 We came to Sail the Wind at East, fresh gale. We stood S & by W & S.S.W ab^{t} 7. We came up with Boon Island [4] (ab^{t} 8 Leā from Cape Porpus) the Wind grew more fresh, it raind hard till ab^{t} 9. We stood S & by W. all the night with a fresh gale & a tumbling Sea, Weather Cloudy & a great part of the night Foggy.

15 Monday at 7. Morn, Cape Anne bore N N E at ab^{t} 5 leagues distance, Wind West & by N at ab^{t} 8 We made the Brewsters & light house We stood in upon a Wind W N W at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. A. M. the Vessells being becalmd below the Brewsters his Hon^{r} sett of in the Barge with diverse of the Council, the Comodore fired 9. the Dragon 7 & Merry Meeting 3 Guns at their going of. ab^{t} 2 p M. We had a Small Gale at S E $\frac{3}{4}$ past 2. We heard 13 Guns at the Castle which was Supposed to be at his hon^{rs} Arrival in the Barge at the Castle. 42 Min. past 6. We passed by the Castle, the Commodore fired 9 Guns, the Castle returned 5 the Dragon fired 7 Guns, the Castle returned 3. the Sloop Merry meeting fired 5 Guns, the Castle returnd 1. & Immediatly after this the Boatswain of our Sloop (Andrew Andrews a Dutchman,[5] & one who had

[1] Stage, Redin's, Trott's, Bass, Folly, and Green Islands.

[2] Or Porpoise.

[3] Here a résumé of the sermon follows in shorthand.

[4] East of York Harbor.

[5] On August 25 the General Court considered the petition of Andrew Andross "Praying for such relief in the Premises as to this Court in their known Wisdom shall seem meet." It was resolved that he be paid ten pounds out of the public treasury, and the petition referred to the next session for further consideration. (House Journal, August 25, 1726, p. 3.)

A northerly perspective V[iew] from a window in Massachusetts Hall

By Samuel Griffin, class of 1784.

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Mass[achusetts] from the original in the Harvard College Library

behaved himself with very good Temper this the whole Voyage) going to Ram down a charge into one of the guns newly fired & not having been Spunged, the Gun went off & Shot off ye Thumb of his right hand. This Evening Ab^t^ 8 a clock We came to Anchor At the long Wharfe the Sloops & Some other Vessels in the harbour fired round Went Ashoar in the Boat, and Attended his hon^r^ into his house & then went to our respective quarters in Boston.

16. Tuesday. Morn. My Son Simon [1] coming to my qvarters I had the comfortable News of my family being in health, my Brother [2] at Brooklin sent me an horse, & having brought my Cloaths A-Shoar I went in the afternoon to his house where I Lodged this Night

17. Wednesday in the evening to got home to my family & had Opportunity to reflect on the goodness of God to me & mine in preserving our health for days.

Mr. William C. Lane exhibited two mathematical note-books, written out by students in Harvard College — one by Ephraim Eliot of the class of 1780, the other by Samuel Griffin of the class of 1784. Both books cover the same series of subjects, and show the course pursued by students at the time — Mensuration, Practical Geometry, Surveying, Dialling, Trigonometry, Mensuration of Heights and Distances, Plain Sailing and Spherical Geometry. Two water-color drawings from the book by Samuel Griffin, separately mounted and framed for better preservation, were also shown and are reproduced in the accompanying plates. Mr. Lane said:

Griffin's book is the more carefully written of the two, and contains throughout many water-color sketches illustrating the problems of surveying. Most of these are drawn from the imagination, though they doubtless contain many details from actual buildings. The spire of the meeting-house in Harvard Square, for example, is found more than once. There are several more elaborate drawings representing actual scenes — one a "northerly perspective view from a window in Massachusetts Hall," another "a westerly perspective view of a part of the town of Cambridge," besides a view of Christ

[1] Simon Goddard (1702–1758) of Shrewsbury.

[2] Joseph Goddard (1655–1728).

Church and a plot of the Cambridge Common. The view from Massachusetts Hall shows the four houses facing on what is now known as Holmes Place, with one house in the distance behind them. The first of these houses — that on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue, where a later dwelling built by S. W. Pomeroy and now called the Gannett House stands at present, was long occupied by the Hastings family — from John Hastings who married the widow of the original grantee, John Meane, through his son Walter, who married John Meane's daughter, Walter's son Jonathan, a tanner, who also kept horses and let them to the students, and was known as "Yankee Jonathan" on account of his frequent use of the term, to Jonathan's fourth son John, who died unmarried in 1797.

The next house came in 1737 into the possession of Nathaniel Hancock, brother of the Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, the grandfather of the Governor. Here lived Nathaniel's son, Belcher Hancock, who was a tutor in Harvard College from 1742 to 1767, and died unmarried in 1771; also, an older son, Solomon, who served in the French War and died at Lake George in 1766. In 1782 the house was bought by the Rev. Caleb Gannett (Harvard 1763). He was tutor in the College from 1773 to 1780, and steward from 1779 to 1818. He married for his second wife, in 1800, Ruth, daughter of President Ezra Stiles, and his son, Ezra Stiles Gannett, afterwards a distinguished Boston minister, was born here. The house was taken down to make room for the railroad station of the little branch of the Fitchburg Railroad which came in from Somerville at this spot. The station, after its discontinuance as such, was adapted to the use of the College commons in 1866, and served this purpose until Memorial Hall was built. A later view, taken about 1810,[1] shows the house much improved by the addition of a front porch, and it is then called "the seat of Caleb Gannett, Esquire."

The third house on Holmes Place was built before 1717 by Joshua Gamage, a weaver. In 1749 it was bought by Moses Richardson, who lived here until the Revolution, when he was killed at the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. He was a surveyor and housewright, and served as College carpenter, and had been with Wolfe at Quebec in 1759 with the rank of Captain. Later, Royal Morse,[2] the Cam-

[1] A water-color by D. Bell is preserved in the Harvard Library.

[2] See our Publications, vi. 228, 228n, 229n, 231.

bridge auctioneer, lived here for many years. The house was taken down in 1888 to make way for the Harvard Law School.

The next house, just round the corner on Holmes Place, is best known as the Holmes House. A house stood here as early as 1642, when the land was the property of Nathaniel Sparhawk. The place was bought in 1737 by Jonathan Hastings on the corner, and by him sold in 1742 to his son Jonathan Hastings, who was Caleb Gannett's predecessor as Steward of the College, 1750 to 1779, and an ardent patriot in the Revolution. His son, Walter Hastings, Harvard 1771, was a surgeon in the Continental Army. Another son, John, Harvard 1772, was a major in the Revolution, and married a daughter of Richard Dana. The house was General Ward's head-quarters in 1775, and the view shows us just how the place must have looked when the little company of colonial soldiers set off for Bunker Hill on the night of the 16th of June, 1775. The eldest son, Jonathan, Harvard 1768, to whom the house passed on his father's death in 1783, sold it in 1792 to Eliphalet Pearson, Hancock Professor of Hebrew, who lived here until 1806, when he gave up his connection with the College and moved to Andover. In 1807 the house was sold to Judge Oliver Wendell, a Fellow of Harvard from 1788 to 1812. The Rev. Abiel Holmes, minister of the First Church, married Judge Wendell's daughter and lived here with his father-in-law. Here Oliver Wendell Holmes was born in 1809, and his brother John in 1812. After the death of their mother the house was bought by the College, and was occupied successively by William Everett, 1871–1877, and Professor James B. Thayer, 1878–1884.

The Library has another sketch of these four houses, made by a classmate of Griffin's — Joshua Green — which was given to the College by his grandson, Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is reproduced in Dr. Green's Ten Facsimile Reproductions Relating to Old Boston and Its Neighborhood. Joshua Green also made, as a college mathematical exercise, "A Plot of Cambridge Common with a view of the roads and a principal part of the buildings thereon," which shows two of these houses and others at different points about the Common.

The other view by Samuel Griffin shows the three College buildings — Hollis, Harvard, and Massachusetts Halls, the tower of Christ Church, the steeple of the meeting-house, and the Apthorp

House on the other side of Massachusetts Avenue. Judging from the grouping of the buildings, the view must have been taken from about the present position of the Harvard Union, but is less carefully drawn, and there seems to be some confusion in the houses shown. Houses which must be on the other side of the street look as if they were on the College grounds, and the artist has not taken the trouble to show Braintree Street (the present Massachusetts Avenue) at all — a smooth green field with trees extending from the Apthorp House to Massachusetts Hall and the other College buildings.

These two mathematical manuscripts are interesting from another point of view. They illustrate the scarcity of text-books during the Revolution. Ward's Mathematics, or Young Mathematician's Guide had been in use for fifty years or more, and apparently was the text-book employed under Professor John Winthrop. Perhaps with the coming of Samuel Williams, who was Hollis Professor from 1780 to 1788, Ward went out of use, but the scarcity of text-books was a serious difficulty in 1778, as is shown by an interesting memorial of the Corporation, asking that books which had been "sequestered" from the stocks of Boston booksellers should be turned over to the College for the use of the students.

The text of the memorial, which is under date of March 20, 1778, is as follows:

The MEMORIAL of the Corporation of Harvard College to the Honble the Council & the House of Representatives in General Court assembled, humbly sheweth —

That the Students of Harvard College have for a considerable time past found it impracticable to purchase a sufficient Number of Books in the several Branches of Science, for their stated Academical Exercises.

To remedy this evil, the immediate Governors advertized in the public Papers their Desire, that any Persons in the State who had such Books to dispose of would send, or give information of them to the President, that a purchase might be made for the Benefit of the College. A small Number was procured, but far from adequate to the demand. The Governors & Students have also availed themselves, as far as possible, of the benevolence of Friends, in procuring the Loan of Books of such as would not sell them. Notwithstanding these measures have been prosecuted, a great deficiency yet remains, & is continually increasing; a number being annually carried from the Society by those who are graduated, & cannot be prevailed upon to part with them. It

By Samuel Griffin, class of 1784.

Engraved for "The Colonial" Society of Mass... from the original in the Harvard College Library

is much to be feared that the Cause of Literature must suffer in an high Degree, unless a Supply of Books can be obtain'd.

Your Memorialists therefore, having been inform'd, that in the Libraries lately sequestred, particularly in the Collection heretofore under the Care of Mess[s] Cox & Berry, is a large number of several kinds which are most wanted; & having from past experience of the Patronage afforded to that Society by the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, full confidence in your disposition to do the same, & advance the Cause of Literature, upon which the Welfare & Happiness of this & the united States in so great a Degree depends; beg of the Hon[ble] Court the indulgence of purchasing s[d] Books at such reasonable Prices as the Court shall determine, to remain as the Property of the College, & to be transmitted thro' the Classes successively, until they shall be able to supply themselves. And your Memorialists shall ever Pray &c

Signed SAM[L] LANGDON, Pres[dt] of Harv[d] Coll:
in the Name of the Corporation.

The Books which are the Object of the preceeding Memorial are Guthrie's Geography — s'Gravesand's Philosophy — Ferguson's Astronomy — Barrow's Euclid — Watts' Logic — Locke on human Understanding — Burlemaqui on natural Law — Holmes' Rhetoric — Lowth's English Grammar — Caesar's Commentaries — Horace — Terence — Sallust — Xenophon — Homer's Iliad.

In 1791 the Corporation took measures to supply the lack of a satisfactory mathematical text-book, and on December 9 voted that Professor Webber, who succeeded Professor Williams in 1788, be desired to compile one:

4. Whereas a compilation of those branches of the Mathematics which are taught in the University would be very useful for the students — Voted, that Mr. Professor Webber be desired to select pieces from the best Mathematical Authors, making alterations and additions if he shall judge it expedient; and that Mr. Stephen Sewall be employed under his inspection to make out fair copies of fresh selections for the future disposal of the Corporation.[2]

[1] College Book, vii. 341. In a Diary of Caleb Gannett, now in the College Library, is this entry under date of July 3, 1778: "Went to Boston. Packed, catalogued & removed, the Books lately given by the Gen[l]. Court to Harvard College from sequestered Libraries, from Deblois' Store where they were deposited to Dec[n] Storer's Store. Left a Catalogue of all the books received in virtue of the Court's Grant, at Dr. Eliot's for Capt. Parkman — Paid 12/ for removing the aboves[d]. books. Ferriage /5."

[2] College Book, viii. 329.

Mr. MATTHEWS communicated the following —

NOTE ON THE WAINWRIGHT FAMILY

As no geneaology of the Wainwright family has been published, as the scattered accounts of various members contain many errors, and as Savage has made a mistake in regard to at least two, a brief account of certain members of the family before 1750 will prove useful.[1] For convenience in reference, a number has been assigned to each.

(1) Francis Wainwright of Ipswich, who died at Salem May 19, 1692, was twice married: (i) to Philippa, who was the mother of all his children and who died October 6, 1669; (ii) on April 17, 1672, to Hannah, who afterwards (in 1693) became the second wife of Daniel Epes (H. C. 1669). Francis and Philippa Wainwright had three sons: (2) John (1648–1708) of Ipswich; (3) Simon (1660–1708) of Haverhill; and (4) Francis (1664–1711; H. C. 1686) of Ipswich.

(2) John Wainwright of Ipswich, son of (1) Francis (*d.* 1692) and Philippa Wainwright, was born about 1648; on March 10, 1674, married Elizabeth Norton, who later (November 19, 1713) became the second wife of Isaac Addington; and died August 3, 1708. He is sometimes mistakenly stated to have been the Colonel Wainwright who served in the expedition against Nova Scotia in 1707, but that Colonel Wainwright was his brother (4) Francis (H. C. 1686). John and Elizabeth (Norton) Wainwright had two sons: (5) Francis (*d.* 1722; H. C. 1707); and (6) John (1691–1739; H. C. 1709).

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[1] The dates of births, marriages, and deaths here given are chiefly derived from the Haverhill Vital Records, the Ipswich Vital Records, the Newbury Vital Records, the Newburyport Vital Records, and the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 168, xxviii. 43, 92, 117, 168, xxx. 301, 309. See also Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 382; Sibley, Harvard Graduates, iii. 354–355; Felt, History of Ipswich, pp. 93, 172, 173, 177; T. F. Waters, Ipswich (1917), ii. 54–60, 100, 151; Hammatt Papers (1880), pp. 384–387; H. Davis, Ancestry of John Davis (1897), pp. 48–49; T. Gamble, Jr., Data concerning the Families of Bancroft, . . . Wainwright, etc. (1906), pp. 86–96; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 214, v. 165, x. 341. I have also consulted Sibley's manuscript notes on Harvard graduates given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the printed accounts, there is hopeless confusion between the John Wainwright who graduated at Harvard in 1709 and the John Wainwright who graduated in 1711; and it is with regard to those two that Savage fell into error.

(3) Simon Wainwright of Haverhill, son of (1) Francis (*d.* 1692) and Philippa Wainwright, was born November 20, 1660, and died August 29, 1708. He was thrice married: (i) on October 6, 1681, to Sarah Gilbert, who died April 18, 1688; (ii) on October 2, 1688, to Anne Peirce (Pierce), who died June 28, 1693; (iii) on August 7, 1700, to Mary Silver, widow of Thomas Silver. On August 29, 1708, Sewall wrote: "about 4 p.m. An Express brings the News, the doleful News, of the Surprise of Haverhill by 150. French and Indians. . . . Capt. Wainwright is slain;" and on August 31 Sewall noted that the Rev. Benjamin Rolfe (H. C. 1684), "his wife and Child, and Capt. Wainwright were buried in one Grave. Several Ministers were there [Haverhill]." [1] Simon and Anne (Peirce) Wainwright had a son (7) John (1690–1721; H. C. 1711).

(4) Francis Wainwright of Ipswich, son of (1) Francis (*d.* 1692) and Philippa Wainwright, was born August 25, 1664; graduated at Harvard College in 1686; on March 12, 1687, married Sarah Whipple, who died March 16, 1709; and died August 3, 1711, at which time he was about to marry Elizabeth Hirst.[2] To the account of Francis Wainwright given by Sibley,[3] only one addition is necessary. Sibley states that he was the Colonel Wainwright who served in the expedition against Nova Scotia in 1707. As already remarked, the same claim has been made for his brother (3) John (1648–1708). Oddly enough, both claims are supported by a reference to Hutchinson, who quotes a letter written by Colonel Wainwright on August 14, 1707.[4] This, however, is not decisive, since Hutchinson fails to give the writer's christian name. The uncertainty is settled by an examination of the Massachusetts Archives, where will be found (*a*) a letter from Francis Wainwright to Dudley dated Casco, June 17, 1707; [5] (*b*) a letter from Francis Wainwright dated "Port Royall

[1] Diary, ii. 234. Noting the death of "Captain Wainwright" on August 29, 1708, Palfrey (History of New England, iv. 274) describes him as "lately the commander at Port Royal" — thus confusing (3) Simon with his brother (4) Francis.

[2] "*Ipswich, Aug. 4th.* Yesterday died here Col. *Francis Wainwright*" (Boston News Letter, August 6, 1711, p. 2/2). See also Sewall, Diary, ii. 319–320.

[3] Harvard Graduates, iii. 354–355.

[4] History of Massachusetts (Boston, 1767), ii. 169–170.

[5] Massachusetts Archives, li. 160.

Narrows," August 25, 1707;[1] and (*c*) a list, dated April 23, 1707, of "Commission Officers of the Land Forces on the Intended Expedition to Nova Scotia and L'Accadie," wherein occurs the name of "Colonel Frā. Wainwright."[2] Francis and Sarah (Whipple) Wainwright had a son (8) John (1690–1708).

(5) Francis Wainwright of Ipswich, son of (2) John (1648–1708) and Elizabeth (Norton) Wainwright, was born about 1689; graduated at Harvard College in 1707; on January 1, 1713, married Mary Dudley, daughter of Joseph Dudley; and died September 4, 1722. On that day Sewall wrote: "Mr. Francis Wainwright dies at his brother Winthrop's, who now dwells at the South-end."[3] On April 7, 1730, his widow Mary married Joseph Atkins. Francis and Mary (Dudley) Wainwright had a son (9) John (1714–1736; H. C. 1734).

(6) John Wainwright of Ipswich, son of (2) John (1648–1708) and Elizabeth (Norton) Wainwright, was born June 14, 1691; graduated at Harvard College in 1709; on February 11, 1724, married Christian Newton; and died September 1, 1739. This is the John Wainwright mentioned in Edward Goddard's Journal.[4] He was town clerk of Ipswich; colonel of a regiment of foot in Essex County; Representative from Ipswich from 1720 to 1730, and again in 1734, 1735, 1737, and 1738, clerk of the House from 1724 to 1728, and again from 1734 to 1739; and held other offices. In 1725 he was sent with John Stoddard (H. C. 1701) to treat with the Eastern Indians.[5] The following notice appeared in the Boston News Letter of Thursday, September 6, 1739:

Last Saturday Morning died at his House in *Ipswich*, after a lingering Indisposition, *John Wainwright*, Esq; in the 48th Year of his Age: He has for many Years sustained several publick Stations of Honour and Trust, *viz.* A Member of the Hon. House of Representatives for the Town of *Ipswich*, Clerk of the said House, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for the County of *Essex*, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the said County: He was a Gentle-

[1] Massachusetts Archives, li. 173.

[2] lxxi. 300–301.

[3] Diary, iii. 306. On November 7, 1700, Francis Wainwright's sister Anne was married to Adam Winthrop (H. C. 1694).

[4] See pp. 130 note, 135, above.

[5] A letter written to Dudley by Stoddard and Wainwright June 28, 1725, is printed in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvii. 1607–1612.

man liberally Educated, of a quick and ready Invention, very condescending and obliging, and exceedingly well qualified for the discharge of his various Offices, and generally respected by those acquainted with him (p. 1/2).

John and Christian (Newton) Wainwright had a son (10) John (1724–1764; H. C. 1742).

(7) John Wainwright of Haverhill, son of (3) Simon (1656–1708) and Anne (Peirce) Wainwright, was born October 30, 1690; graduated at Harvard College in 1711; married Hannah Redford before 1713; and was "lost at sea" or "drowned" on October 4, 1721, "twixt Casco and Boston." On Commencement Day in 1711 he "stood Convict of being . . . in a Riot late" in the previous night, and would have lost his degree but for the intercession of Governor Dudley, General John Hill, and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker.[1]

(8) John Wainwright, son of (4) Francis (H. C. 1686) and Sarah (Whipple) Wainwright, was born January 7, 1690; entered Harvard College in the class of 1709; died an undergraduate September 25, 1708. On September 27 Sewall wrote: "I went to the Funeral of Mr. John Wainwright, son of Col. Francis Wainwright; He was a Senior Sophister, in the 18th year of his Age. What cause of humble Thankfulness have I, who liv'd 7 years of my Life at the College; had Leave to come away; and have liv'd 34. years since that! The Corps was set in the College Hall. Gentlewomen in the Library." [2]

(9) John Wainwright, son of (5) Francis (H. C. 1707) and Mary (Dudley) Wainwright, was born about 1714;[3] graduated at Harvard College in 1734; and was drowned April 27, 1736. He apparently never married.

(10) John Wainwright, son of (6) John (H. C. 1709) and Christian (Newton) Wainwright, was born December 8, 1724; graduated at Harvard College in 1742; on November 19, 1746, married Mary Eveleth, who died March 13, 1763; and died May 11, 1764. The

[1] See our Publications, xviii. 341 note. In the Haverhill Vital Records (ii. 482) and in the House Journal (January 7, 1736), he is described as "Captain Wainwright." Dr. Morison tells me that this rank was obtained by service in the militia a few months the year he died: see Massachusetts Archives, xci. 26; Massachusetts Province Laws, ix. 156.

[2] Diary, ii. 237–238.

[3] The Faculty Records (i. 32) give his age as sixteen and his place of residence at entrance as Haverhill.

Boston Post Boy of May 21 said: "Same Day [May 11] died in Ipswich, in an Apoplectic Fit, JOHN WAINWRIGHT, A.M. aged 41 Years, Son of the late Col. WAINWRIGHT; He survived his Wife but a little above a Year, and has left Six Orphans, three Sons and three Daughters" (p. 311).

MARCH MEETING, 1918

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 March, 1918, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President announced the death, on the twenty-seventh instant, of the Rev. Edward Hale, a Resident Member. Mr. Henry W. Cunningham paid the following tribute to his memory:

The Society has lost one of its valued members by the death yesterday of the Rev. Edward Hale at his home in Chestnut Hill. Born at Northampton, February 22, 1858, the son of William Bainbridge and Harriet Amelia (Porter) Hale, he prepared for college at Phillips Exeter Academy and was graduated from Harvard in 1879 with high rank as a scholar. He spent the next three years in Italy tutoring the sons of Mrs. Langdon Williams, who had lived for a number of years in Rome. The following year he was secretary to President Eliot and gave some time during that year and the next at Harvard and under H. H. Richardson to the study of architecture, which he had expected to make his profession. But he finally decided to give up this work, though it was always an avocation of interest, and in later years amidst other duties he had the pleasure of designing houses for his brother, for several friends, and finally made the plans for his own home at Chestnut Hill.

In January, 1884, he entered the Harvard Divinity School, where he received the degree of S.T.B. in 1886; and then, after a summer spent in France and the Island of Jersey, he was on October 14, 1886, ordained and at the same time installed as Associate Minister

of the South Congregational Church (Unitarian) of Boston, of which the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale was the beloved pastor, though these two ministers were probably not related — certainly not near of kin.

Here he remained for nearly five years, during which time he served as secretary of a society for the relief of aged clergymen and also as president for three years of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. In the spring of 1891 he became the first minister of the recently incorporated First Unitarian Church of Essex County at Orange, New Jersey, where he remained for six years. During this period he had given some instruction at the Harvard Divinity School, going to Cambridge once a fortnight, and in 1897 he became Assistant Professor of Homiletics there, retiring from his ministry at Orange. In addition to this work he served as an official of several church and charitable organizations in Cambridge and Boston, and one year, during the absence of Professor Peabody, had charge of the arrangements for Appleton Chapel. For a portion of one year he edited the Christian Register, and in addition, at the request of a committee of the Divinity Faculty, performed with a loving hand the difficult task of editing the lectures of the late Rev. Dr. Charles Carroll Everett. Dr. Everett had left no manuscript of these lectures and the only available material was the notes taken by students. In 1901 he was honored by the election as President of the Meadville Theological School, but decided not to accept.

In addition to his other duties, he had in 1897 taken charge of the First Church at Chestnut Hill, and as this church and its work grew he decided in 1906 to devote his time to this and resigned his positions at Cambridge.

He was married at Boston, June 19, 1889, to Emily Jose Milliken, daughter of Elias Tarbox and Emily Motley (Jose) Milliken. His widow and one daughter survive him, as well as a brother, Philip Hale of Brookline.

When we recount the interests and activities of this quiet gentleman, it is a wonder that he accomplished so much, for he touched nothing lightly and whatever he attempted he did conscientiously. A man of strong character and ability, his heart entered as warmly into his work as did his head. He wrote easily, and on some occasions in verse.

In 1904, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his graduation from Harvard, his Class of '79 made him Class Secretary to fill a vacancy and in this work he endeared himself to his classmates.

He was chosen a member of this Society in 1900 and was often present at our meetings, and he served for three years as a member of our Council. His only literary work for the Society was a Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Edward Henry Hall.[1]

Mr. Charles M. Andrews, a Corresponding Member, spoke as follows:

Before presenting the paper which I am to read this afternoon, I should like to say something in my own behalf and in behalf of the work which this society is organized to promote. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts is, I believe, the only body in the country which according to the name it bears confines its attention to the study of colonial history. Its founders deliberately called it the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and I like to think that in doing so they had in mind not a society for the study of the colonial history of Massachusetts, but a Massachusetts society for the study of colonial history. There is a world of difference in these two renderings of its meaning, and because I prefer to give to the name its more comprehensive connotation and to think of our society as concerned with colonial history in all its aspects I take the liberty of stating briefly what I think the word "colonial" really means. I have been trying, for some years — if you will pardon the intrusion of a much used colloquialism — to put the "colonial" into colonial history, and to find out just what that word signifies as applied to the period from 1607 to 1783.

The term "colonial," as used in the phrase "the colonial period of American history," is not merely a convenient distinction marking off a certain chronological epoch or characterizing a certain stage of our development as a nation. It bears within itself a peculiar significance defining a relationship between two peoples or governments, standing to each other as mother country and colonies. These are correlative terms, each of which directly implies or involves the other, and neither can stand by itself alone. A colony must have

[1] Publications, xvii. 403–409.

a mother country and a mother country must have a colony, and each is bound to be influenced by whatever that relationship demands. The extent and nature of the relationship may vary greatly in different cases, even becoming merely nominal as with the great self-governing dominions of Great Britain to-day or involving complete dependence as with the old Spanish colonies in America. But whatever form the relationship takes, the fact that it exists is the main thing to be considered in dealing with any period of history that bears the name "colonial," for all other aspects of the period are certain to be influenced by this dominant feature. In it lies the key to our colonial history.

First of all, then, if we are to study our colonial era, not as antiquarians but as historians, we must comprehend exactly what is meant by our relationship with Great Britain during this period of a century and three-quarters, a period longer by forty years than that which covers our growth and experience as an independent people. To do this requires a careful study of British history as well as American. I do not believe that any one can write the history of the American colonies who has not followed the transformations which took place in British ideas and forms of government during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, traced the changes which came about in the foreign policies of those who had the destinies of the British Empire in their hands, and grasped the significant fact that British colonial methods were themselves an evolved product, gradually shaped during many years of travail and uncertainty and adapted more or less unconsciously to the demands of a state which was expanding from an island kingdom into a world empire. We cannot understand, in the historical sense of the word, what was happening in the colonies unless we understand what was happening in England at the same time. The colonies reflected at every point in their careers the changes of constitution, purpose, and policy that were effected in England during our colonial period. No history of the colonies is possible that does not take these changes into account. Much always depends on a child's bringing up; the child may wish in his mature years to forget some of the features of his education, but he cannot ignore them as factors in his early life.

In the second place, in dealing with the colonies themselves, we

must remember that no single colony existed in isolation and that the history of no colony can be adequately written if all influences lying beyond its borders are ignored. Yet in the past we have been inclined to approach the British colonies in America as if each were an independent, self-contained state. It is true that the only unity that the colonies possessed lay in their connection with the mother country and the only single aspect common to all was conformity to British policy and to the rules and regulations that governed Great Britain in the exercise of her sovereign power. Nevertheless the fact that the authority of the mother country was obeyed or resisted to various extents and in various degrees in the different colonies makes it clear that we can ascertain the position of one only as we ascertain the position of the others also. The colonies should be studied comparatively, for exclusive devotion to a single colony generally destroys one's sense of proportion and perspective, and leads to exaggerations and extravagances. This is true not only in regard to the influence of British policy, but even more in the matter of intercolonial characteristics and contrasts. Such likenesses and unlikenesses are in importance second only to the relationship with the mother country. There were features, common to all, that were making for individualism, initiative, and self-reliance, for in many respects the colonies all together were moving toward a common goal — the development of a spirit of self-government and independence. At the same time there were other features, often deep-seated and antagonistic, that were rendering united action a delusion and a discouragement. Both sets of characteristics played their part in bringing on the Revolution. The growing radical spirit of independence, hostile to all restraints and conventions, finally dominated the situation after 1773; while the seeming hopelessness of concordant action and the failure of the whole system of voluntary quotas and requisitions of men and money placed the British government on the horns of a dilemma after 1763, when they sought to obtain aid from the colonies in order to organize and defend the newly acquired western lands. The Revolution was the work, not of one colony or two colonies but of many colonies, and all must be taken into account. Furthermore, such a comparative study will aid in dissipating prepossessions and prejudices due to a desire for local glorification, and will raise

colonial history to the level of an historical subject, objectively and scientifically considered.

In the third place, the term "colonial" always indicates a connection between two different types or stages of political and social development: one, represented by the mother country, old, settled, highly-organized, with deeply-rooted respect for history, law, tradition, and precedent; the other, represented by the colonies, new, imperfectly settled, a frontier land instinct with individualism and possessed of a very rudimentary sense of obligation and duty, such as accompanies membership in a more compactly organized social group. So far as our colonial history is concerned, the inevitable outcome of such conditions was the presence, particularly in the days before the Revolution, of widely differing ways of feeling and thinking, due in part to history and environment and in part to experience and conviction, that caused men to approach each in his own way the difficult points at issue. In Great Britain they did not all have the same opinion regarding the duty of the government toward America, and in the colonies there were many men of conservative, moderate, and radical leanings, who disagreed fundamentally regarding the necessity or otherwise of the connection with the mother country. Students of colonial history should give full weight to these various states of mind and not restrict themselves to those only with which they may happen to be in sympathy. They should make it clear that from 1763 to 1773, in both countries, there were vicissitudes of conflict, forces working for reconciliation as well as for independence, with the moderates and peace-makers mainly in control. They should trace the factors in this conflict in order to understand why after 1773 the extremists in both countries, reactionaries in Great Britain and radicals in America, gradually consolidating into parties, gained the upper hand, with the resultant coercion on one side and revolt on the other. It is impossible to be fair and impartial in treating the colonial phase of the situation if we study, as is usually done, only the radical side and, by calling its supporters "patriots" and glorifying their every action, disguise the fact that they were agitators and revolutionists — often uncontrolled and lawless men. It is equally impossible to be just if we ignore the credit due the moderates, made up of the propertied and mercantile classes and of those who honestly preferred the British

connection or were true to their allegiance due the British crown, and cast them all out as Tories and enemies to their country. No good is done by calling every Son of Liberty a hero of unsullied motives and extolling his merits above those of other and sometimes better and wiser men. Many a Son of Liberty was a law-breaker and disturber of the peace, construing liberty in terms of muscle and not of right. Language is often the worst enemy of the truth, and nouns and adjectives, like figures and statistics, can be made to lie with exceeding facility. Much of the writing on the pre-Revolutionary period is rendered historically unsound quite as much by stresses and omissions as by deliberate perversions of the facts. As there have been neglected periods of colonial history, such as that from 1690 to 1750, and neglected phases, such as those of colonial commerce and the relationship with Great Britain, so there are neglected aspects of thought and opinion, such as characterized the men opposed to extremes of action in both countries, who though they failed in the end are deserving of as careful a consideration at the hands of the historian as are those who carried the day for revolt in the years before 1776.

Mr. Andrews then read the following paper, written by Dr. Ralph V. Harlow of Simmons College:

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The brevity of this essay will render unnecessary the statement that it does not purport to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject: it is rather in the nature of an introduction, written with the hope that it may call attention to what is certainly a neglected aspect of the Revolution. The material used was gathered in the course of a fairly minute examination of the sources of Massachusetts history for this period. The aim of that work, however, was political and constitutional, but it brought up so many sidelights on economic conditions that it seemed worth while to put them in accessible form.

Without attempting to summarize the earlier issues, it may be pointed out that the Boston Tea Party had served not only to disclose the strength of the radicals in Massachusetts, but also to focus the attention of Parliament and the administration directly upon

what many Englishmen regarded as the stubborn perversity of the colony. It became only too clear that a crisis of some kind was imminent, and the foreboding which consequently prevailed had already begun to leave unmistakable marks on the business world. In January, 1774, John Adams, then a young lawyer of promise, viewed with something akin to alarm the collapse of his practice, which, he wrote, had been "totally annihilated" for the year past, by the "inauspicious course of public affairs."[1] Such a complaint from a successful attorney indicates that general business prosperity must have been at a very low ebb.

If the agitation over the tea produced a cessation of business activity, the Port Bill ruined it, so far as Boston was concerned. By the summer of 1774, merchants were complaining in earnest. Incomes ceased, and as for collecting debts, John Andrews wrote that "you might as well ask a man for the teeth out of his head as to request the payment of money that he owes you."[2]

What the Port Bill did for Boston alone the Association did for the whole province. The essence of that arrangement was a stringent non-export and non-import agreement, theoretically voluntary, actually enforced by the revolutionary committees. It fell to the Provincial Congress to carry out the recommendations of the national body. In order to prevent the further buying or selling of either British or West Indian goods, and to see that the Association was "strictly executed," the local Congress urged all towns which had not already done so to appoint committees of inspection. These committees were authorized to seize the goods of recalcitrant traders. In accordance with this recommendation, the town of Boston appointed a committee of sixty-three, to enforce the edict.[3]

The result was all that could be desired. In December, 1774, John Adams reported "a total stagnation of . . . commerce almost." Business was so completely at a standstill that artizans could find no employment, and no one could pay his debts. To make matters worse, the courts had been closed since September, so that even though the stubborn debtor had property, the creditor had no means

[1] Warren-Adams Letters, i. 21–23, January 3, 1774.

[2] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 335–339, 343–344, August 1, 10, 20, 1774.

[3] Boston Gazette, December 12, 1774.

of enforcing settlement.[1] Thus the actual outbreak of hostilities was preceded by the collapse of commercial activity; business was at an end, and the debt collecting machinery was in ruins.[2]

During the first year of the war, conditions did not materially change. Boston, to be sure, was besieged by the American troops, and it naturally suffered, but the rest of the province encountered nothing more serious than it had already experienced. Trade naturally did not revive at once as soon as war was declared. For one thing, the non-exportation agreement was "sacredly observed" as late as November 5, 1775, and so intense was the feeling that it could not have been violated with safety.[3] Then the fact that Britain was a naval power would make the resumption of commerce somewhat difficult. Privateering, carried on extensively toward the end of the war, was hardly under way in 1776. Because of the shutting off of imports, European and West Indian goods were scarce and costly. Provisions, however, were "plenty and cheap," while beef was "a drug," and the farmers were complaining that the commissary sent to Connecticut for all his beef.[3] Apparently there was no cause for undue alarm. Opportunities for making money had of course been curtailed in some directions, as the inevitable result of war, but there seems to have been no difficulty in getting enough to eat. This, too, it should be noted, was the situation while Massachusetts was the principal scene of military operations, when, theoretically, economic conditions should have been at least as bad as at any subsequent period of the struggle.

Instead of bringing an improvement, however, the evacuation of Boston by the British was speedily followed by a disquieting change for the worse. The causes of this unexpected turn were both various and complex. In the first place, the reversal was certainly accompanied, if not actually occasioned, by a series of important legislative enactments. These statutes violated principles which economists call laws, and produced results which were in themselves distinguishing features of the period. For one thing, the General

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[1] John Adams, Works, ix. 348–350, 351, December 12, 28, 1774.

[2] J. Rowe, Diary, April 21, 1775: "All Business at an End and Communication Stop'd between Town & Country — No Fresh Provisions of any kind brought to this market so that Boston is in a most Distressed Condition."

[3] Warren-Adams Letters, i. 175–179, November 5, 1775.

Court and the Continental Congress proceeded to dabble with that already well-known American form of alchemy: the attempt to transmute paper into gold, or at least into its equivalent. Consequently a brief survey of the fiscal policy of the government up to the end of 1777 will be of considerable assistance in any attempt to describe and explain economic conditions. From 1774 to 1777, inclusive, the state emitted bills of credit to the amount of £500,042. For the same period, treasurer's certificates aggregating £656,000 were issued. But this was a mere nothing compared with the tremendous flood of continental currency that was literally poured into the state. Congress rather than the General Court was the guilty party when it came to wholesale inflation. It is impossible to estimate how much of this paper was in circulation, but some idea of its volume can be gathered from the attempts of Massachusetts to redeem her share of it. In 1780 the state issued £460,000 in bills of credit to help call in some of the continental notes, and shortly afterward voted a tax of £5,601,025 for the same purpose.[1]

In order to give proper weight to these various issues in 1776 the General Court passed a law not only to make the bills of credit of both Massachusetts and the United States legal tender in all payments, but also to prevent their depreciation. Any person convicted of receiving or paying out bills of credit for an amount less than their face value was declared ineligible to any civil or military office, and fined £40 for each offence. Moreover, a fine of £20 was imposed for offering to sell goods at lower prices for gold or silver than for paper.[2] Although credit was being piled up in this generous fashion, the legislature was not inclined to vote correspondingly heavy taxes. The amounts called for are significant: £46,000 in 1775; none at all in 1776; £101,875 in January, 1777; and £205,662 in December of the same year.[3]

Thus the egg of paper money was laid, and out of it there was hatched, not merely one ugly duckling, but a whole brood. Depreciation, with the inevitable accompaniment of rising prices, was in evidence early in 1776. Colonel Otis wrote that the currency had depreciated, and that some persons refused to take it on any ac-

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 416, 442, 504, 508, 547, 551, 559, 589, 606, 608, 610, 638, 740, 1180, 1202.

[2] v. 472.

[3] v. 423, 564, 742.

count.[1] By midsummer the cost of living had doubled over the previous year. Not only were imported goods expensive, because of shortage due to the war, but all foodstuffs raised in the vicinity had advanced to "a very great price," to quote Abigail Adams. Incidentally she was careful to point out that the high cost of the necessaries of life was by no means due to any real scarcity of provisions.[2] It is clear that prices had begun to respond to the pressure of a steadily increasing volume of currency.

Rising prices, however, are not the only offspring of monetary inflation. Fluctuating or uncertain values generally appeal to the gambling instinct, and even thus early there are traces of a propensity towards speculation. In May, 1776, James Sullivan wrote that "public virtue is almost swallowed up in a desire of possessing paper currency; and parsimony, in the modest and charming dress of frugality, together with covetousness, . . . does us much injury."[3] Along with this tendency there was also to be found the time-honored disinclination to pay debts.[4]

Furthermore, this combination of cheap money and rising prices, along with the evidence of speculation, was bound to create suspicion and ill-will among the various groups and interests in the state. When the ordinary foodstuffs were raised right here in the state, it seemed absurd to pay twice as much for them as before. Something was wrong, clearly enough, and it was not long before both the farmer and the merchant began to make invidious remarks about each other's greed. Abigail Adams was convinced that both parties were guilty of taking advantage of the prevailing financial and commercial conditions to reap exorbitant profits.[5] Thus the financial experiment of the state and nation combined to unsettle still further conditions in a community, the ordinary economic life of which had already been deranged by war.

This unprecedented and disquieting advance in the cost of living seemed to be entirely unnecessary. In such a time of stress it was natural for the citizens to turn to the government for aid, as they

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxciv. 292–293, March 18, 1776.
[2] Familiar Letters of John Adams, pp. 182–183, June 3 and August 25, 1776.
[3] Amory, Life and Writings of James Sullivan, i. 76, May 9, 1776.
[4] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 305–308, June 1, 1776.
[5] Familiar Letters of John Adams, pp. 182–183, June 3, 1776.

did. But instead of blaming the legislature for its unsound financial policy, the people demanded action that would check the too profitable careers of greedy, extortionate dealers. Laws of economics are intangible things at best, and it was the grocer and butcher who actually took the money. If these unscrupulous speculators were really forcing up prices, as charged, the most obvious remedy was regulation by the government, and the General Court was not at all averse to a trial of strength with the marketmen. Surely if the legislature could manufacture money out of paper, and give it a value by statute, it could also control prices. In January, 1777, therefore, a law with the following preamble was passed: "Whereas the avaricious conduct of many persons, by daily adding to the now exorbitant prices of every necessary and convenient article of life and increasing the price of labour in general, unless a speedy and effectual stop be put thereto, will be attended with the most fatal and pernicious consequences. . . ." The Act went on to impose maximum prices for almost all the ordinary necessaries of life: food, fuel, and wearing apparel, as well as for day labor.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 583.

TABLE OF PRICES, 1776–1782

Authority	Wheat	Flour	Corn	Rye	Beef	Sugar	Butter	Tea
Regul. Act 1777 (Jan.)	7s 6d a bu.		4s a bu.	5s a bu.	3–4d lb.	8d lb.	10d lb.	
Mrs. Adams Apr. 20, 1777			5s a bu.	11–12s a bu.	8d lb.	£4 cwt.	1s 6d lb.	
Regul. Act June, 1777				6s bu.		10d lb.	10d lb.	$7–8[1] lb.
Mrs. Adams Mar. 20, 1779		£50 cwt.	$25 bu.	$30 bu.	$1–8s lb.	12s lb.	12s lb.	
Mrs. Adams June 8, 1779			$4.[2] $80.[3] bu.		6–8s lb.	$4. lb.		$40 lb.
Concord Conv. July 14, 1779	£9 bu.		£4. 10s bu.	£6 bu.	6s lb.	14s lb.	12s lb.	£5.16s lb.
Concord Conv. Oct. 6, 1779	£9 bu.	£30 cwt.	£4. 4s bu.	£5. 14s bu.	5s lb.		12s lb.	£6 lb.
Mrs. Adams Oct. 15, 1780		£140 cwt.	£30 bu.	£27 bu.	$8. lb.	£200 cwt.	$12. lb.	$90 lb.
Pickering Jan. 7, 1782		24s cwt.	5s bu.		4d lb.			

[1] Pynchon, Diary. [2] Hard money. [3] Paper money.

This by no means includes all the figures given in the various authorities, but it will serve to illustrate the general trend of prices during the period.

The prices named in the law applied to Boston. For other towns the respective selectmen were authorized to regulate prices in accordance with this scale, making the necessary allowances for differences in the cost of transportation. The law was also designed to prevent engrossing, and to that end the selectmen were empowered to seize goods held for gain, and also to confiscate the stock of merchants who refused to comply with the regulations.

So far as achieving its immediate aim was concerned, the measure was a failure, as a glance at the table of prices will show. Even if enforced, it is difficult to see how a mere statute could have put a stop to the evils let loose by financial inflation, and this law was not enforced. For example, James Warren wrote that the regulating act had been observed in some places, and disregarded in others, particularly in Boston, "where it is constantly violated in open daylight." He considered the measure impracticable, because of its tendency to bring the authority of government into disrepute. Then Robert Treat Paine reported that the act, which had been urgently called for by almost everyone, was then "reprobated by many and obeyed by few." Abigail Adams added her testimony, to the effect that the law was "no more heeded than if it had never been made."[1]

The foregoing comments reveal how generally the law failed to accomplish its proper object. There is other evidence which indicates that the measure served to accentuate the growing cleavage between the producers on the one hand and the merchant and consumer on the other. Whatever may have been the cause, whether mere coincidence or conscious action by the farmer, certain it is that the towns were confronted by an uncomfortable shortage of food, and it is equally clear that for this situation they held the countrymen responsible. On January 31, three days after the law went into effect, William Pynchon of Salem wrote in his diary that "The contest between farmers and Salem traders, etc., as to prices of meal begins; the farmer threatens to starve the seaports." In March Rufus King wrote from Cambridge that "Many towns this way are reduced to great Distress, by reason of the Act of the Genl.

[1] Warren-Adams Letters, i. 303–306, March 23, 1777; Austin, Life of Elbridge Gerry, i. 219–223, Paine to Gerry, April 17, 1777; Familiar Letters of John Adams, p. 261, April 20, 1777. Further evidence on this point is to be found in Boston Gazette, June 2, 1777.

Assembly, stating the Prices of the necessaries of life. No Provisions brought to market. No Wood." Families were moving out of town, and conditions were as bad as they had been during the siege. Two weeks later James Warren reported from Boston that the act in question "has yet produced no other consequences but bitterness and wrath between the Town and Country, the last of which is endeavouring to starve the Town in return for what they consider ill usage from them and have succeeded so well, that the market here is little superiour to what it was in the siege." [1]

This shortage seems to have lasted through the spring and early summer of 1777. In April, according to Abigail Adams, there was a deficiency of all kinds of supplies, necessaries of life as well as luxuries. Then in July she reported a great scarcity in particular of coffee and sugar, and she inferred that the trouble was due to hoarding. Also Pynchon wrote that the people of Marblehead and Salem were quarreling for bread at the baker's, and that there was a "scramble at the wharf in weighing out and selling Capt. Derby's coffee." [2] Finally, in September, with the avowed object of food conservation, the General Court passed a law to prevent the manufacture of spirituous liquors from cider, wheat, corn, rye, oats, and barley.[3]

These conditions — food shortage, high prices, and general suspicion of motives — all served to aggravate the growing ill-will of the townsman toward the farmer. But the urban population by no means had a monopoly on these charges of unfair dealing. If accusations of greed could be made by one side, they could be countered by similar charges of speculation and profiteering. Abigail Adams, writing from the country, asserted that the people of Boston were actuated by a "spirit of avarice and contempt of authority," and "an inordinate love of gain;" she also commented upon prevalent charges against the merchants, who were accused of monopolizing certain commodities, in order to create a scarcity and so force up the price.[4]

[1] Pynchon, Diary, p. 4, January 31, 1777; King, Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, i. 25, March 8, 1777; Warren-Adams Letters, i. 303–306, March 23, 1777.

[2] Familiar Letters, pp. 261, 285–287, April 20, July 30, 1777; Pynchon, Diary, p. 29, April 28, 1777.

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 731.

[4] Familiar Letters, p. 261, April 20, 1777.

These convictions that the dealers were engaged in an unholy plot to enrich themselves at the expense of the luckless consumer were subsequently given more formal and authoritative expression. On May 21, 1777, there assembled a convention composed of all the committees of correspondence in Plymouth County. This gathering unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the "extraordinary lust for gain" which would "astonish all future generations, and give a vicious cast to [our] noblest achievements." Then they continued: "This Convention, alarmed at the rapid progress of avarice and extortion, which, like a resistless torrent, has overspread the land, and threatens the utter extinction of every virtuous and patriotic sentiment, earnestly entreat their countrymen . . . to pause a moment from the pursuit of wealth, and reflect on the tremendous consequences" which would follow such a "defection from public spirit and virtue." They concluded by charging that internal enemies were "monopolizing warlike stores, cloathing, provisions, &c. as well for the purpose of enhancing the prices of these commodities, and so depreciating the currency, as for reducing the people to distress and want."[1]

Thus far an attempt has been made to show in what respects the action of the legislature contributed to bring about that change for the worse which was so conspicuous a feature of the years 1776 and 1777. The evidence summarized reveals a discouraging situation: financial inflation, an alarming increase in the cost of living, speculation, unpatriotic greed, and worst of all, pronounced ill-will of one section toward another. Unfortunately these characteristics by no means complete the catalogue of economic difficulties that arose to torment the state in time of war. There were yet other manifestations of a collapse of prosperity, occasioned not so much by governmental interference with natural laws as by the inevitable derangement of commerce, and the long-continued interruption of trade and fishing.

An able contemporary analysis of the situation is to be found in a letter written by Robert Treat Paine. He explained that the war —

has thrown property into channels, where before it never was, and has increased little streams to overflowing rivers: and what is worse, in

[1] Boston Gazette, June 16, 1777.

some respects by a method that has drained the sources of some as much as it has replenished others. Rich and numerous prizes, and the putting six or seven hundred per cent on goods bought in peace time, are the grand engines. Moneys in large sums, thrown into their hands by these means, enables them to roll the snow ball of monopoly and forestalling; and thus while these people are heaping up wealth . . . the remaining part are jogging on in their old way, with few or no advantages, and the salary men and those who live on the interest of their money are suffering exceedingly.[1]

This letter calls attention to the gains of the few. There is other contemporary evidence which emphasizes the losses of the many. For example, in explaining why Salem could not pay the amount called for in the last apportionment of taxes, John Pickering, on behalf of the town, dwelt upon the economic conditions brought on by the war. In normal times, he wrote, the principal source of revenue had been shipping, and that industry was practically at a standstill. Privateering was carried on to a limited extent, but it was a poor substitute for trade and the fisheries. There were opportunities for large profits, to be sure, but the danger of total loss was even greater. Moreover, this activity was confined to a very few men, and the gains were consequently enjoyed by them; the general public got little out of it. To make matters worse, population was diminishing, and the town was overburdened with the care of dependent families of men engaged in the service of the state, captured by the enemy, or lost at sea. Then too there were almost no farms in Salem, so the town was anything but self-supporting.[2]

At the same time, Gloucester sent in a more elaborate account of its misfortunes. Since the year 1775 the town had lost 60 fishing boats, the total value of which was £18,000, and 18 merchantmen, valued at £7,200. The estimated loss on trade and fishing since 1775 amounted to £19,000. Many of the wharves and stores had been destroyed, large numbers of men were in the army and navy, or were prisoners of war, and many of the foremost merchants had moved out of town. The writer asserted that only three vessels from Gloucester were then engaged in foreign trade, and that the

[1] Austin, Life of Elbridge Gerry, i. 219–223, April 12, 1777.
[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxcvii. 118, June, 1777.

business of the shopkeepers was at an end. To make matters worse, not more than 16 men in town raised their own provisions.[1]

The agent for the little town of Wellfleet, on the Cape, reported that before the war, residents of the town had about 30 vessels employed in the whale fishery, and that those were nearly all "hauled up," and the business at an end. Moreover, the vessels still in service had been let to continental or state agents, because their owners lacked the wherewithal to engage in the West Indian trade. Those inhabitants who were so fortunate as to have any money left were buying farms in other parts of the state and moving away. The land in Wellfleet did not produce provisions enough to support ten per cent of the inhabitants, and the people had nothing to exchange for supplies. Adjacent towns carried their surplus products to Boston, Salem, or Newbury, where they could get West India goods in exchange. To make matters worse, in 1776 the oysters in the bay all died, for some unaccountable reason, and that meant a further loss of about £1000.[2]

The town of Dartmouth asserted that the whaling business, formerly the chief industry, was gone. And finally, Rehoboth mournfully — and ungrammatically — reported that only three-fourths as much grain as usual had been raised, and that much of the land lay waste and uncultivated. Many houses were old and falling to pieces, and the inhabitants were too poor to repair them. In conclusion, the writer announced that "there is not one Trader in town nor any privateer oned in town. the costing Botes have no imploy."[3]

Even when allowance is made for exaggerations, conscious or otherwise, that may have been made for the purpose of securing a reduction of taxes, these reports show that the seaports were going through a real commercial crisis, the direct result of the war. To be sure, before peace was made privateering enabled many individuals to regain much of their lost prosperity, but the climax of that activity was not reached until 1782,[4] while, as the evidence just summarized suggests, it was hardly under way in 1777. Thus there were added to the manifold evils connected with a depreciated currency the

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxcvii. 120, June, 1777.
[2] Ibid. p. 121.
[3] Ibid. pp. 123, 124, June, 1777.
[4] Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, ii. 770–771.

even more serious misfortunes due to a ruined commercial structure.

Meanwhile the subject of price regulation by the government was again attracting attention. In view of the lack of success attendant upon this venture, it is not surprising that the forces opposed to it gradually gained in strength. By the end of May, 1777, the Boston town-meeting was convinced that the regulating act should be totally repealed, on the grounds that it could not be enforced, that it was a prolific source of friction between town and country, and that it raised rather than lowered prices. If the act could be repealed, it was argued, and trade freed from its shackles, heavy imports would soon reduce prices. Trade must be allowed to regulate itself. Incidentally it was asserted that the law had thrown many honest traders out of business.[1] On the other hand, the Plymouth convention referred to above urged that the people obey the price regulations, and that the law be continued.[2]

Instead of repealing this measure, however, the General Court passed another, on the ground that the prices fixed by the first were "not adequate to the expence which will hereafter probably be incurred in procuring such articles." This second experiment authorized the selectmen in the various towns, as frequently as once in two months, to fix prices for labor, and for necessaries of life. As in the first, prices were named for the most important commodities. In addition, the selectmen were empowered to seize and sell goods held by any person who should disobey this or the earlier law. Finally, each town was directed to choose not less than three, nor more than seven persons, to prosecute all violations of either law.[3]

There is nothing to indicate that the new law was more effectively executed, or more successful in its operation than the old, and the advocates of repeal finally got the upper hand. On June 30 a convention representing all New England states met at Springfield, Massachusetts, to discuss the problem. Its advice, given to the four legislatures, recommended the repeal of all laws which attempted to regulate prices.[4] In September, on the ground that the price-

[1] Boston Gazette, June 2, 1777.
[2] Ibid. June 16, 1777.
[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 642.
[4] v. 1012, notes.

fixing measures "have been very far from answering the salutary purposes for which they were intended," the General Court completely repealed both laws.[1] Thus, with its failure publicly confessed in the preamble, the legislature brought to a close its experiments in the control of prices by statute.

For the next year and a half, that is, for the rest of 1777 and the whole of 1778, the economic situation was not complicated by the appearance of any new factors. For one thing, there was enough food to go around, so the troubles of the towns were less serious than had been the case the preceding year.[2] Prices nevertheless continued their relentless advance, and during this particular interval the rise was rapid. In the Boston memorial referred to above, it was stated that the people were "pain'd to observe, that they are obliged to give eight times as much for their provisions" as usual. By this time, some observers, with rare insight for the times, were pointing out that the primary cause of this particular evil was the volume of money in circulation.[3]

During the same time, too, friction between the producer, the merchant, and the consumer steadily grew worse, evidently because some business men were oblivious to patriotic appeals in the midst of exceptional opportunities for speculation. One unsigned communication in the Boston Gazette explained that "the farmer is complaining of the extortion of the merchant, in with-holding his merchandize or selling at an extravagant price; and the merchant is complaining of the farmer's withholding his corn, and the necessaries of life; and the tradesman and mechanic are complaining, that between both the merchant and the farmer they shall suffer, as they can procure neither food nor raiment. — These difficulties and distresses are seen, and in some measure felt, by all ranks of people."[4] In somewhat less philosophical fashion the people of Boston insisted that their hardships were greatly increased "by the more than brutal conduct of those Wretches within a few miles of this capital known in the Odious Character of Forestallers."[5] By the spring of 1778

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 733.
[2] v. 1016, notes. "Memorial of the Town of Boston," March 23, 1778.
[3] Boston Gazette, February 2, 1778.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 1016, notes.

such complaints became almost chronic. For example, a certain "S.M." in the Boston Gazette asserted that —

a private, selfish, and basely avaricious spirit has universally succeeded in the room of public virtue. . . . This is our unhappy case in this day of darkness. We know from what we every day feel, that commerce is so managed, as that it becomes a *public nuisance*, instead of a common benefit, and thousands of widows, orphans, and poor people, are ground almost to death by the greediness of avaricious merchants, monopolizers, farmers, sharpers, forestallers, mushroom traders, whose importance their own conceit is the fruit of having oppressed the necessitous, together with innumerable hawkers and hucksters, all of whom have been, and still are, outdoing one another in raising the price of everything. . . .

The truth is, . . . the thirst after gain is grown so insatiable, that neither reason, nor religion, nor a regard to the salvation of the country, lay the least restraint upon the generality in *money getting*.[1]

Still another letter, unsigned, runs:

The many impositions practis'd on the inhabitants of this town by those who supply our market, are so gross, that I am often surpris'd that people can continue so moderate, and suffer those extortioners to proceed in their abuse. . . . If a *market-man* is allow'd to ask any price he thinks fit, having nothing but his own rapacity and our necessity to govern him, the whole property of this town may in a little while be drawn away, by purchasing a few *potatoes*, and a few other necessaries of life: every advantage is now in the hands of these people, and like rapacious wolves, they seem determined to improve them to our ruin: . . . Such horrid principles are the prevailing motives of our market, neither gratitude or affection for the town . . . have any share in all they do; and with justice may it be affirm'd, that within the circle of 10 or 15 miles of this town, those who frequent our market are as implacable enemies, and delight as much in distressing Boston, as any British troops . . . in America.[2]

By all odds the most important feature of this period was neither the high cost of living, nor the profiteering schemes of the merchants, but the unusual prosperity of the agricultural population. Evidence of this state of affairs is to be found as early as 1777. While the legitimate merchants were enduring all the hardships which resulted from

[1] Boston Gazette, April 6, 1778.
[2] Ibid. December 21, 1778.

the interruption of commerce, the farmers were making money.[1] For their wares, with both the towns and the army constantly calling for more, the demand was almost always greater than the supply, so that the market was uniformly good.[2] Moreover, the farmer was favorably rather than adversely affected by the rising prices. Whereas the merchant was compelled to pay exorbitant rates for the very necessaries of life, in spite of the fact that his business may have been ruined, the farmer could raise almost all of his own food supplies, so that whatever he got for the surplus was almost clear gain. Moreover, the actual cost of production had not kept pace with the advance in prices, so their continued rise meant a steadily increasing margin of profit.[3]

Indirect evidence on this point is to be found in the fact that merchants were leaving the coast towns, and buying farms in the interior. Both Gloucester and Wellfleet reported this circumstance, and the latter in particular laid emphasis on this transfer of capital from shipping to agriculture.[4] Then people in Boston were firmly convinced that all their sacrifices in the war thus far had "opperated Hitherto intirely for the good of the land holder."[5] More positive proof of this rural prosperity is given in a letter from Orne of Salem to Pickering. He wrote that in spite of the copious emissions of paper money, not a merchant had £500 in his possession, while numbers of men who had hitherto been accounted wealthy then found it difficult to support their families. On the other hand, he continued, "our farmers who used to beg forbearance for the payment of Interest have now taken up their bonds and are now insolent with their thousands."[6] Although conditions were certainly abnormal when the wealthy farmer could lord it over the poverty-stricken merchant, they were not bad enough to produce serious suffering. So far as the

[1] Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, ii. 779–780.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxcvii. 121, June, 1777.

[3] "Memorial of the Town of Boston," March 23, 1778, quoted in Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 1016, notes. This document states that the cost of raising agricultural produce, so far as the important item of labor was concerned, was proportionally less than normal. It had been customary to pay the value of one bushel of corn for a day's work, and at this time the daily wage equalled the cost of only three pecks of corn.

[4] Massachusetts Archives, cxcvii. 120, 121.

[5] Authority as in note 3, above.

[6] Pickering MSS., xvii. 120–121, March 29, 1778.

evidence shows, people were able to get enough to eat, and, apparently, the wherewithal to pay for it.

The hardest times of the war, so far as the towns of Massachusetts were concerned, came during 1779 and 1780, and then, in addition to another heavy advance in the cost of living and the always vexatious greed of the dealers, the maritime sections had to endure the hardships of a real food shortage. Before the winter was over, the supply of wheat was almost exhausted. In February George Williams of Salem reported a great scarcity of bread in the state, and announced that a committee had been sent as far south as Maryland to procure flour. Both the poorer people and the merchants were said to be in great distress.[1] In April, 1779, he wrote again, as follows: "we are in great distress hear for the want of Bread, Many Family's has none to eat, our wicked Farmer's has the modesty under a good grace to ask for Flour the small price of £45 to 50 per ct. . . . Many hear that had a good Living must be reduced to Beggary, on accot of the above price, the sea port Inhabitants are all most discouraged. . . ."[2] Soon after this, "Mobility" in the Boston Gazette warned the forestallers, those "enemies to the freedom and happiness" of the country, that "Hunger will break through stone-walls, and the resentment excited by it may end in your destruction."[3] In June and July the distress was temporarily mitigated by the capture of British supplies, but prices were higher than ever. More grain, too, was coming into the market, although the farmers were still characterized as "all most as cruel as the enemy."[4]

That this alleviation was only temporary is shown by later reports. For example, the committee of correspondence of Barnstable described the situation as "singularly unhappy." Because of the interruption of the fisheries, which formerly furnished the principal commodity for commerce, trade had come to an end, as the town had nothing else to export, "a few onions only excepted." There was little agriculture in the town, and the people were suffering "a greate scarcity of the necessaries of Life."[5]

[1] Pickering MSS., xvii. 242–243, February 28, 1779.

[2] Ibid. p. 253, April 6, 1779.

[3] Boston Gazette, April 26, 1779: see also ibid. June 24, 1779.

[4] Familiar Letters, pp. 364–367, June 8, 1779; Pickering MSS., xvii. 273–274, July 3, 1779.

[5] Massachusetts Archives, cci. 168, July 15, 1779.

In mid-summer, the Boston committee complained that for two weeks past it "has been almost impossible to purchase a single joint of Fresh Meat which has obliged a very large Proportion of our Inhabitants to live on Vegetables only; owing entirely, as we imagine, to a parcel of avaritious Butchers who live in a few adjacent Towns, & not to the Honest & industrious Farmer." A postscript added that "the Butchers who supply'd the town with Small Meat have intirely stopped coming to Market."[1]

The shortage during the winter and spring of 1779 was due obviously enough to the failure of the supplies raised the preceding year to last through. But it is evident that the following summer did not bring the expected relief. The crops were certainly late, and apparently short as well. The letter of a "Countryman" in the Boston Gazette throws some light on the situation. He asserted that there was no general disposition among the farmers to withhold supplies, in spite of various attempts to regulate prices. The scarcity was due, so he wrote, to a variety of causes: heavy rains, which prevented the farmers from threshing their grain as early as usual; moreover, the extraordinarily wet season had prevented sheep and lambs from fattening; then, August was the cheese-making season, so little butter was being made. A week later he reported a "vast increase and amazing supply of cattle, sheep and grain" in every part of the state, and assured the towns that they need no longer worry about the danger of famine.[2]

If his last assertion is true, that the quantities of foodstuffs on hand were amply sufficient for all needs, they certainly were not brought into the towns. During the fall naturally there was some improvement, but even on September 17 Boston was reported to be in "a very suffer[g] condition," and prospects for the winter were far from bright.[3]

As a matter of fact the gloomy forebodings of the fall were only too well fulfilled, and March again found the towns in trouble. John Clarke wrote: "Certain I am, that these seaports are in a forlorn situation. Subjected as we are to the inhumanity (for it deserves

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cci. 239, August 17, 1779.

[2] Boston Gazette, September 13, 20, 1779.

[3] Massachusetts Archives, cci. 305, September 17, 1779; Pickering MSS., xvii. 301, October 19, 1779.

no milder name) of our brethern in the country, it is impossible we shd much longer have a being. One more such winter as the last would finish us." Again, John Eliot reported that the town of Boston was "really poor," and that unless conditions soon change for the better, "it is my opinion that we cannot subsist." He continued: "Many have perished on our coast this winter. Many widowed families add to the distress of the North End, who were in good circumstances before the commencement of this tedious season. Most of the ready money wch was in the town the country people have drained, — such was the necessity of obtaining fuel at any price." He also said that the effect "upon all orders of men in the seaports [was] a hearty wish for peace, which sentiment did not invade the mobility till the present time. Did the country farmers *feel* like the Bostonian mechanics, I don't know what would be the consequence."[1]

Just as the combination of high prices and food shortage in 1777 had produced the price-regulating acts, so this more serious deficiency called forth a legislative programme, the aim of which was the amelioration of unfortunate economic conditions. Three statutes were passed, the first of which was designed to prevent hoarding. It provided that no person, bakers excepted, should "purchase, engage, or buy" any more corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flour, or meal than should be sufficient to maintain his family and immediate dependents until the next harvest. Bakers were permitted to keep a three months' stock of flour on hand. No person was to buy more "dead meat" or live cattle than would be needed for one year. The law also forbade forestalling, and buying at wholesale with the intent to sell the same goods again at wholesale. It also imposed a penalty on travelling traders. When originally enacted the law was to expire by limitation on October 20, 1779, but it was continued by subsequent renewals to July 1, 1780. In order to see that the law was enforced, the towns were directed to appoint inspectors of the market, who were expected to get the forestallers into court.[2]

In June this measure was reinforced by another. The preamble stated that "Whereas it has been represented to this court that many people within the state are so lost to a sense of public virtue as to

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 176–183, March 29, 1780.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 924, 1118, February, 1779.

withhold the necessaries of life, and to refuse the public bills of credit of this state and the United States of America," it consequently became necessary for the legislature to act. According to this second law, families were forbidden to have on hand more than one year's supply of grain, meal, or meat. The selectmen were empowered to confiscate any supplies in excess of this legal maximum. Furthermore, persons who refused to accept either state or national bills of credit were made liable to a fine of not less than £50, and not more than £500, or to six months' imprisonment.[1]

Finally, in September, 1779, in order to prevent any unnecessary depletion of the insufficient supply of foodstuffs, the General Court passed a stringent embargo, prohibiting the export, by land or sea, of rum, wine, spirits, molasses, sugar, coffee, chocolate, linen, cotton, live stock, shoes, leather, hides, and "provisions of all and every sort," with the sole exception of reasonable ships' stores. To secure the enforcement of this measure, selectmen and committees of correspondence were authorized to seize wagons laden with any of the commodities enumerated, if it appeared that they were bound for the state border. The penalty for violating this law was a fine, equal in amount to the value of the goods carried out.[2]

These measures, designed to put a stop to engrossing, hoarding, and exporting foodstuffs, completed the legislative programme on the food problem. So far as it went, it was satisfactory, but it was by no means comprehensive enough to meet with universal approval. There was a conviction, apparently widespread, that something should have been done to check prices, which had gone up faster and higher than ever before. With corn at $4 a bushel in hard money, or $80 in paper, molasses at $20 per gallon, tea $40 per pound in the same medium, and other things in proportion,[3] it is not surprising that some restraining action should have been desired. When it became evident that the General Court would not concern itself with this question, the problem was taken up by various unofficial bodies. For example, on June 16, 1779, the merchants of Boston agreed to do all in their power to prevent a further rise in prices;

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 1073, June 24, 1779.

[2] v. 1114, September 23, 1779; repealed June 7, 1780, p. 1395.

[3] Familiar Letters, p. 364, June 8, 1779; see price table on page 168 note above, for a summary of these various lists.

they worked out a new scale, which was subsequently approved by a general meeting of the inhabitants of the town. The merchants also bound themselves not to take gold or silver coin for their goods, and not to sell gold or silver in any form. Then the meeting of the inhabitants of Boston ordered the committee of correspondence to send a circular letter to all similar committees in the state, urging them to join with Boston in this campaign to reduce prices.[1]

As a result of this letter, on July 14, 1779, a convention met at Concord, consisting of 174 delegates, representing 121 towns, from eight counties. This gathering proceeded to work out a new scale of prices, differing in some respects from that drawn up by the Boston merchants, and the people were earnestly requested to observe this new list.[2] On October 6, the convention reassembled, and agreed to a horizontal reduction of all prices.[3]

Theoretically, regulation by voluntary action may have held out better prospects of success than the earlier method of legislative enactment; people will sometimes do of their own accord what they cannot be made to do under compulsion. But, whether better psychology or not, this attempt failed as completely as the other. As the Concord convention itself mournfully admitted, "We have observed with extreme concern and anxiety the various Evasions" of the regulations agreed upon.[4] The most striking commentary on this experiment is to be found in the prices for October, 1780, when depreciation had reached its limit. They were five times higher than those quoted a year before.

The year 1780 was the turning point in the economic history of the state during the war. Henceforth conditions in the towns steadily improved. Complaints of food shortage ceased to appear. Then, too, as the financial policy of the state was put upon a sounder basis, prices rapidly fell to something like normal. For the farmers on the other hand, who had been enjoying extraordinary prosperity, the current turned in the opposite direction, and they were soon face to face with hard times.

So far as the food question was concerned, the crisis was safely

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[1] Boston Gazette, June 21, 1779.
[2] Ibid. August 2, 1779; Massachusetts Spy, August 5, 1779.
[3] Boston Gazette, October 18, 1779.
[4] Ibid. October 25, 1779.

over, and conditions in the summer and fall of 1780 were normal. Partial evidence on this point is to be found in the repeal of the food embargo, on June 7, 1780. Moreover, the law against engrossing, which had been twice renewed, was allowed to expire by limitation on July 1 of the same year.[1] Then, in October, Abigail Adams wrote that supplies were plentiful.[2] After 1780, too, complaints of hard times in the towns practically ceased. As a matter of fact, the writer has found only one. On May 29, 1781, Pynchon recorded in his diary: "Trade in Boston in great confusion, almost stagnated; the credit of the new emission is sunk 30 per ct. upon failure of the old in its credit; all growl; some rave and stamp; others curse and swear, some at Congress, some at the General Court, some at Whiggs, others at Tories, — all at the French."[3] It would of course be unsafe to prove too much from the mere absence of complaints, but when they were so numerous during all the earlier years of the war, there must be some reason why only this one has come to light for the later years. Apparently conditions had improved so much that the towns were at least quiet.

The fact that hard money was available again is another evidence of improvement. It had never entirely disappeared, but after 1780 it became plentiful enough to attract attention. In January, 1781, a writer in the Massachusetts Spy asserted that it was not difficult to get hard money then, and in March a committee reported that the situation in general was much more promising than at any former period, and that in particular the finances were on a better footing. Finally, by January, 1782, John Pickering could write that "specie is our only currency."[4]

With the reappearance of coin as the medium of exchange, paper currency began to appreciate, and prices began to fall. In the Massachusetts Spy of January 11, 1781, "Sidney" made the flat statement that the paper was appreciating. Then, in the letter referred to above, John Pickering wrote: "I think money . . . continues to encrease in its value, good Beef & Mutton 4 d a pound,

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 1118, 1395.

[2] Familiar Letters, pp. 387–388, October 15, 1780.

[3] Diary, p. 96, May 29, 1781.

[4] Massachusetts Archives, cciii. 50, August 28, 1780; Massachusetts Spy, January 11, 1781; Boston Gazette, March 26, 1781; Pickering MSS., xviii. 125, January 7, 1782.

Flour 24/ a & Indian corn 5/ a bushel." A comparison of these prices with those of October, 1780, shows a truly remarkable decline. In view of these conditions, economists would expect to find evidence of an actual shortage of money. References to that condition appear in October, 1780, for the first time since the beginning of the war.[1]

The cause of this change is to be found in part in the increased volume of privateering, which became more and more profitable toward the end of the war. Then the presence of the French fleet off Rhode Island may have had some influence. Certain it is that the French were sending their commissaries into Massachusetts for supplies and were paying for them in hard money.[2] These factors helped, but by far the most important cause was the adoption of a sounder financial policy by the state itself. For one thing, the government was making a genuine effort to pay a much larger proportion of the cost of the war through taxation. From 1775 to the end of 1778, taxes to the amount of £962,973 were voted. In January, 1779, a single tax bill was passed, calling for £1,014,422, more than the total amount raised during the preceding four years. And the total for 1779 and the first half of 1780 was £17,878,706.[3] These figures to be sure must be considered in the light of the current prices. The purchasing power of £1, in paper, was not very great in 1780. Nevertheless there is evidence that these amounts did bear heavily on the tax payer. "Frugalis Monito" in the Boston Gazette said that the burden of taxes was being felt, and Abigail Adams wrote that the taxes were "*enormous.*"[4]

Another phase of the new fiscal policy of the government was the repeal of the tender laws. This was accomplished, in spite of considerable opposition, partly in January, and completely in July, 1781.[5] This repeal marked the end of the various attempts to break

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[1] Boston Gazette, October 9, 1780; Familiar Letters, pp. 387–388, October 15, 1780.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cciii. 50, August 28, 1780.

[3] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 423, 564, 742, 782, 886, 933, 1079, 1137, 1202, 1399, 1421.

[4] Boston Gazette, October 9, 1780; Familiar Letters, pp. 387–388, October 15, 1780.

[5] Boston Gazette, February, 5, 1781; Massachusetts General Laws (1823), i. 58 (1781, ch. 7).

the force of economic laws by the interposition of legislative enactments.

Thus it is clear that by the summer of 1780 the financial policy of the government, judged by the generally accepted principles of economics, had become more sound; that so far as prices were concerned, there was a return to something like normal by 1782; and that there was little or no indication of unrest in those seaport towns which had complained so bitterly early in the war. But these very gains of the financial interests worked to the disadvantage of the farmer. High taxes and low prices were precisely the very things he did not want, and the drop from inflation to normal came so quickly that he had no opportunity to make the necessary adjustments. It is significant that after 1780, practically all the complaints come from the country.

Evidence of this growing unrest begins to accumulate in 1781. For example, some of the arguments against the repeal of the tender acts came from the farmers. One "Sidney" in the Massachusetts Spy urged that it would be impolitic to repeal the measure, on the ground that it would be unjust to that large number of people who had based their calculations upon a continuance of the law. The repeal passed the House by the narrow margin of 76 to 64, while the vote in the Senate was 19 to 7.[1]

In May the town of East Sudbury expressed approval of the action of its representative in voting against the repeal, and instructed him to use his influence to have the act revived, on the ground that the repeal placed an unreasonable burden on the debtor.[2] A gentleman signing himself "Benevolus," in commenting on these instructions, wrote that they appeared to be the work of "Men of little

[1] Massachusetts Spy, January 11, 1781. The vote by counties, with the exception of Dukes and Nantucket, as given in the Boston Gazette of February 5, 1781, was as follows:

	For repeal	Against		For repeal	Against
Suffolk	14	5	York	4	1
Essex	11	3	Bristol	2	4
Middlesex	6	12	Worcester	5	21
Hampshire	10	11	Cumberland	1	0
Plymouth	5	3	Lincoln	1	0
Barnstable	7	0	Berkshire	10	4

[2] Boston Gazette, May 11, 1781.

property, less honesty, and deeply in debt."[1] This suggestion that some of the farmers at least were looked upon as debtors is significant in view of later developments in the state. Evidently the agricultural classes were beginning to feel the weight of the new financial policy.

In the summer of 1781 considerable interest was manifested in the disposal of the eastern lands of the state. Some of the opinions expressed reflect more or less suspicion on the part of the poorer classes regarding the attitude of the legislature on this question, and may well be considered as a part of the gathering unrest among the farmers. "The Independent Whig," in the Boston Gazette, advised that no more land be disposed of without the express approval of the people, and that the proprietors of lands already granted be compelled to fulfill their contracts. Moreover, he urged that the state tax all wild land which had passed into private hands. Finally he suggested an agrarian law, to prevent any one person from owning more than one thousand acres.[2] No such issue as this was raised during the prosperous years before 1780, and when considered in connection with other evidence of discontent, the suggestions are significant of the situation among the poorer classes and the farmers.

By January, 1782, some of the interior counties were betraying signs of more serious dissatisfaction. For example, on January 21, a town meeting in Worcester expressed its disapproval of the late excise act, and voted to instruct the representatives to try to secure a repeal of the law. At a second meeting, the town gave in detail its reasons for opposing the measure. First, "It is an indirect method of levying monies; as those who pay said duties cannot know what sum they pay, which is contrary to the genius of a free people." Next, if duties were necessary, they should be laid on luxuries. Spiritous liquors, they asserted, were "absolutely necessary" for the farmer, "whose fatigue is almost insupportable in hay time and harvest, and for the beginners in bringing forward new townships, where they have nothing to drink but water. . . ." Then, the method of collection was expensive, and there was reason to believe that tavern-keepers would take advantage of the law to make an unwarranted increase in prices. The law was unfair, because it favored the border coun-

[1] Boston Gazette, May 28, 1781.

[2] Ibid. July 9, 1781; February 4, 1782.

ties at the expense of the interior; the former could buy their supplies across the line, and so avoid payment. The tax was so adjusted that it bore heavily on the purchaser of small quantities, while the merchant would hardly feel it at all. Finally, the law was condemned on the ground that it would be "attended with many difficulties, and has a direct tendency to embarrass and obstruct trade; and it is the opinion of this town, if it is continued, it will create great uneasiness among the good people of this commonwealth, and not answer the designs of government in passing the same."[1]

Two months later, the Massachusetts Spy reported a dialogue between "Mr. Smallthought," a representative of S——, and "Mr. Trueman," one of his constituents. "Mr. Trueman" asks when the House will adjourn, and is informed that it will probably rise that day. In some surprise he ventures to remark: "The people of *Hampshire* and *Berkshire* are assembling to complain of grievances, and matters look in that quarter as if it would not do to rise until they were settled." "Mr. Smallthought" coolly replies that all business has been adjourned, and that no more work will be undertaken.[2]

That the inland counties were preparing for action of some kind was evident enough. That same issue of the Massachusetts Spy referred to a circular letter sent out by the town of Hardwick, in Worcester county, proposing a convention for the discussion of grievances. Those named dealt directly or indirectly with the farmers' burden. In order to save expense, the smaller towns were urging that there be a judge of probate in every town, and that constables, instead of sheriffs, be allowed to serve writs. Most significant of all, complaints were being circulated concerning the processes of debt collecting.[3]

In accordance with this suggestion, on April 9, 1782, a meeting of 34 delegates from 26 towns in the county convened at Worcester to take into consideration "the grievances which have created great uneasiness in the minds of the Good People of this county." The resolutions of this body, adopted unanimously, all dealt more or less directly with finance, and revealed the gathering discontent in this quarter of the state. It was asserted that much of the prevailing

[1] Massachusetts Spy, January 31, 1782.
[2] Ibid. March 28, 1782.
[3] Ibid.

uneasiness was due to the failure of the government to explain satisfactorily how "the IMMENSE SUMS OF PUBLIC MONEY" collected for several years past had been disposed of. The convention demanded an immediate accounting by all who had handled public funds. Then, after urging the need of a law to permit the payment of certain taxes in commodities rather than in money, the convention adjourned to the second Tuesday in May.[1]

Such complaints were not confined to Worcester. In the Boston Gazette of May 6, "Senex" complained of various evils, particularly the expensive proceedings in the courts of law. "The mode of trial in use among us," he asserted, "is the most sure and ready way to aggrandize the rich, by the oppressing the poor, to the beggaring their families." He also charged that the lawyers, sometimes, instead of a benefit, might be "a sore curse to the state."[2] Such complaints indicate a growing discontent among the debtor classes in the state. The grievances discussed in public hint broadly at such evils as a shortage of money, debts, and the inability to pay them, and in general dissatisfaction with the whole fiscal policy of the state.

On May 14, the Worcester convention reassembled, with twelve new members from eight additional towns. Among the subjects discussed were: the disposition of the public funds, the desirability of moving the General Court away from Boston, the need of a more complete separation of the business of the courts of common pleas from that of the general sessions, and the evils of the excise law.[3] The convention met again in August, 1782, but nothing was done.[4]

These gatherings are important, not so much for what they accomplished, because they did little beyond formulating lists of grievances, but rather for the light they throw on the causes of discontent. Excise, high taxes, judicial procedure, avaricious lawyers, all sound very much like the complaints which preceded Shays's rebellion. The farmers were certainly involved in a period of hard times.

The causes of this unfortunate situation were not obscure. The period after 1781 was pecularily one of readjustment, marked by

[1] Massachusetts Spy, April 18, 1782.
[2] Boston Gazette, May 6, 1782.
[3] Massachusetts Spy, May 23, 1782.
[4] Ibid. September 12, 1782.

falling prices. During the war the farmer had experienced all the thrills of rapidly accumulating wealth. He paid off his mortgage, and his wife and daughters — so he said — forced him up to a higher and more expensive standard of living. That was all very well, while the unparalleled prosperity lasted; when it stopped, the farmer was left high and dry. As prices went back toward normal, he could not contract his scale of expenditures fast enough to keep pace, because habits of luxury, once acquired, are very hard to lose. An interesting survey of this whole period, written in 1788, apparently by one who knew, was printed in the Hampshire Gazette. In discussing the cause of and the cure for hard times, "A Farmer" gave a brief history of his own experience. He explains that at the age of sixty-five he found himself without money, whereas in former days he had been well off. Before the war, his profits from his farm were good, averaging a hundred and fifty silver dollars a year. He never spent more than ten dollars a year, all told, and that went for salt, nails, and other necessaries that he could neither raise nor make on the farm. He never bought anything "to wear, eat, or drink," as his farm provided all the necessaries of life. He put his surplus cash at interest, or bought cattle, and so made a steady profit. After a time his wife became dissatisfied with her home-made outfit, and began to buy luxuries, such as a "calico gown," and a "set of stone tea-cups, half a dozen pewter tea-spoons, and a tea kettle, things that never were seen in my house before." After that his household expenses steadily climbed. Furniture and clothing of all kinds were purchased. Butter, formerly sold at market, was henceforth used at home. Lambs, hitherto sold for cash, were now eaten at home, or if sold, were exchanged for worthless luxuries. Breakfast, which formerly took ten minutes, now consumed an hour. In short, instead of saving money, as he had done at one time, his family expenses were now fifty or sixty dollars a year more than the income from his farm. This too was the situation when his family was smaller than it had been in his prosperous days, because his daughters had married. Rather than spend all of his accumulated savings, this particular farmer determined to go back to the standard of living of 1770. He resolved that in the future "No one thing to eat, drink, or wear, shall come into my house, which is not raised on my farm or in the parish, or in the country, except salt and iron work . . . no tea,

coffee, sugar, or rum. The tea-kettle shall be sold. . . ." Henceforth he was determined to live within his means.[1] How he came out with his scheme of retrenchment, and how his wife looked upon the proposed reform, no one knows.

A letter from Stephen Higginson summarizes the same course of events in briefer form. "The people at large," he wrote, "have for several years lived in a manner much more expensive and luxurious, than they have Ability to support, and their Ideas can not now be brought to comport, with their real situation and means of living."[2]

The main outlines of the economic history of the state during the war stand out with considerable clearness. During the first part of the struggle, the merchants suffered, and the farmers prospered. Then, during 1780, conditions changed so that the reverse of the earlier situation prevailed. The difficulties of the farmers go far toward explaining Shays's rebellion. The trouble began during the war, and all the characteristic features of that movement, except organized resistance to authority, were in evidence before 1783. The cause of this agrarian movement is not to be sought so much in unusually poor conditions in 1786, as in the extraordinarily good ones from 1776 to 1780. The return to normal after those "boom times," so far as the farmer was concerned, meant chiefly the disappearance of that income which had enabled him to live more like his contemporaries in town. After an alluring taste of luxury, the farmer had to turn back, or go into debt. Very likely he did a little of both, and the discomfort which necessarily accompanied his attempt at retrenchment resulted eventually in armed rebellion, directed, significantly enough, against those forces most intimately concerned in the process of debt collecting: the lawyers and the lower courts.

The paper was discussed by several members, who gave many interesting instances of the temper and action of the people at the time of the Revolution. Mr. BARRETT WENDELL included in his remarks a descrip-

[1] Hampshire Gazette (Northampton), September 3, 1788.

[2] Higginson, Life and Times of Stephen Higginson, pp. 84–85, July, 1786.

tion of some of the "smugglers' holes" found in many of the houses of the pre-revolutionary merchants residing in the coast towns.

Mr. Samuel E. Morison, after remarking that the paper was not only interesting in itself, but a valuable contribution toward a work that he hoped to see written some day — a history of Massachusetts during the Revolution — continued as follows:

The pre-revolutionary agitation in Massachusetts, and the military events of the years 1775–1776 have been described from every angle, and in minutest detail; but practically nothing has been written on the political, constitutional, social and economic history of the Commonwealth during the period 1776–1783. Yet there is a mine of material awaiting the investigator in state, town, and county archives. The possibilities of such a work, when handled by a thorough scholar and skilful writer, may be seen in Professor H. J. Eckenrode's Virginia in the Revolution. This book, the worthiest contribution for many years to Revolutionary history, both from a literary and a historical viewpoint, might well serve as a model for histories of the other twelve colonies during the same period.

I venture to suggest that there is perhaps one factor in the economic change about 1780 that the writer has overlooked: the political change involved in the adoption of the state constitution that year. Down to October, 1780, revolutionary Massachusetts had been governed by what was practically a unicameral legislature, elected on a low property franchise, and reflecting fairly well the wishes of the farming class, which was the most numerous. The Constitution of 1780 substituted a government of "checks and balances," in which a Senate, so constituted as to represent wealth, had equal power with the popular house. The mercantile class thus acquired a greater influence over legislation than it had formerly possessed, and proceeded to use its power by placing the weight of taxation on the farmers and the poorer classes. The taxes at the close of the war were enormous, yet the customs duties on imported luxuries were not only very low, but more often than not evaded. Smuggling habits of the pre-revolutionary period were so strong that the most respect-

able Boston importers paid duties on a small part only of their cargoes, smuggling in the rest, as amusingly described in Samuel Breck's Reminiscences. Hence the brunt of taxation fell upon land, and upon polls; over one-third of the enormous state tax was raised by poll-taxes between 1780 and 1786. At the same time, the new, vigorous state government began to distrain upon tax delinquents of the easy-going six years that had past; the creditor, which largely corresponded with the mercantile class, began to use the newly opened courts to collect debts; and through the same influences the Tender Act was repealed, so that the farmers were unable to pay their debts with the money they had received for their crops, and in many cases had their entire property sold at a mere fraction of its value in order to discharge their indebtedness to the Commonwealth or to individuals.

It may be doubted whether the mercantile class was more prosperous after 1780 than before; privateering, if I remember rightly, declined after 1779, and only two or three privateering firms — the Derbys and Cabots, possibly the Tracys — came out ahead in the end. It is my impression that the merchants began to feel the consequences of speculation and inflation after 1780; that, aided by their new political power, they began to pass on the burden to their country debtors, and that a state of things ensued like the old story about the pig that wouldn't jump over the stile; only, in this case, the Yankee farmer was both unable and unwilling to negotiate the financial stile: hence Shays's Rebellion.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read the following paper, written by Mr. Clifford B. Clapp of the Dartmouth College Library:

THE GIFTS OF RICHARD BAXTER AND HENRY ASHURST TO HARVARD COLLEGE[1]

I

Every little contribution toward the critical re-reading of the early records of Harvard College will doubtless be useful. In the

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Lane and to Mr. Matthews for various additions and suggestions.

histories of the college by Peirce, Quincy, and Eliot there are some uncertainties in the transcription and interpretation of such records as relate to gifts. We are concerned, in the present instance, with the benefactions of Richard Baxter, Henry Ashurst, and, incidentally, Nathaniel Hulton.

John Dunton, writing of his visit to the college in 1686, reported that Richard Baxter was one of the benefactors.[1] This may have been his own observation, or may have been derived from Cotton Mather's very similar statement in the Magnalia, published in London shortly before.[2] There has been slight recognition by Harvard historians of a gift by Baxter, although in Flynt's list of donations, the dates of which were unknown when it was compiled, appears the item, as given by Quincy, "Rev. Richard Baxter, many books." [3]

Baxter, himself, tells what some of these books were, and says that he was stopped from sending almost the whole of his library. A statement of his first gifts is to be found in the Baxter manuscripts in Dr. Williams's Library, London.[4] In a letter to John Woodbridge undated, but in reply to a letter from Woodbridge dated March 31, 1671, Baxter says:

[1] "The *Library* of this *Colledge* is very considerable, being well furnish'd both with Books, and *Mathematical Instruments*. Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Joseph Hill*; were Benefactors to it; and the Reverend Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, left his whole Library for that use" (Life and Errors, London, 1705, p. 157).

[2] "There were other that enriched its library by presenting of choice books with mathematical instruments thereunto, among whom Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, ought always to be remembered" (Magnalia, 1853, ii. 11). He then speaks of Gale's bequest. The first edition of the Magnalia was published in 1702 — that is, three years before Dunton's book.

[3] "Names of Donors, preserved in Flynt's Alphabetical List of Benefactors, the date of whose donations do not appear on the College books" (Quincy, History, ii. 530). Flynt's list has apparently disappeared since Quincy's day.

[4] Andrews and Davenport, Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, etc., pp. 343–346. Copies of these letters are in the Gay Transcripts (Massachusetts Historical Society).

The Baxter manuscripts are mentioned also, although not in detail as to his correspondence, in Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, iii. 367, in "The Manuscripts in the Library of the Rev. Dr. Williams." On p. 365 is the statement that "A carefully executed Catalogue of the entire collection [meaning manuscripts in the library] was drawn up by W. H. Black, Esq., in 1858." The report is by Joseph Stevenson.

I have directed to Mr Broadstreete at Boston, as my gift to your university library Dr Castles Polyglott Lexicon wth ye first of Mr Pooles 4 Volumes of ye Criticks; I had sent wth ym ye Polyglott Bible,[1] but yt I understood yt my friend Mr Boyle had sent it before; I shall, if God will yt Mr Poole live to finish ym send ye other 3 Volumes of ye Criticks, or take care yt they be sent, if I live so long: For Mr Davy a Merchant hath promised them to me for your Library. The Lord direct & blesse your labours. I rest

Your unworthy Brother.
RI: BAXTER.

If you write direct your Letters to Alderman Ashurst at ye Golden Key in Aldersgate Street Having sent your Letter to your unkle Woodbridge, I have forgot your freinds name in Boston, & so am faine to send to Mr Broadstreete.[2]

In a letter to Baxter dated February 5, 1672, Governor Bradstreet wrote:

Revrend and much honred Sr.

I undrstand by yr łre to my Cosen John Woodbridge that yw have sent two bookes. vz. Dr Castles Polyglott Lexicon, & the first of Mr Pooles 4 Volumes of the Criticks as yr guift to our Univrsity Library, & am informed by others that the bookes togeathr wth a łre directed to my selfe are safely arrived att Boston, the letter has not yet come to my hands, but detayned there (I suppose) upon their dayly expectacon of my comeing thithr wch hitherto, the weathr & other occacons hath prevented. It will not be long I hope before I go thither & then god willing I shall dispose of them according to yr order, & in the meane tyme was willing to give yw notice of wt I undrstand concerning them, least hearing noething by this convayance, yw might thinke they were either miscarryed or wee too vngratefull for soe great a beneficence, be pleased for the prsent to accept of my humble and hearty thanks on the behalfe of my selfe & our Colony for this yr Loveing and liberall guift. . . .

Yor Loueing affectionate though
vnknowne ffriend & servt
SIMON BRADSTREETE.

Andovr
ffebruary 5th 71.

[1] Edmund Castell's Lexicon Pentaglotton (doubtless a misprint for Heptaglotton), London, 1669, 2 vols.; Matthew Poole's Synopsis Criticorum, London, 1669–1676, 5 vols.; and Biblia Polyglotta, London, 1655, 6 vols., are all recorded in the Catalogue of the Library printed in 1723. Poole was a frequent companion of Henry Ashurst.

[2] Gay Transcripts, Richard Baxter Papers, p. 76.

be pleased to p^{r}sent my salutac̃ons & due respect to Alderm̃ Ashurst, & pdon my giueing y^{w} this trouble.

[*Addressed*] ffor
The Reu^{r}end and my much hon^{r}ed ffriend Mr Richard Baxter preacher of gods Word in London
theis p^{r}sent.
Leave this ł̃re att Alderm̃ Ashurst his house att the golden key in Aldersgate streete to be delivered.[1]

John Woodbridge [2] graduated from Harvard in 1664, preached at Killingworth and Wethersfield, Connecticut, and died in 1691. His mother was Mercy, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. Simon Bradstreet (1603–1697),[3] then of Andover but later of Boston, married Anne, the "poet," [4] daughter of Governor Dudley, so that the relationship described as "cosen" would at this day be termed nephew.[5]

Baxter's words do not indicate much familiarity with Harvard, but he must have long taken some interest in the college, as in other matters relating to New England. He could have derived such interest from the early graduates who returned to England, among them Benjamin Woodbridge, "first fruits" of the college and uncle of John Woodbridge of Killingworth. With Benjamin he was in

[1] Gay Transcripts, Richard Baxter Papers, pp. 77–78.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vi. 273, 277, 279–280, xxxii. 292, 293; Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 83 note; Sibley, Harvard Graduates, ii. 155–158.

[3] Mather, Magnalia, i. 138–140.

[4] Mather (Magnalia, i. 135) says that her poems afforded "a monument for her memory beyond the stateliest marbles." Prof. S. M. Tucker says she "was not a poet" but was "the most interesting as well as the most pleasing figure in early New England verse" (Cambridge History of American Literature, i. 154).

[5] There is no doubt that the writer of this letter was Gov. Bradstreet. While his son Simon was indeed cousin to John Woodbridge, he was also brother, having married in 1667 his cousin Lucy, sister of John Woodbridge. In the journal of Simon, the younger, he writes under date of 1669, "April 7. My Brother Jno. Woodbridge was ordained Pastour of Kenellworth;" and under 1671, "Octob. 26. My Brother Mr Jno. Woodbrige married Mrs Abigail Leet." But he wrote under May, 1671, "This Spring my Cosn Jno. Denison dyed" (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ix. 45–46). This John Denison was a son of Daniel Denison, whose wife was Patience, daughter of Gov. Dudley: hence Simon Bradstreet and John Denison were first cousins. Add to this, that the younger Simon Bradstreet was of New London at this time, while his father was at Andover but in politics at Boston also.

correspondence in 1659.[1] John Woodbridge, brother of Benjamin and father of John of Killingworth, after preaching at Andover in New England, returned to old England, where he spent the period of the Revolution, although later he again came to America.[2] Leverett, Bradstreet, and others went to England on missions for the colony.[3] The Rev. John Knowles, sometime minister at Watertown and deputed preacher to Virginia, whose letter partly quoted in this paper is so important, returned to England, where for nearly thirty-five years he was aid and adviser to Harvard College.[4] He was a trustee of the General Court's Humble Proposal[5] hereinafter mentioned; and he was proposed for president of the college in 1672.[6] John Eliot corresponded with Baxter, beginning at least as early as 1657,[7] and translated and printed in the Indian tongue his Call to the Unconverted. Baxter's much loved friend, Henry Ashurst, was, as we shall see, one of Eliot's steadfast supporters, a servant of the Massachusetts General Court, and a benefactor of Harvard. When the king was restored, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel fell into difficulties, and Baxter, at the instance of Ashurst, used his influence with the Lord Chancellor for the restoration of the Corporation.[8] These few instances may suggest

[1] Andrews and Davenport, p. 345. Copies are in the Gay Transcripts.

[2] Mather, Magnalia, i. 595–597; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vi. 279–280.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. 27, 32, 36, 37; Eliot, Biographical Dictionary (1809), p. 297.

[4] Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 118–120; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 62–66; Mather, Magnalia, i. 589–591; our Publications, viii. 194–195.

[5] See 3 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 301–308; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 362.

[6] See our Publications, viii. 193–198.

[7] Andrews and Davenport, pp. 343 ff. Copies are in the Gay Transcripts.

[8] Baxter very modestly says: "When the King was restored, the Corporation was dead in Law, . . . The care of the recovery and of restoring the Corporation and all the work, was the business of Mr. *Ashhurst*: for which he desired my solicitation of the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, who did readily own the justness of the cause and goodness of the Work" (Baxter's Practical Works, 1707, iv. 908). Calamy declares, in speaking of this matter, "Whereupon Mr. *Baxter* receiv'd Letters of Hearty Thanks, from the Court and Governour in *New-England*, and from Mr. *Elliot*, and Mr. *Norton*, All acknowledging the Signal Service he had done them" (Abridgment, 1702, p. 687). Cf. our Publications, vi. 181 note, and Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, ii. 65, where Robert Boyle receives the credit.

the strength of the New England appeal to the interest of Richard Baxter.

When the time came that he must inevitably part with his beloved library, Baxter's troubles became Harvard's opportunity. The circumstances may best be related in his own words, written about 1682, when, in defending himself against the charges of want of learning and want of accuracy brought against him by another clergyman,[1] he says:

About seven or eight years ago as I remember, I was accused for Preaching, and Fined by Sir *Thomas Davis*; and the Warrant was sent by him to Sir *Edm. Bury Godfrey* to levy it on me by Distress: I had no way to avoid it but *bona fide*, to make away all that I had: Among the rest I made away my Library, only borrowing part of it for my use. I purposed to have given it almost all to *Cambridge* in *New-England*: but Mr. *Knowles*[2] (yet living) who knew their Library, told me that Sir *Kenelme Digby*[3] had already given them the Fathers, Councils and Schoolmen, but it was History and Commentators which they wanted. Whereupon I sent them some of my Commentators, and some Historians among which were *Freherus*, *Reuberus* and *Pistorius* Collections, and *Nauclerus*, *Sabellicus*, *Thuanus*, *Jos. Scaliger de Emendat. Temp.* &c; But *Goldastus* I kept by me (as borrowed) and many more which I could not spare; and the Fathers and Councils and Schoolmen I was stopt from sending.[4]

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[1] H. Maurice, A Vindication of the Primitive Diocesan Episcopacy, 1682.

[2] This passage is inaccurately quoted by W. Orme in his Life and Times of Baxter (London, 1830, ii. 384; Boston, 1831, ii. 279), where "Mr. Knowles" is turned into "Mr. Thomas Knowles." Baxter's "Mr. Knowles" was unquestionably the Rev. John Knowles (1600–1685). The misquoted passage (with an extract from Knowles's letter to Leverett) is repeated without suspicion in the North American Review, cvii. 572, by Mr. C. A. Cutter, at that time (1868) assistant in the Harvard College Library.

[3] For a list of the works in Digby's gift, consult A. McF. Davis's A Few Notes concerning the Records of Harvard College (Harvard University Bibliographical Contributions, no. 27, 1888), pp. 13–14.

[4] True History of Councils, London, 1682, p. 57. All the books mentioned as having been given to Harvard College, except the Sabellicus, are recorded in the Catalogue of the Library printed in 1723, as follows:

Germanicarum Rerum Illustrium Scriptores ex Bibl. Marquardi Freheri. Tom. 1–3. Francof. 1624; Hanov. 1611.

Germanicarum Rerum illustrium Scriptores, ex bibl. Joan. Piscorii. Tom. 1–3. Francof. 1613; Hanov. 1613; Fran. ad Mœn. 1653. With a fourth vol. "Ex Bibl. Justi Reuberi. Hanov. 1619."

In another place he writes:

My wife did, without any repining, encourage me to undergo the loss, and did herself take the trouble of removing and hiding my library awhile (many scores of books being so lost), and after, to give it away, *bonâ fide*, some to New England, and the most at home, to avoid distraining on them.[1]

Two further bits of evidence are available to show that the gift went forward and to indicate approximately its importance. In one of the most interesting of all letters relating to the early college, John Knowles writes to Governor Leverett from London, May 1, 1675:

Alderman Ashurst hath about fifty books of history for the College from Mr. Baxter. I hope he will send them by one of these ships. I desire that you keep up a good correspondency with Mr. Baxter; he is a true friend to the College. Let somebody write to him; he will hold it well.[2]

The Account Book of John Richards, Treasurer of Harvard College at that period, has the following item under date of October 27, 1675:

Paid m^r^ Peter Sergeant p order of Presid^t^ & fellowes money 24^s^ w^h^ is for frait & charges of a case of Bookes from London a gift of m^r^ Richd Baxter.[3]

It is useless to mourn over the fact that only about fifty books were given instead of the whole library.[4] The original intention of

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Naucleri Memorabilium omnis Ætatis Comment. Chronic. Tubing. 1516.
Thuani Historiarum Sui Temporis Tom. 1–5. Genevæ, 1620.
Scaligeri Opus de Emendatione Temporum. Lugd. Bat. 1598.

Apparently none of these books survived the fire of 1764; but the Library now has copies of all except Nauclerus, although not in every case the same edition.

[1] In his A Breviate of the Life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, quoted by Orme, i. 393 note.

[2] 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 63.

[3] Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 339.

[4] The entire fifty books, more or less, including those listed above, should be identified within a fair degree of probability by reference to the catalogue of 1723, elimination of works known to have come from other donors, and comparison with Baxter's judgment of the best books, as given in his Christian Directory, question 174: "What Books especially of Theology should one choose,

Baxter was magnificent, and his actual donations entitle him to much honor at Harvard. It is to be regretted that his portrait, once owned by the college, was destroyed in the fire of 1764.[1]

II

Henry Ashurst, Alderman of London,[2] woolen draper,[3] sometime at the Three Kings[4] and at the Golden Key[5] in Watling

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who for want of Money or Time, can read but few" (Practical Works, i. 717–721). Also his opinions of books and writers scattered throughout his works.

Joseph Stevenson notes, in his report on "The Manuscripts in the Library of the Rev. Dr. Williams," in Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, iii. 367, "A catalogue of the Library of the Rev. Mr. Richard Baxter, who died 8 Dec. 1691. It consisted of 1,448 works and occupies 23 folios." If this is to be taken in the ordinary sense, we may suppose that here would be a work of great interest to Harvard College in connection with Baxter's intended and his actual gift. There is no doubt, also, that its publication would be of value to bibliographers, and to students of seventeenth century scholarship.

[1] Quincy, History, ii. 479.

[2] Ashurst was elected Alderman from Cordwainer Ward on July 7, 1668, and on July 9 was sworn and discharged on the payment of a fine of £420 (A. B. Beaven, Aldermen of the City of London, 1908–1913, i. 118, 346. Beaven says, ii. 103, that Ashurst was buried December 1, 1680, and that his will was dated July 10, 1678, and proved December 23, 1680). The reasons for his declining to serve are given by Baxter as follows: "Some may think that he wanted a publick Spirit, because he avoided being a Magistrate, and payed his Fine rather than take an Aldermans place. But it was only to keep the peace of his Conscience, which could not digest, 1. The Corporation Declaration and Oath; Nor 2. The execution of the Laws against Nonconforming Ministers and People" (Practical Works, iv. 908).

[3] He was generally called a draper, but occasionally "woollen draper:" see 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 246. In Waters's Genealogical Gleanings in England he appears as executor or is otherwise mentioned in several wills, and is called "Woollen draper" (pp. 756, 885–886). Pennoyer, the benefactor of Harvard, in his will (Waters, p. 505) speaks of "woollen cloth and other woollen commodities and linen, all which I desire may be bought and provided by Mr. Henry Ashurst, draper, . . . to be sent over to the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America." Ashurst was a merchant-tailor, "A tailor who supplies the materials of which his goods are made. Hence, a member of the company of *Merchant-Taylors*" (Oxford English Dictionary). Baxter's funeral sermon states that "he was Master of the Merchant Taylors company" (Practical Works, iv. 909). The date when he was Master was 1670–1 (H. B. Wilson, History of Merchant-Taylors' School, 1812, p. 1156).

[4] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 5.

[5] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 251. Ashurst was also addressed at Aldersgate Street (p. 246) and at St. John Street (p. 253).

Street, seems to have been a number of years ago almost forgotten in Massachusetts, being confused with his son Sir Henry Ashurst, the well-known agent of the colonies. Several references to Sir Henry in historical and bibliographical publications concern in reality his father.[1] And yet Alderman Ashurst was for a quarter century before 1680 eminent in trade, and so known to New Englanders.[2] He was Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; addressed by John Eliot and by the Massachusetts General Court, and made the medium of many important communications; the close friend of Richard Baxter; universally esteemed and loved; and noted for his charitable activities.[3] By the Massachusetts General Court he was constituted in 1659 one of the Trustees of the Humble Proposal for the Enlargement of University Learning in New England, and was one of the three who signed the letter announcing as a fruit of the movement the donation of Judge Hill.[4]

Peirce, Quincy, and Eliot all fell into errors in regard to gifts by Alderman Ashurst. The true facts are now given for the first time. The earliest gift is stated to have been made in 1672. "In addition to the above," wrote Peirce, who, however, does not state the exact year, "several hundred pounds were given to the College by others, among whom Mr. Henry Ashurst gave £100."[5] Quincy has: "1672. Henry Ashurst, 100 0 0."[6] Quincy believed that the gift was from Sir Henry, for he says, "To these benefactors, are to be added Sir

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[1] In the index to Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i–xx, published in 1887, several of the references credited to Sir Henry relate to Henry his father. The Brinley Catalogue (1878), i. 71, no. 575, notes Baxter's funeral sermon as for "Sir Henry Ashhurst."

[2] The earliest mention of Ashurst in connection with New England seems to be in the Aspinwall Notarial Records (pp. 30–31, 94–95, 334–335, 399, Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii), where he is referred to in the years 1645–1650.

[3] See the article in the Dictionary of National Biography, ii. 181; the works of Baxter cited in this paper; Calamy's Abridgment, p. 689; Orme's Life and Times of Baxter (1830), i. 423–425; Waters's Genealogical Gleanings in England, p. 74; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. 27, 32, 329; 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 246–253; 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 281.

[4] See 3 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 301–308.

[5] History, p. 37.

[6] History, i. 509.

Kenelm Digby, Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Henry Ashurst, Sergeant Maynard, and John Dodderidge." [1] And Eliot records: "1672 Mr. Henry Ashurst, (the same, probably, who was afterwards Sir Henry, agent of the Colony,) 100 0 0." [2] The three references to this gift in the early college records clear the matter up. In one place is recorded "Sundry Donations to the Colledge received by Cap[t] John Richards Treaſ.," one being "1672 By m[r] Henry Ashurst 100 00 00." [3] The second states that on January 20, 1673, "The Overseers ordered the Treaſ to pay to D[r] Leonard Hoar, One hundred pound tow[ds] his Transportation from England hither." [4] The third extract is from Treasurer Richards's Account Book under date of May 31, 1673:

Colledge Cr. ℔ 100[l] in money rec[d] of Major Leverett (viz rec[d] by Doct[r] Leonard Hoar) w[h] the said Leverett rec[d] of m[r] Peter Sergeant by bill from m[r] Ashhurst as a benevolence of sundry in England to the Colledge

Colledge D[r] to 100[l] aboue paid to m[r] Leonard Hoar ℔ order of the overseers of the Colledge towards defraying charges of transportation out of England as ℔ order & receipt now given but dat. Febr. 10. 72.

It thus appears that the £100 received in 1672 or 1673 was not a gift from Alderman Ashurst, but was merely transmitted by him to New England.

Alderman Ashurst died in November, 1680. With regard to another gift or bequest, Peirce says: "A legacy of £40 was bequeathed to the college by Deacon William Trusdale, and one by Mr. Henry Ashworth of £100 sterling. Whether these two legacies were received, it does not appear." [5] Quincy has: "1683. Henry Ashworth, £128 0 0." [6] Eliot has in one place, "1683 Mr. Henry Ashworth bequeathed 100 0 0;" [7] and in another place he says that "Henry Ashworth" sent £100.[8] All these statements are derived

[1] History, i. 186.
[2] Sketch, p. 165.
[3] College Book, iii. 60.
[4] College Book, iii. 56.
[5] History, p. 50.
[6] History, i. 510.
[7] Sketch, p. 166.
[8] Sketch, p. 25.

from an entry made by Thomas Danforth between 1683 and 1699 as follows:

1683 More Donations not contained in Capt Richards Account. & are yet resting due to the Coll. . . . m^{r} Henry Ashworth legacy of 100^{li} in England 128 00 00." [1]

That Danforth inadvertently or through mistake wrote "Ashworth" for "Ashurst" is a reasonable conjecture, but is placed beyond doubt by a passage presently to be quoted. The difference between the statements of the amount as given by Quincy and by Eliot is explained in the Danforth entry, one being sterling, the other Massachusetts currency. It will be noted that Nathaniel Hulton's bequest, recorded by Quincy as of this date but in fact ten years later, is put down as "£100 sterling, 130 0 0;" [2] and by Peirce as "£100 sterling, being £130, Massachusetts currency." [3]

It is now very interesting indeed to turn to the funeral sermon preached by Richard Baxter at the death of Ashurst, prefaced December 7, 1680, by an address beginning, "To my Worthy Friends, Mrs. *Judith Ashhurst*, Widow of *Henry Ashhurst*, Esq; and Mr. *Henry Ashhurst* their Son, with all his Brethren and Sisters, Grace,

[1] College Book, iii. 60.

[2] History, i. 509.

[3] History, p. 70. Eliot has: "1695 Nathaniel Hulton, senior, citizen and salter of London, 100 0 0" (Sketch, p. 166). Hulton died in 1693. Waters (Genealogical Gleanings in England, i. 202, 509) gives two wills, one dated July 20, 1692, by Nathaniel Hulton "citizen and Salter of London," the other July 29, 1692, by Nathaniel Hulton, "citizen and sadler of London," both having codicils dated January 1, 1693. The two codicils of this date are substantially the same. The one for the will of July 29, 1692, reads: "I give and bequeath to [Mr. Encrease Mather Minister of the Gospell in New England the Summe of One Hundred pounds of Lawfull money of England for the use of the Colledge there of which hee is president." Under date of June 1, 1709, President Leverett records in his Diary (pp. 18–19) that Increase Mather "present^{d} to the Presid^{t} an Extract from the Codicil of Mr Hulton's Will to be Entred, and it is Entred in ye Same Book in hæc Verba. 'This is a further Codicil to be annexed to the last Will & Testam^{t} of me Nathl Hulton the Elder Citizen & salter of London, wch I Will shalbe taken as a further p^{t} thereof . . .'" By the "Same Book" Leverett means College Book, iv. 34, where Hulton is described as "Citizen and Salter of London." On September 24, 1695, Treasurer Brattle records the receipt "of the presid^{t} for Mr Nathl Hulton of London his Legacy of £100 Ster^{l} 130" (College Book, iv. 49). In Harvard College Papers, i. 38, is a copy of a letter relating to his gift from Hulton to Mather dated March 5, 1691 [1692].

and Peace." [1] In the course of this sermon, Baxter recalls the work of Ashurst in behalf of the religious instruction of the Indians in the colonies, and exclaims:

O how sad will the news of his death be to old Mr. *Eliots*, if he live to hear it, and to his *American* Converts? And he hath left by his Will an hundred pound to the Colledge there, and fifty pound to their Corporation.[2]

The personality of Alderman Ashurst was rather remarkable, according to the accounts we have,[3] and it may well have been the determining influence upon Nathaniel Hulton, who bequeathed £100 to Harvard. Baxter informs his hearers, in the funeral sermon for Ashurst, that "His last words (save his farewel, and *Come Lord Jesus*), were to an old Friend (Mr. *Nathaniel Hulton*)." [4]

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[1] "Faithful Souls shall be with Christ. The Certainty Proved and their Christianity described, and exemplified in the truly Christian Life and Death of that excellent Amiable Saint, *HENRY ASHHURST*, Esq; Citizen of *London*." The running title is: "*A Funeral Sermon Preach'd at the Death of* Henry Ashhurst, *Esq*;" (Practical Works, 1707, iv. 899–911).

[2] iv. 908. By Corporation, Baxter means the New England Company: cf. our Publications, vi. 180 note 2.

[3] To quote from Calamy: "In the whole Course of his Life he [Baxter] had scarce a Friend whom he Valu'd and Respected, and by whom he was more Belov'd, than that Noted Citizen Mr. *Henry Ashhurst*, commonly call'd Alderman *Ashhurst*; who was the most exemplary Person for Eminent Sobriety, Self-denial, Piety and Charity, that *London* could Glory off. He was a Christian of the Primitive Stamp, and did good to all he was able, especially needy, silenc'd Ministers: To whom in *Lancashire* alone, he allow'd 100 l *per Annum*. He left behind him the Perfume of a most Honour'd Name, and the Memorials of a most Exemplary Life, to be imitated by all his Descendents. Mr. *Baxter* gave him his true Character in his Funeral Sermon" (Abridgment, 1702, p. 689). In this funeral sermon Baxter said: "Those that hear it the common speech of Magistrates, godly Ministers and People, that [*we have lost the most excellent pattern of Piety, Charity, and all virtue that this City hath bred in our times*] will think that there is some reason for this praise; . . . his esteem and honour and love was at home and abroad, by his Children, Servants, Neighbours, Fellow citizens" (Practical Works, iv. 907). Lastly, in the dedication to Sir Henry Ashurst and his wife of "A Treatise of *Knowledge* and *Love* compared," Baxter says: "And it is to renew the Record of that Love and Honour which I owed to your deceased Father (formerly, tho' too slenderly recorded,) to be the Heir and Imitator of whose Faith, Piety, Charity, Patience, Humility, Meekness, Impartiality, Sincerity and Perseverance, is as great an Honour and Blessing as I can wish you, next to the Conformity to our highest Pattern" (Practical Works, iv. 498).

[4] Ibid. iv. 910.

Mr. LANE also exhibited a parchment dated 3 July, 1701 — the day after Commencement of that year — given by Harvard College to Samuel Mather.[1] Appended to it is a remarkably fine impression, in red wax, of the College Seal, the earliest impression by nearly half a century known to be extant.[2] The document, which is here reproduced in facsimile, is owned by the Harvard Club of New York City, and reads as follows:[3]

Per Integrum illud Spatium viz: Septennium Quo apud nos cōmoratus est SAMUEL MATHER Collegij Harvardini Cantabrigiæ in Nov-Angliâ alumnus et in Artibus Liberalibus Magister, bonarum Literarum Studijs vitæ probitatem adjunxit adeo ut nobis Spem amplam fecerit se in Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ cōmodum victurum. QUAPROPTER hoc De illo Testimonium perhibemus, Nos quorum nomina Subscripta Sunt. Datum ex Collegio Harvardino Cantab^{æ} Nov-Anglorum Julij 3^{tio} 1701.

CRESCENTIUS MATHER^{S} præses
SAM^{L} WILLARD Socius

HENRICUS FLYNT
JABEZ FFITCH
NATHANIEL SALTONSTAL
} Socii

[1] It is uncertain whether this was the Rev. Samuel Mather of the class of 1690, who went to England in 1688, apparently never returned, and settled at Witney, Oxfordshire; or Samuel Mather of the class of 1698, who became a physician at Windsor, Connecticut.

[2] The College owns the general diploma, with seal attached, issued in 1752.

[3] The wording of the document is almost identical with that of a similar document dated April 19, 1676, given to George Alcock (1655–1677) of the Class of 1673: see Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlix. 17–18. The seal that undoubtedly was once attached to that parchment is now, unfortunately, lacking.

Per Integrum illud Spatium viz:
Septennium Quo apud nos comoratus est Samuel Mather
Collegij Harvardini Cantabrigiæ in Nov. Angliâ alumnus et in Artibus
Liberalibus Magister, bonarum Literarum Studijs vitæ probitatem adjunxit
adeo ut nobis Spem amplam fecerit se in Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ commodum
victurum. Quapropter hoc de illo Testimonium perhibemus, Nos quorum
nomina Subscripta sunt. Datum ex Collegio Harvardino Cantab.
Nov. Anglorum Julij 3tio 1701.

Crescentius Mather praeses:

Sam.t Hilard Socius.

Henricus Flint
Gabez Fitch
Nathaniel Saltonstal
Socii

Testimonial issued by Harvard College to Samuel Mather 3. July 1701

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts from the original in the possession of the Harvard Club of New York City

APRIL MEETING, 1918

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, by invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Friday, 26 April, 1918, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, and EDWARD KENNARD RAND.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. WINSLOW WARREN and WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following paper:

ORIGIN OF BUTTERNUT AND COPPERHEAD

Though half a century has elapsed since the close of the Civil War, during which the above terms (in the sense here discussed) arose, yet even now their origin and history remain obscure. Indeed, Butternut is sometimes wrongly explained by historians, and has received scant attention from lexicographers and writers on Americanisms; while the origin of Copperhead is still a matter of dispute. Hence an investigation into the history of the terms will prove instructive and of interest both in itself and as showing the curious ways in which words undergo changes in meaning.

In their American History, published in 1914, Arthur C. Perry, Jr., and Gertrude A. Price write:

There were many people even in the North who did not believe in the war. They really sympathized with the South and rejoiced when the Federal arms met reverses. These people were given the name of Copperheads because many of them wore as a badge the head of the Goddess of Liberty, cut out of an old-fashioned copper cent.

Quoting this passage in the Nation of February 28, 1918, W. P. Reeves said:

Such a perversion of notorious facts, with the implication that the Copperheads wore a badge of loyalty made of a Federal coin, requires proof. A questioning child, referred to the usual explanations of terms to be found in such available authorities as Webster's "International," the "Century," the "International Encyclopedia," and the "New English Dictionary," will find nothing to suggest, much less substantiate, this origin of Copperhead. Will Mr. Perry, or any one else who believes his statement, kindly print his proof ? [1]

On March 14 Mr. Perry replied as follows:

I have noted the letter by W. P. Reeves in the *Nation* of February 28, 1918, questioning the statement in Perry-Price "American History," Second Book, page 198, that many Copperheads of Civil War times wore as a badge the Liberty head cut out of an old-fashioned cent.

The statement is confirmed by Bassett, "Short History of the United States," p. 582; Hart, "Essentials in American History," p. 472; Hosmer, "Outcome of the Civil War," p. 4; Rhodes, "History of the United States," IV, p. 247.

Moreover, the International Encyclopædia, to which Mr. Reeves appeals, in its new edition of 1914, Vol. VI, p. 61, says:

"Another explanation of the name is that it came from the habit of the extreme opponents of the war wearing as a badge a button cut out of a copper cent on which was the head of the Goddess of Liberty." [2]

It is to be noted, however, that while Messrs. Hart, Hosmer, and Rhodes do confirm the statement that such badges were

[1] cvi. 236.

[2] cvi. 291. In the same issue a correspondent says: "It is the copperhead snake which Ohioans had in mind when they invented this epithet for their disloyal neighbors — and I think there is no doubt that it was invented in Ohio" (pp. 291–292). That the word "was invented in Ohio" may be true, but is probably incapable of proof, and the earliest known instance is from Illinois, in reference to Indiana.

worn,[1] neither of them offers any opinion as to the origin of the term, and that Mr. Bassett is the only one who maintains that the Copperheads were so called because they wore such badges.[2] Thus the statement made in American History is corroborated by Mr. Bassett's assertion, but the latter is unsupported by proof. Nor, it may be observed, do the extracts quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary, in Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, in Thornton's American Glossary, or in Farmer and Henley's Slang and its Analogues, throw any light on the origin of the term.

The examination here undertaken not only places beyond dispute the origin of Butternut and Copperhead, but introduces us to two or three expressions which have apparently escaped historians and lexicographers alike. The subject may be divided into three sections: (1) the words Butternut and Copperhead; (2) the Butternut and Copperhead badges; and (3) Copperhead snakes and Black snakes. No hard and fast line can be drawn between the sections, which naturally overlap one another to a certain extent; but the division will prove convenient.

I

The Words Butternut and Copperhead

The Chicago Tribune of September 24, 1862, printed this item: "☞John Pettit has been nominated for Congress by the Copperheads of the 8th Indiana district" (p. 2/5); and the same paper of September 29, under the heading "What a Democratic Journal Thinks," stated that "The Carbondale (Jackson county) *Times* takes strong grounds against the recent Copperhead convention of this state" (p. 2/2). The word also occurs in the Cincinnati Commer-

[1] Mr. Hart merely states that the badges were worn; Messrs. Hosmer and Rhodes say that they were worn at a meeting held in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, May 1, 1863.

[2] "Meanwhile, 'Copperheads' appeared. The epithet was applied by their enemies to all Democrats; but it should properly be given only to those extreme opponents of the war who went so far as to seem by their agitation to give aid to the South. The name came from the habit of wearing as a badge a button cut from the head of a copper cent, on which was the head of the Goddess of Liberty. The movement began late in 1862" (Short History of the United States, 1913, p. 582).

cial of October 1[1] and 14.[2] On October 15, under the heading "Butternuts," the Columbus Crisis asked: "Will the Cincinnati *Commercial* and *Gazette* inform us who are the 'Butternuts' now? Any boobies about those offices?"[3] In the Cleveland Herald of October 16 appeared these items:

A BUTTERNUT LAMENT.

A Democrat this morning, in looking over the returns from the Toledo District, discovered that had the Democrats all through the district stuck to Phelps, he would have been elected. Our "butternut" friend exclaimed: "What a pity we lost that district."[4]

Who threw that brickbat? One of our most prominent Democrats, on hearing from the Lorain District, instructed one of the hatters to import immediately a large invoice of "butternut" colored hats.[5]

[1] Writing in 1899 Mr. Rhodes said:

"I have made and had made a considerable search for the first use of the term 'Copperhead.' The earliest that I have found it employed is in the Cincinnati *Commercial* of Oct. 1, 1862, in an article entitled 'Comfort for "Copperheads."' The writer charges the *Gazette* (a rival Republican journal) with a course which is 'driving the fighting Democrats into the ranks of the Vallandigham party.' In the *Commercial*, when used afterwards, Copperhead is printed without the quotation marks. It occurs several times in October, November, and December, 1862. The curious may also find several illustrative uses of the word in the Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 22; N. Y. *Tribune*, Jan. 12, Feb. 11; N. Y. *Times*, Feb. 13. Robert C. Winthrop in Boston, Nov. 2, 1864, spoke as if he were not ashamed of the name. 'Abandon the Constitution,' he said, 'and the Ship of State is left tossing upon a shoreless sea, without rudder or compass, liable at any moment to be dashed to pieces on the rocks. And though I have no heart for pleasantry on such a topic, let me add that if in such a case the good ship shall escape such a catastrophe and be rescued from final wreck, it will be only because she will have been treated in advance to a thorough sheathing of *copper* from stem to stern'" (History of the United States, iv. 224 note).

The "pleasantry" was not original with Winthrop, occurring as early as October 22, 1862: see p. 209, below. A file of the Cincinnati Commercial is not accessible in Boston or Cambridge. I have examined the Chicago Tribune for September–December, 1862, and January 1–22, 1863; the Crisis from September, 1862, to May, 1863, both included; and various other papers and magazines during the first few months of 1863.

[2] See p. 209, below.

[3] ii. 300. The Crisis was a weekly Democratic paper published at Columbus, Ohio, by Samuel Medary (1801–1864), who had been territorial Governor of Minnesota in 1857–1858 and of Kansas in 1859–1860. Many of the extracts from other papers quoted in the text were reprinted in the Crisis and have been obtained from that source.

[4] Crisis, October 22, ii. 312.

[5] Ibid.

The Democrat who sent us that pair of butternut breeches is politely informed that we don't wear breeches; we have put on sackcloth.[1]

BUTTERNUT A FAST COLOR.

That's what a straight out Democrat said this morning. And, by the way, the color is striking in on some of those Democrats who have favored the Union movement. We begin to think butternut is a fast color, it is spreading fast just now, and Democrats who on Monday were Union men, are now claiming to be the original butternuts.[2]

In the Crisis of October 22 appeared the following:

"Butternuts."

The *Ohio State Journal*, true to its instincts, denominates the Democrats of Ohio in its election tables "Butternuts." We said all the time, that the election was *white vs. black*. *White* walnuts against *black* walnuts. The *Journal* now admits the race to have been one between the negroes and white men.[3]

The Commercial no Prophet.

In the Cincinnati *Commercial* of the 14th, the morning of the election day, we have the following editorial:

"The Way it Looks — It looks very much as if the Trinity of the Adoration (we borrow a phrase from the Hon. George H. Pendleton,) of the Copperheads of Ohio, *Vallandigham*, Pendleton and Cox,[4] would be obliterated by the election of this day . . ."

Now, I would propose a slight amendment of the above, which, being adopted, might still save the reputation of the *Commercial* as a good judge of men, and wisely gifted in the sequence of events. Instead of calling these gentlemen "*Copperheads* to be elected and stay at home and sweat," that it read, three good *Copper bottoms selected not* to stay at home &c.[5]

The Dayton Empire of about this date asked:

Does the *Commercial* remember anything about the Fourth of July Convention, of which it said Vallandigham and Medary were the "ruling spirits;" that Convention of "Butternuts," if you please, over which

[1] Crisis, October 22, ii. 312.
[2] Ibid.
[3] ii. 305.
[4] Clement Laird Vallandigham (1820–1871); George Hunt Pendleton (1825–1889); Samuel Sullivan Cox (1824–1889).
[5] Crisis, October 22, ii. 310.

Sam. Medary presided, and at which Vallandigham was the principal speaker?[1]

The following appeared in the Ashland (Ohio) Union late in October or early in November:

Election Returns.

The "secessionists" have carried Ohio by several thousand.

The "Copperheads" have carried Pennsylvania by several thousand.

The "Knights of the Golden Circle" have carried Indiana by several thousand.

We use these epithets in order to make the Republicans blush, in the light of the election returns, for their infamous abuse of the ever-patriotic and loyal Democracy.[2]

Under the heading "The Ohio State Journal Joining the 'Butternuts,'" the Crisis of November 5 remarked: "The following is about as severe a commentary on the heartless conduct of the authorities at Washington as anything we have seen in papers the *Journal* delights to call 'secesh.' Had it appeared in THE CRISIS, the *Journal* and such like papers would have cried out '*suppress the secesh sheet.*'"[3]

The November elections caused the Copperheads much rejoicing. "This county," said a letter dated Majority Point, Sumpter Township, Cumberland County, Illinois, November 6, "gives the Democrats 5000 majority. Greatest Democratic majority ever given in this county. This township gives 119 Democratic majority. Hurrah for the 'Butternuts.'"[4] The Holmes County Farmer thus described an entertainment at Millersburg, Ohio:

Great Democratic Jubilee! — Little Holmes on a "Bender!"

. . . But we have not touched upon the fantastics. — This was a procession representing men and women, black and white, masked, with all kinds of odd clothing, on their way from Oberlin up Salt River. A big transparency was carried in front: "Oberlin Republicans." Then came a host of transparencies with the following mottoes: "For Salt River." "Poor Massa Welker." "Damn de Butternuts."[5]

[1] Crisis, October 29, ii. 315. The word Butternut does not appear to have been employed at the time the convention was held.

[2] Crisis, November 5, ii. 328.

[3] ii. 325.

[4] Crisis, November 12, ii. 332.

[5] Crisis, November 19, ii. 344.

Our next extract brings prominently upon the scene one who was not only the head and front of the Copperheads, but also the one to whom was largely due the later adoption of that name by the Copperheads themselves, and from a speech by whom the hint was taken of a copperhead badge. This account is taken from the Dayton Empire:

Ladies' Compliment to Mr. Vallandigham.
A "Butternut" Party — Cane Presentation.

At a handsome entertainment given on Friday evening, November 21, by Judge Morse, at his residence near Dayton, an elegant gold-headed cane, with a suitable inscription, was presented by the ladies to the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham. . . .

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the ladies and gentlemen partook of an elegant supper worthy of the host and accomplished hostess, and of the good old "Butternut" hospitality of former days.[1]

Reviewing the evidence thus far given, we see that, as applied to Democrats, Copperhead was used in September and Butternut in October, 1862; that both words were originally employed by the Republicans in contempt; that, doubtless largely owing to the success of the Democrats in the October and November elections, the word Butternut was more or less humorously adopted by the Democrats themselves; but that the use of the word Copperhead was still confined to the Republicans. Early in 1863 the word Copperhead, which until then had perhaps been confined to, or chiefly employed in, Illinois and Ohio, rapidly spread and soon became general. An editorial in the Chicago Tribune of January 6, 1863, reads in part as follows:

LITTLE FEAR OF THAT.

The friends of the country, hence the enemies of the rebels and the rebellion, annoy us with an expression of their fears that the Illinois Legislature, now about organizing, containing, as everybody knows, a considerable majority of our political opponents, will attempt some lawless and violent revolutionary movement, having for its double object the destruction of the power and influence of the Federal Government in the State, and the nullification, if not the complete overthrow, of the authority of the State Administration. . . . We do not doubt, and have not for a long time doubted, that there are certain "copperheads," a

[1] Crisis, December 3, ii. 358.

few of whom are in the assembling Legislature, whose venom is so rancorous, whose scruples are so few, and whose sense is so little, that they will do anything or dare everything which promises them an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the policy that they hate and on those by whom that policy is to be carried out. . . . The knowledge that an outbreak in the North would bring upon those engaged therein an avalanche of troops, to whom a "copperhead" is only another name for a rebel, . . . will cause many a malignant who has treason and murder in his heart, to be content with impotent gnashing of the teeth and muttered curses that he dare not embody in deeds (p. 2/1).

"But we have yet to see," said the same paper of January 7, "the 'copperhead' journal that is not filled, day after day, with articles bitterly denunciatory of the President, his Cabinet, the Republican Party, the War Democrats and the Abolitionists, for their alleged violation of the 'Constitutional rights of the South'" (p. 2/2). Under the heading "New Jersey," the New York Tribune of January 12 said that "The more malignant Copperheads of this State are calling upon their new Legislature to prohibit the immigration of slaves whom the war has converted or may convert into freemen" (p. 4/6). "For all we can learn," stated the Chicago Tribune of January 20, "Copperheadism takes an even more sneaking shape in Indiana than in this State" (p. 2/1). A cartoon in Harper's Weekly of January 31 represents Vallandigham, James Brooks, and John Van Buren before a door labelled "J DAVIS," and underneath are the words:

RECEPTION OF THE COPPERHEADS AT RICHMOND.

COPPERHEAD SPOKESMAN. "Be so good as to announce to PRESIDENT DAVIS that a few of his Northern friends wish to see him.

POMPEY. "De PRESIDENT desire me to say dat you is mistaken, Gemmen. He have n't got no friends at de Norf; and when he wants any, he won't choose 'em among de *Peace Sneaks*." [1] [*Exeunt* Copperheads *considerably abashed.*] — (*Vide* DAVIS'S *Message.*) [2]

The Cincinnati Daily Gazette of February 5 asserted that the rebels "hope for a co-operation from the 'copperheads' of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to whom, through the prostituted medium of

[1] On the word "sneak," see p. 236 note 1, below.

[2] Harper's Weekly, vii. 80.

the Legislature they always send their traitorous greetings" (p. 1/3); and, under the heading "What the Rebels Hope of Northern Copperheads," said that "The Richmond Dispatch is much pleased with the election of the Copperhead Richardson[1] as United States Senator from Illinois" (p. 3/2). An editorial entitled "The Copperhead Conspiracy," and a news item headed "The Illinois Copperhead Legislature Rampant," appeared in the New York Tribune of February 14 (pp. 4/2, 5/3). In an editorial in the New York Times of February 13 entitled "The Western Copperheads — Duty of Loyal Men," the terms "Copperhead majority" and "Copperhead movements" were employed. This item appeared in the New York Herald of February 16: "MEETING OF THE EXTREMES. — The *Tribune* (abolition radical) thinks that Mr. Seward would have done well to accede to the peace conference with the rebels, and the *World* (democratic copperhead radical) is of the same opinion" (p. 4/6). The following interesting essay is taken from the Crisis of February 25, 1863, reprinted from the Cincinnati Enquirer:

Politics and Science — Butternuts and Democrats.

It has been the custom of late, among a certain class of abolitionists, to call the Democrats by the name of "Butternuts." This nickname is likely to be of as much advantage to our party, as the epithet *Quaker* and *Methodist* has been to the once despised, but now influential, religious bodies bearing these titles. There is something in the word, "Butternut," that is rather pleasing; and there is much in the historical associations connected with the White Walnut tree, of which *Butternut* is the synonym, to endear it to the backwoodsman. When the writer was a boy, this tree supplied the coloring matter for nearly all the fabrics worn as clothing by the western people. Imported dyes, like imported wearing apparel, were then equally unknown in the West.

When the midnight war-cry of the Indian roused the mothers in Ohio from their slumbers, it was the brave "Butternut-clad sons of Kentucky" who rushed across to the rescue. "Butternut" was *then* no epithet of reproach in the West.

This costume is still worn in the mountain ranges of Kentucky and Tennessee, and in Southern Illinois and Missouri. On the gathering together of the soldiers, at the outbreak of the war, the fresh recruits from these districts appeared in the ranks with garments of Butternut-colored cloth. In derision their "*store-clothed*" companions called them

[1] William Alexander Richardson (1811–1875).

"Butternuts;" and, as they were mostly Democrats, from Democratic districts, the name, ere long, was applied, by the Republicans, to the whole Democratic party.[1]

But this Butternut costume was not limited to one side, it being common to both rebels and loyal soldiers. The epithet was used with the greater zest by the Abolitionists, because the earlier rebel prisoners were dressed in "Butternut," and its application to the Democrats, they expected would not only fasten upon them an opprobrious name, but convey the impression also that they were in sympathy with the rebels.

So much for history. Let us now examine this term of reproach in the light of science.

The White Walnut tree has the generic name in Botany of *Juglans*, or the Tree of Jove.*

* Juglans (Lat. Jovis glans,) i.e., the Nut of Jove: a name given it by way of eminence. — Wood's Botany, page 640.

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[1] The assertion that Northern soldiers were called "Butternuts" at the outbreak of the war is of interest. Is it correct? Writing in 1853 Mrs. Stowe said: "I seem to have so much to fill my time, and yet there is my Maine story waiting. However, I am composing it every day, only I greatly need living studies for the filling in of my sketches." The "Maine story" was the Pearl of Orr's Island, "the first seventeen chapters of which," according to Mrs. Fields (Life and Letters of H. B. Stowe, pp. 168, 170, 285), "appeared in April of this year" — that is, 1861. This is a slight mistake, since the first chapter was printed in the Independent of January 3 and the seventeenth in the issue of April 4, after which the story was not resumed until December 3, 1861. Hence the following words, which occur in the first chapter, were written certainly before 1861 and perhaps as early as 1853: "The old fishermen stood upon the wagon, his coarse butternut-colored coat-flaps fluttering and snapping in the breeze." This extract (quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary, but with date of year only) is the earliest known with reference to clothes. On March 22, 1862, "The butternut gentry," meaning Confederate prisoners, were mentioned (Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, 1877, p. 88). On June 11, 1862, a Confederate soldier was called an "ambitious butternut" (ibid.). After the battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862) a story went the rounds to the following effect. A Maryland soldier named Joe Parsons was blinded by a shot, and, meeting a rebel soldier, this conversation took place: "'Who be yer,' said I, 'a rebel?' 'You 're a Yankee.' 'So I am,' says I. . . . 'Well,' says I, 'you 're a rebel; but will you do me a *little favor?*' 'I will, says he, 'ef I can.' Then I says, 'Well, old butternut, I can't see nothin'. My eyes is knocked out, but I ken walk.'" Parsons then takes on his shoulders the "old butternut," who promptly directs him to the Confederate camp. (Crisis, December 31, 1862, ii. 391.) A letter dated Murfreesboro', Tennessee, January 30, 1863, said: "The 'Butternut' coat and pants, and the unbleached cotton and woollen shirts have, even when new, a dirty, untidy appearance — especially when placed side by side with the deep and sky blue uniforms of our army" (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, February 5, 1863, p. 1/1).

We thank our Abolition neighbors for this name. It indicates that the "Butternuts" are the heaven-ordained party, deriving their power and influence from Omnipotence. But not only is the tree significant of the near relation of the Democrats to the power that controls the fate of nations; the fruit is also emblematic of the innate sentiments and affections of the party. On removing the outer hull and sawing the nut into two parts, near the center, the most elaborate ornamentation is presented. The annexed stereotype cut is taken from the surface of a section of the nut itself, without alteration from its original structure. It exhibits the typical form of the species:

[Cross-section of the Butternut, exhibiting its interior structure].

Look closely at the central area. It presents two *hearts*, united at the base, and may well justify the exclamation uttered when the discovery was made:

"Two hearts — the Northern and Southern — united at the base, and bound together indissolubly only in the 'Butternuts!'"

Again we thank the Abolitionists for bestowing this name upon us. "Old Hickory" was not more potent, as applied to General JACKSON, than will be, in the future, the term "Butternuts," as applied to the Democratic party. Our tree designates us as the favorites of Heaven, while we are represented in its fruits as uniting the Northern and Southern hearts; and thus are we foreshadowed, in the "Butternut," as destined to restore the Union and the Constitution, as formed by the great hearts of the North and the South at the Revolution. This glorious work, now every-where prayed for by a suffering people — but impossible in the hands of those who are clamoring for the shedding of additional rivers of blood — can only be accomplished by the "Butternuts."

Look also at the rampart surrounding the central area, and see how its jagged buttresses render it impenetrable to an assailing foe, and give perfect security to the united hearts intrenched within. So is it with the Democratic party. It has the rights of the people enshrined in its

heart, and will resist the aggressions of every foe to constitutional freedom, and present an impenetrable barrier against foreign assaults.[1]

Up to the middle of February — or nearly five months after its first appearance — the use of the word Copperhead seems to have been confined to the Republicans. But in a speech made at Newark, New Jersey, on February 14, Vallandigham said:

There are those here who can testify to the iniquitous despotism of this administration. . . . They are here free as air — no bastiles confining them. New Jersey has spoken on these questions. The people of the Northwest I am not fearful of. There are others here from the Northwest, all "Butternuts," "Copperheads," like myself (cheers), who can speak of the public opinion of that section.[2]

Vallandigham's adherents were not slow in following his example. The Crisis of March 11 remarked:

Political Names.

The editor of the New York *Express*, who has had twenty-five years' experience of fighting the Democracy, says:

THE COPPERHEADS.

"If there be anything the Democrats can stand, without wincing or wilting, it is hard names: and what is curious, these hard names become the *slogans* of their party, and afterward intensely popular. . . . Now, the Abolitionists are christening the Democrats 'Copperheads,' and if they persist in it, we should not be at all surprised to find Copperhead a word as popular as Democracy, for whatever Abolitionism clings to or embraces it kills, and whatever it nicknames it makes a shibboleth in popularity of. We, old line Whigs, then, and Democrats, accept the name of 'Copperheads.' Consider us 'Copperheads.' Call us 'Copperheads.'"

Copperheads, then, let it be! It's a very expressive designation.[3]

A letter dated Glens Falls, New York, March 4, said that "The entire Democratic ticket for village officers was elected by an average

[1] Crisis, iii. 39.

[2] New York World, February 16, p. 2/1. Commenting on Vallandigham's speech, the New York Times of February 17 said: "Yet even this 'copperhead' traitor is compelled, by the force of public sentiment, to declare himself in favor of the Union" (p. 4/4).

[3] Crisis, iii. 55. James Brooks (1816–1873) was the editor of the New York Express.

majority of 40. 'Copperhead' stock is rising and 'Leatherhead' falling." [1] In the Crisis of March 25 appeared the following:

Resolutions of the Democratic Club at Zanesville.

WHEREAS, Colonel Connel did say, at a meeting held in this city, at Oddfellows' Hall, on the 13th of March, that "such men as Vallandigham and Dr. Olds [2] should not be allowed to speak;" and

WHEREAS, Major Muse did, at the same time and place, say that "Northern Traitors [an Abolition nick-name for Democrat, *alias* Butternut, *alias* Copperhead, *alias* Secesh, &c.] ought to be hung up at their door-posts;" and

WHEREAS Captain Geary did, at the same time and place, say that the "Butternuts deserved to be placed on the rack, and to have their eyes plucked out, their tongues cut out, and their finger-nails pinched off;" and

WHEREAS, This was applauded by those sympathizing with this language; therefore, be it

Resolved, by this meeting, that we hold up these men to the contempt of all peace-loving, law-abiding citizens. . . .[3]

In the New York World of March 18 (p. 4/3) appeared the following:

COPPERHEADS.

The *Times* defines Copperheads thus:

Every American, whatever his opinions about slavery, who is for maintaining the unity of the country at all costs, is literally and truly a loyal man. All others are Copperheads.

[1] Crisis, March 18, iii. 63.

[2] Dr. Edson Baldwin Olds (*d.* 1869), who late in 1862 had been placed in a "bastile." "To drag a man of seventy from his house at night without legal warrant, and take him summarily to Fort Lafayette, was a procedure likely to set to thinking voters who were bred to liberty, especially as in this case the victim was an intelligent man of high character, who had served his constituents three terms in the legislature and six years in Congress" (Rhodes, History of the United States, iv. 165). There is some doubt as to the exact age of Dr. Olds. According to several biographical dictionaries he was born in 1819. The American Annual Cyclopædia for 1869 stated that he died January 24 "at Lancaster, Ohio, aged about 66" (p. 496). His father, the Rev. Gamaliel Smith Olds, was born February 11, 1777 (Granville Vital Records, p. 61), graduated at Williams College in 1801 (General Catalogue of Williams College, 1910, p. 35), married Julia Whitney in 1812, and "had four children, three of whom died in infancy, and one in the prime of manhood" (C. Durfee, Williams Biographical Annals, 1871, pp. 137–139).

[3] Crisis, March 25, iii. 65.

If this definition is just, then the *Times* must admit that GREELEY is the great "Copperhead."

On March 19, a New York Senator said: "If there is any one on earth who will need the money, it is this class; and if the copperheads don't run, and are drafted, I am willing they share in the bounty."[1] A speech made by the notorious Jim Lane at Washington on March 28 was thus reported in part:

There is an animal in this country that I despise much more than the traitor in arms.

(A Voice. "The Copperhead!")

No! I mean the cowardly skulk, the dirty miserable puppy, who will remain in the loyal States receiving protection from them and yet striking at the heart of the country.[2]

A letter dated Jackson, Ohio, April 7, stated that "The 'Butternuts' covered themselves with glory yesterday in this (Lick) township with their 'usual ability.' . . . 'Butternuts' and 'Copperheads' are far above par down in these hills."[3] A letter dated Palmer, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, April 7, said that "Our election in this township yesterday resulted in the entire success of the straight 'Butternut,' 'Copperhead,' Democracy."[4] Amid the deluge of abusive language indulged in by both sides, it is pleasant to find a lighter touch introduced into an article in Vanity Fair of May 2:

THE ORIGINAL COPPERHEAD

ALTHOUGH Copperheads, as a political sect, are of very recent date, readers of romance will recollect that the first Copperhead of whom we have any documentary evidence was the creation of CERVANTES. When the doughty Knight Errant, DON QUIXOTE, was hard up for a headpiece, his constructive mind suggested to him the possibility of adapting one out of a copper basin belonging to his barber. With this utensil strapped firmly on his head, he performed great feats of valor, . . . [The writer goes on to say that the Don was worsted in his fight against

[1] Remarks of Hon. Mr. [Lyman] Truman, of the 24th District, on the Bounty Re-Enlistment Bill, In the Senate [New York], March 19, 1863, p. 6.

[2] Crisis, April 1, iii. 80. James Henry Lane (1814–1866).

[3] Crisis, April 29, iii. 92.

[4] Ibid.

"Wind-mill," who "battered his copper head."] . . . It might be well for our Copperheads here to take warning from his great prototype.[1]

The Milwaukee News late in April or early in May printed this item:

A Live Copperhead. — A regular live American eagle — the eagle of classic fame and the national emblem of liberty — has found its way to this city, and has been purchased by one of our prominent citizens, for presentation to the Milwaukee Democratic Club. The head of the bird is a shining copper color, and he measures eight feet from tip to tip.[2]

The Crisis of May 13 stated that "When this immense crowd of 'Butternuts' came together" at Somerset, Perry County, Ohio, "to hear the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, the purpose for which they had left their fields at this busy season of the year, it was estimated at from eight to ten thousand people."[3] On July 3 an "inflammatory placard," signed "One of the People" and dated June 30, was posted about New York city and "hung up in conspicuous positions in some of the hotels:"

Attention! Major-General Halleck: . . . P.S. If you had hung Vallandigham (as you ought to have done) and sent him to be Governor of the copperheads in the infernal regions, you would not have been troubled by the traitorous, cowardly, miserable sneaks and poltroons, who are boring about him.[4]

This section may well end with an extract from the Crisis of November 18:

WHAT IS A COPPERHEAD?

The Hon. Levi Bishop, of Detroit, recently gave the following plump answer to this question:

We often hear it said of Democrats, "He's a Copperhead, he's a bitter Copperhead, shun him, cut him, don't countenance him, don't give him business, ruin him, crush him, for he's an inveterate Copperhead." Well, what is a Copperhead? Our opponents are very fond of

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[1] Vanity Fair, vii. 37.

[2] Crisis, May 6, iii. 120.

[3] iii. 127.

[4] In F. Moore, Rebellion Record (1864), vii, Poetry and Incidents, pp. 85–86.

coining names which they imagine to be severe or opprobrious. . . . The term "Copperhead" is one of their choicest epithets.[1]

II

BUTTERNUT AND COPPERHEAD BADGES

Though the etymology of Yankee has never been determined, it is well known that the word was for about twenty years before the outbreak of the Revolution applied in derision to the American colonists. After the battle of Lexington, the Americans adopted it themselves, and, in order to prove that the word was in reality one of distinction, some imaginative person invented a tribe of Indians named "Yankos," who were at last subdued by the New Englanders, and so, "agreeable to the Indian custom," had their name transferred to their conquerors.[2] Thus the pleasing conclusion was reached that Yankos, corrupted into Yankee, meant "invincible;" and by this easy method, what had hitherto been a derisive epithet became a complimentary one. Similarly, the Copperheads, having adopted that term, felt impelled to seek a more honorable origin for their nickname than a snake.

The Butternuts and Copperheads had been so called for nearly six months before there is any trace of their wearing a badge. But in March, 1863, both butternuts and copperheads were worn as badges. Quite possibly the use of a butternut as an emblem had begun before this in Ohio, but the earliest allusion I have found is the following:

MASS MEETING OF THE DEMOCRACY IN HAMILTON, BUTLER COUNTY.

An Immense Assemblage of the People!

. . . The Democratic mass meeting in Hamilton, Butler county, on Saturday, March 23, was an immense ovation, the people, male and female, attending from all parts of the State, . . . the meeting reminded us of the log-cabin demonstrations of 1840, when national ensigns, flags and banners flaunted to the breeze with Buckeyes attached,

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[1] Crisis, iii. 338.

[2] This story, which went the rounds of the American newspapers, first appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal of May 24, 1775.

the difference being the substitution of Butternuts instead of the Buckeye.[1]

As for the copperhead badge, its invention was presumably suggested by a passage in a speech made by Vallandigham in New York city on March 7:

We hear much about state rights. Here is a piece of coin from the mint of the sovereign State of Connecticut, coined by her, thus exercising the highest power of the Constitution, and bearing date 1778.[2] When the confederation was dissolved that state reverted back again to sovereignty and coined money. I don't think it ever coined any greenbacks. (Laughter.) They were a later invention. It is a copper coin, with a copperhead[3] upon it. (Applause. Three cheers for the

[1] Crisis, April 1, iii. 74.

[2] Doubtless a misprint for 1787. In another report of this speech, Vallandigham is made to say:

"There, sir, is a piece of coin from the mint of the sovereign State of Connecticut, coined by her, in the exercise of a high power of sovereignty, and bearing date 1787. Yes, the Confederation was dissolved, and that State went back again to its sovereignty and coined money. I believe it never issued any 'greenbacks;' they were of a later invention. But here is the evidence of that great fact, which designing men, consolidating empire here at the price of liberty, are desirous continually to ignore. It is a copper coin with a copper head upon it. (Great laughter and cheers for the Copperheads.) It is the head of Liberty. (Renewed applause.) It bears the superscription and image of Freedom. It reads, 'By the authority of the State of Connecticut'" (Crisis, March 25, iii. 66).

Vallandigham appears to have been fond of making unusual exhibits. In a speech delivered in Congress on February 3, 1862, he said:

"Here, Sir, is one of the Continental bills of November, 1776. It bears small resemblance to the delicate paper issues and exquisite engravings of the present day in the United States. It smacks a little of the poverty of 'Dixie' — as is said. Instead of the effigy of Lincoln, it bears on its face a veritable but rudely carved woodcut of the wild boar of the forest. It was bad money, Sir, but issued in a noble cause. It is redolent of liberty; it smells of *habeas corpus*, free speech, a free press, free ballot, the right of petition, the consent of the governed, public indictment, speedy public trial by jury, and all the great rights of political and individual liberty for which martyrs have died and heroes contended for ages — although I am not quite sure, Sir, that even now it is altogether without somewhat of the odor of rebellion lingering about it" (in Life, 1872, p. 178).

[3] In the supplement to the 1911 edition of the Century Dictionary is the definition: "4. A private token, equal to one cent, struck in the United States during the Civil War." In his Dictionary of Numismatic Names, their Official and Popular Designations, Albert R. Frey says: "Copperheads. A name commonly applied to the tokens issued during the Civil War in the United States

copperheads.) But it is a head of liberty. (Applause.) It has the superscription and the image of freedom. It says: "By the authority of the State of Connecticut." That was its warrant for circulation.[1]

(1862–1865). In the latter part of the year 1862 the first of these copper tokens were issued in Cincinnati, Ohio, and other western cities. Many of them have on the obverse the Indian head copied from the United States cent, and this feature probably gave them their name" (p. 54, American Journal of Numismatics, 1917, l. 54. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Horace L. Wheeler of the Boston Public Library). No example of copperhead in this sense has been adduced. The word was perhaps applied to any copper coin with a head on it: see the extract dated April 15, p. 224, below. Thus a letter dated Washington, April 28, 1863, quoted in the Chicago Tribune of May 1, said:

COPPERHEADS.

The heavy coinage of "nickels" still continues, the number last week made at the mint in Philadelphia being 53,000. When the people who are hoarding them discover that they have no intrinsic value over thirty-seven or forty cents a pound, and that they are a legal tender for amounts less than fifty cents only, they will let the coppers loose in such loads as to make them a nuisance (p. 2/3).

By "nickels" are meant one-cent coins made of copper-nickel, first coined (of that material) with head in 1858. What we now commonly call "nickels"—that is, five-cent coins made of copper-nickel—were first coined in 1866. Perhaps, therefore, the name "copperhead," applied to a coin with a head on it, was derived from Vallandigham's speech of March 7, 1863.

Attention should also be called to the fact that the word Copperhead had been used in other senses before the Civil War. Speaking of the Indian, De Vere says: "Along the frontier line he was perhaps as frequently called a *Copperhead* [as a Redskin], an ancient term of contempt, of which W. Irving makes frequent use in his quaint History of New York" (Americanisms, 1872, p. 22); and proceeds to quote two extracts. In both instances, however, Irving applies the term not to Indians but to the Dutch; moreover, Irving apparently uses the term only twice, and the second instance was not introduced into his famous burlesque until nearly forty years after its original publication. In the edition of 1809 we read:

"Then might be seen on their right hand, the vassals of that renowned Mynheer, Michael Paw, . . . He brought to the camp a stout band of warriors, . . . These were the men who vegetated in the mud along the shores of Pavonia; being of the race of genuine copperheads, and were fabled to have sprung from oysters" (bk. vi. ch. iv. vol. ii. pp. 104–105).

In the edition of 1848 occurs, apparently for the first time, this passage, referring to the Dutch and the Yankees:

"Already, however, the races regarded each other with disparaging eye. The Yankees sneeringly spoke of the round-crowned burghers of the Manhattoes as the 'Copperheads;' while the latter, glorying in their own nether rotundity, and observing the slack galligaskins of their rivals, flapping like an empty sail

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[1] New York World, March 9, p. 2/5.

To some enthusiastic devotee, doubtless acting on the above hint, occurred the idea of cutting out the head of Liberty from a copper coin and attaching a pin to it. But this process was naturally laborious, and the next step was the manufacture of Copperhead badges in large quantities. The following advertisement was printed in the New York World of March 26:

COPPERHEADS, ATTENTION!
THE COPPERHEAD, or BADGE OF LIBERTY. NOW READY. "Copperhead!" is it? Let every White Man accept "the insult," and wear the grand old emblem of Liberty — the Copperhead! Mailed, post paid, on receipt of 15 cents, or $10 per hundred by express. All orders out of the city should be addressed at once to the manufacturers,

BROMLEY & CO.,
Box 4265 New-York City.

☞B. & Co. are allowed to refer to the editors of the New-York *Caucasian.* All city orders should be left with P. J. Coyans, wholesale agent, No. 122 NASSAU Street, where they are now ready for delivery to city customers.[1]

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against the mast, retorted upon them with the opprobrious appellation of 'Platter-breeches'" (bk. vii. ch. i. p. 385).

It is hardly necessary to add that both terms were invented by Irving. In 1828 J. K. Paulding, referring to the dwellers on the western border of Tappan See, settled by the Dutch, wrote: "Since the period of the first settlement of this region, the only changes that have ever been known to take place, are those brought about by death, who if report says true has sometimes had his match with some of these tough old copperheads; . . ." (The New Mirror for Travellers, p. 102, quoted in Thornton's American Glossary, i. 205). The Oregon Weekly Times of October 10, 1857, said that "Dan had a hatred of 'copper heads,' as he called the Indians, which was refreshingly orthodox" (also quoted by Thornton).

[1] P. 5/6. This advertisement, with the exception of the final sentence, was also printed in the Crisis of April 1, iii. 77. Bromley & Co., however, were not the only manufacturers of the badges. In the New York World of March 27 (p. 5/2) another firm advertised:

COPPERHEADS!

COPPERHEADS, attention!
THE COPPERHEAD, or BADGE OF LIBERTY. NOW READY. Let all White Men accept the insult, and wear the grand old emblem of Liberty. The Copperhead Mailed, post paid, on receipt of 15 cents, or $10 per hundred by express. All orders out of the city should be addressed at once to the original manufacturers,

A. C. BLONDIN & CO.,
New-York City Postoffice.

The Crisis of April 1 stated that Vallandigham was presented with "a box, inside of which was a string of handsomely polished butternuts interwoven by evergreen and red, white and blue ribbons;" [1] and on its own behalf it acknowledged the receipt from a correspondent in Mifflin township of "a powder keg full of butternuts." [2] In the same issue appeared the following:

☞The Bridgeport *Farmer* says they are going to make Copperheads in Waterbury. — *New Haven Paper.*

By "Copperheads," politicians must not be understood, but a sort of copper badge, representing the head of Washington for example. No doubt they will be in demand. — *Journal of Commerce.*

These Copperhead breastpins now sell rapidly for a quarter, but costing only three or four cents. The Democratic party unanimously is adopting the "fashion." [3]

In the same paper of April 15 we read:

"Copperheads."

As the Abolitionists gave the Democrats the name of "Copperheads" for a mere, as they supposed, political effect, and to throw a stigma upon opponents, it does not appear that they are making much out of it.

Copperheads have become objects of great value — emblems of liberty — historic — classic — patriotic. The attempt to cast odium on the Democrats is in this, like all other attempts of the kind, a complete failure.

At a sale lately in New York of a large collection of old coins, emblems of our patriotic fathers, the "Copperheads" created the greatest

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This aroused the ire of Bromley & Co., who inserted another advertisement in the World of March 31 (p. 5/2):

POLITICAL.

COPPERHEADS, ATTENTION. — THE UN-dersigned are the original and sole manufacturers of the true COPPERHEAD BADGE OF LIBERTY, worn by the great Copperhead Party of the United States. Sold at fifteen cents by the single badge, and mailed, or $10 per one hundred sent by express. Terms cash. We are permitted to refer to the editors of the New-York Caucasian. Beware of imposters who copy our advertisements. When you order, write plainly your postoffice address, town, county, and state, and be very particular to address your letters thus:

BROMLEY & CO., Manufacturers,
Box 4265, New-York City.

[1] Crisis, iii. 74. [2] iii. 76 [3] iii. 79

interest. We extract from a description of the sale, that part which relates to copper *cents* and *half cents:* . . .

That will do for "copperheads." A person just from Philadelphia says that the young men of that city are giving as high as ten dollars a piece for these old copper coins, which they have made into breast pins, preserving the HEAD OF LIBERTY in full view on the pin. Try again, black snakes,[1] and see if you cannot get something to suit yourselves if not us. These "copperheads" of LIBERTY are the true emblems of the spirit and principles of our noble fathers and the natural enemies of the "Loyalists" of that day, as they are of this. "Copperheads" and "Loyalists" are the old terms, and exactly applicable to the present times and designations of parties.[2]

A letter dated Brimfield, Ohio, April 7, said:

Yesterday the election went off finely in this Copperhead town — 120 Copperhead votes to 69 *Union*-Republican or Abolition votes. The small boys here are making Copper-heads by taking old copper cents and cutting away all but the head, which leaves a copper head with the word Liberty stamped upon the forehead. A very good representation of the Democratic party.[3]

On April 29 the Crisis acknowledged, "from a young Democrat of Connecticut, the receipt of a copperhead emblem of Liberty, nicely cut from an old cent. It is cut out very neatly."[4] In a New York magazine appeared these definitions of political terms:

Copperhead, Mulatto and Greenback Democrats.

There are now three kinds of democrats, according to the newspapers:

1st. The *Copperheads* — the original, simon pure kind — who are so called from the *copper head of liberty* on the old cent of the United States, which they have adopted as a fitting badge of their principles.

2d. *Mulatto democrats*, so called from the fact that they are a faded type of black republicans.

3d. *Greenback democrats*, a set of political camp-followers, who follow Lincoln for whatever spoils he may, from time to time, throw down to them.[5]

A correspondent who signed himself G. Fritz thus complained in the Crisis of May 6:

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[1] See pp. 230–235, below.

[2] Crisis, iii. 89.

[3] iii. 93.

[4] iii. 108.

[5] Old Guard, i. 93.

On the 24th of April I was maliciously robbed of a butternut by one of the black Abolition clerks in Randall & Aston's Book Store. . . . This butternut I carried for the good old principles which it represented — union of hearts. And since we love the good old Union as our fathers made it, and as the butternut represents that Union, we, as Democrats, both high and low, rich and poor, are not ashamed to bear it on our persons; because those who wear it desire the South united with the North, and not inhumanly whipped out of the Union, as this Abolition Administration has endeavored to do from the beginning. And I therefore call this dastardly, impudent puppy of a clerk in the above named book store a follower of tyranny and disunion.[1]

On May 1 occurred at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, the meeting at which Vallandigham made the speech which caused his arrest. The Crisis of May 20 thus reported the meeting in part:

AN EXTRAORDINARY MASS MEETING
OF THE
DEMOCRACY OF KNOX COUNTY, OHIO,
at
Mt. Vernon on the 1st inst.
From 15,000 to 20,000 Present!
The People Demanding their Liberties!

MT. VERNON, Ohio, May 2, 1863.

To the Editor of The Crisis:

The Democracy of this county held a great Convention here yesterday, . . . Between ten and eleven o'clock, the long township processions began to make their appearance. These were formed of wagons, carriages, buggies, &c., . . . A pleasing feature of each procession, was the very many elegant flags on hickory poles — such as the *Democracy* have *always* carried — the beautiful and glorious "Stars and Stripes," without the obliteration or obscuration of a single star. — A rather novel and amusing, as well as significant and appropriate feature of each procession, was the profusion of *Butternuts*, in wholes and in sections, attached in a great variety of ways to the dresses of the men and ladies, and of the boys and girls, to the horses and the banners. The "Copperhead," or Liberty Pins, were another noticeable emblem in the procession. Strange to say, the wearers of these things seemed wholly unconscious of *treason* (as defined in the Constitution) in thus exhibiting them.[2]

[1] Crisis, iii. 117.

[2] iii. 134. Another contemporary account says: "A remarkably large number

At the court-martial of Vallandigham on May 6, the following questions were asked and answered:

Question by J. A. — What other flags or emblems were used in decorating the stage?

Ans. — There were banners made of frame work, and covered with canvas, which were decorated with butternuts and bore inscriptions. One banner, which was carried at the head of a delegation which came in from a town in the country, bore the inscription, "The copperheads are coming."

Mr. Vallandigham. — The South never carried copper cents.

Judge Advocate. — But butternuts are a Southern emblem.

Mr. Vallandigham shook his head, and said they were not.

Quest. by J. A. — Did you see any persons have emblems on their persons?

Ans. — Yes, I saw hundreds of persons wearing butternut and copperhead badges.

Mr. Vallandigham. — The copper badges were simply the head cut out of the common cent coins, with pins attached.

Mr. Vallandigham. — Did you notice what inscription those copperhead badges bore?

Ans. — No, I did not look at them.

Mr. Vallandigham. — The inscription on them was "Liberty." [1]

Ques. — Did not one of the banners you refer to as decorated with butternuts, bear the inscription, "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was?"

Ans. — The banners were numerous. One of them, I believe, did bear that inscription.[2]

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of national flags, with *all* the stars of the Union as it was, on hickory poles, formed a very prominent feature in each of these processions. A profusion of butternuts and liberty or copperhead pins, Union badges, and other appropriate emblems of Liberty and Union, were also distinguishable features" (in J. L. Vallandigham's Life of Clement L. Vallandigham, 1872, p. 251).

[1] Crisis, May 27, iii. 124. A full report of the trial is printed in Vallandigham's Life, pp. 262–284.

[2] Crisis, iii. 125. In a speech made at Columbus on July 4, 1862, Vallandigham said: "To-day the cause of a free government has triumphed; a victory of the Constitution, a victory of the Union, has been won, but is yet to be made complete by the men who go forth from this the first political battle-field of the campaign, bearing upon their banners that noble legend, that grand inscription — THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS, AND THE UNION AS IT WAS" (Crisis, July 16, 1862, ii. 194; Life, pp. 209–210).

A cartoon in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of May 23 represents a storekeeper giving a customer a blow in the face, and underneath is the inscription:

WINNING AND WEARING.

DOUBTFUL CITIZEN — *Sir, do you sell Copperhead Badges? I want one.*
PATRIOTIC STOREKEEPER — *This is the only badge you Copperheads deserve.* (Doubtful Citizen wears it for some days.) [1]

This section may appropriately end with an account, taken from the Mt. Vernon Banner, of a —

Disturbance in Brownsville.

We had intended to make no reference to the late disturbance in Brownsville, this county, inasmuch as the matter will probably be brought into Court; . . . the facts . . . are simply as follows: It appears that some Democratic boys who were in the village, wore on their coat "butternut" badges, (two hearts united in one, emblematic of the re-union of the North and the South under Democratic rule) were assailed by Abolitionists, who were manly enough to attack boys, but too cowardly to go to war. . . . Miles Deakins, Esq., soon appeared in the crowd . . . ordered the people to disperse, and took the Democratic boys away. The Abolitionists, who were bent upon a muss, instead of obeying the orders of the Justice, commenced abusing him in the most scandalous manner, calling him a "butternut," "secessionist," a "Knight of the Golden Circle," &c.[2]

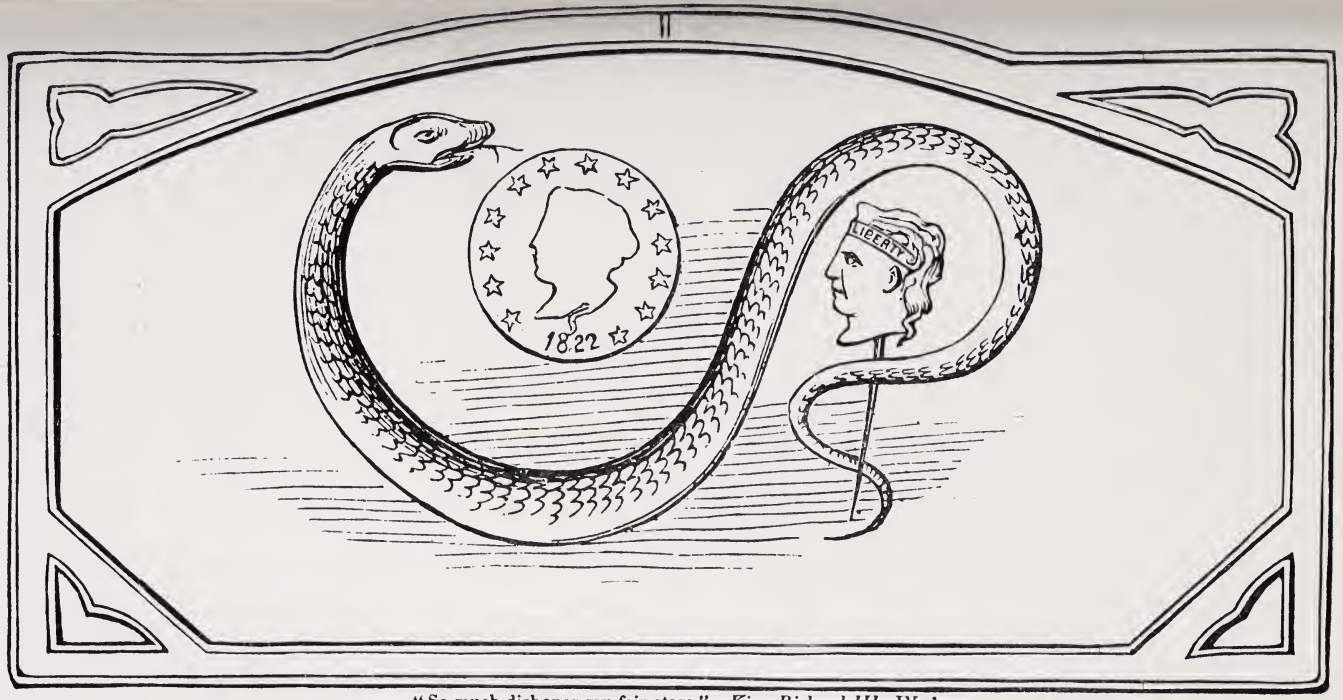
Two contemporary representations of the copperhead badge are here reproduced. One, facing this page, is a cartoon from Charles Godfrey Leland's Ye Book of Copperheads, probably drawn in or about May, 1863;[3] the other, on page 229, is an advertisement on the fourth page of the cover of "Copperhead Minstrel: A Choice Collection of Democratic Poems and Songs, for the use of Political Clubs and the Social Circle," published late in 1863 at New York.[4]

[1] xv. 144.

[2] Crisis, May 27, iii. 143. The Old Guard for June satirically remarked: "It is said that the Loyal Leagues are issuing a splendid new badge, it being a negro's head in India rubber, with this appropriate motto in silver letters: '*The Constitution be damned!*'" (i. 143).

[3] See p. 236, below.

[4] From a copy in the Boston Public Library. A fourth edition of Copperhead Minstrel was published in 1867, but without the badge on the cover. A pamphlet



"So much dishonor my fair stars."—*King Richard III.*, IV. 1.

The traitor our Common Cents mars, And on Liberty plainly he wars,
Taking Freedom away from the Union, I say,
When he cuts out her head from the stars.

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CARTOON IN YE BOOK OF COPPERHEADS, 1863

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM A COPY IN THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM

COPPERHEADS, ATTENTION!

THE BADGE OF LIBERTY!

The undersigned are the original manufacturers of the GENUINE

COPPERHEAD:

OR,

BADGE OF LIBERTY,

Made of PURE COPPER. Highly Polished and Artistic.

Every person in favor of Free Speech, a Free Press, and the Rights of White Men, is wearing the Badge of Liberty.

PRICE.—Single Badges, 15 cents; 8 Badges, for $1 post paid; per express $80 per 1000.

We are permitted to refer to the Editors of the New York CAUCASIAN and the Editor of the "Freeman's Journal," New York City.

"Copperheads!" keep "the ball rolling on." Write "plainly" your post-office address, County and State. Direct your letters thus:

BROMLEY & CO.

Box 4265 New-York City.

Wholesale Agents:

FEEKS & BANCKER. No. 24 Ann Street.

COVER OF COPPERHEAD MINSTREL, 1863

III

COPPERHEAD SNAKES AND BLACK SNAKES

It is obvious that a badge which was not invented until March, 1863, could have had nothing to do with the origin of a word which had been in use since the previous September at least. Hence we must look elsewhere for the origin of Copperhead. That the name was derived from the copperhead snake may be inferred from the fact that it was a term of opprobrium and for five months was employed only by the Republicans. But we are not left to conjecture on this point. Elated by the results of the fall elections, some of the Democratic papers came out with a rooster on the front page. The Crisis did not follow this good old custom, but on October 22, 1862, its editor acknowledged the receipt "by Express" from certain admirers "of three splendid WHITE ROOSTERS, full of *crow* and full of *pluck!*"[1] That the name Copperhead was derived from the snake is proved by the unimpeachable evidence furnished by a Copperhead paper. The Crisis of November 19, 1862, contained this extract:

☞The Logan (O.) *Gazette* gets off some excellent hits. In a late number is a cut of a pole with a copperhead snake wound round it, and underneath is the following:

Question.

Copperhead! Copperhead! Where are you going?

Answer.

I'm climbing this pole to see the cocks crowing.

Question.

Copperhead! Copperhead! what do you see?

Answer.

Butternuts! Butternuts! thick as can be![2]

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entitled The Copperhead Catechism was published in New York in 1864. Between the words Copperhead and Catechism is a cut of the head of Liberty with a snake wound round its neck and pointing its fangs into the face of Liberty.

[1] Crisis, ii. 308. A letter in the same issue is headed: "THE ELECTIONS! . . . Crow, Chapman, Crow! [Here was a great Shanghai rooster elegantly drawn in pencil]" (ii. 305).

[2] ii. 344. The Logan Gazette, or (as it was sometimes called) the Logan

It is not a little curious that the many extracts before me from Republican papers make no mention of the snake until Vallandigham in his speech of February 14, 1863, gave rise to the adoption of the name by the Copperheads themselves. After that, there is indeed no lack of references to the copperhead snake, and in retaliation the Copperheads, in obvious allusion to the term Black Republican,[1] dubbed their opponents Black Snakes. This extract is from the New York Tribune of February 16, 1863:

COPPERHEADS.

The *Express*[2] accepts and rejoices in the name "Copperhead," and desires that it may be applied to the entire Democratic Pro-Slavery party. It is apt. The Copperhead is described by naturalists as "an American venomous serpent, the most dangerous after the rattlesnake." This is perfectly true, in letter and spirit; the rattlesnake represents South Carolina — see the first Palmetto flag; the Copperhead represents your Northern traitor. The rattlesnake, with all its venom, has one virtue — it never strikes without warning; that inevitable rattle gives you timely notice of danger; but the Copperhead gives no sign of attack — it is in verity a snake in the grass. South Carolina gave long warning of her purpose to strike — she shook her rattles and bared her fangs for years before she made the spring at Sumter. Your Copperhead is no such chivalrous foe; for he hides in the grass, silent and treacherous, springs upon you unawares — no rattle, no hiss, but a lurking watchfulness and a leap at your throat, that might, for its perfect surprise if not its success, excite envy in the breast of an Indian Thug. . . . There is remarkable fitness in the name — let the traitors be called "Copperheads" (p. 4/5–6).

County Gazette, was established at Bellefontaine, Logan County, Ohio, in 1830; in 1870 its name was changed to the Examiner, and it is still published under that name: see History of Logan County, 1880, p. 283. For information about it I am indebted to our associate Mr. Clarence S. Brigham and to Professor Arthur W. Hodgman of the Ohio State University.

[1] Webster's International Dictionary states that the term Black Republican was "first applied in Civil War times;" but Thornton (American Glossary, i. 67–68) gives fourteen extracts ranging from January 3, 1856, to March 10, 1861. The expressions "Black Republican party," "Black Republican chivalry," and "ranting Black Republicans," occur in the Democratic Review for January, 1856 (xxxvii. 25, 26).

[2] This is probably a reference to an extract from the New York Express already quoted from the Crisis of March 11: see p. 216, above.

The following editorial appeared in Harper's Weekly of February 28, 1863:

COPPERHEADISM.

MR. CLEMENT VALLANDIGHAM, member of Congress from Ohio, made a speech last week in which he avowed himself a "Copperhead." [1] Certain editors nearer home have likewise rejoiced in the title. It becomes interesting to inquire what it means, and how it came to be applied to a class of politicians.

A "copperhead," according to the American Cyclopedia, is "a venomous serpent . . . the head is thick . . . the neck contracted, and its scales smooth; there are no rattles, the tail being short . . . near the flanks are rounded dark blotches . . . it prefers dark and moist places . . . It gives no warning of its proximity . . . feeds on mice, small birds, etc., and seldom attacks man . . . it is slow and clumsy in its motions, and a very slight blow suffices to kill it . . . It is also called 'chunk-head,' and 'deaf-adder.'"

It can not be denied that the analogy between this loathsome creature and the mean, sneaking politicians who are now distracting the Northern mind with cries of peace is quite striking. Like the copperhead, the peace party are "venomous" in their attacks on the nation; like it, their "head" is undoubtedly "thick;" like it, their "neck" and reach are "contracted." Their "scales," too, are "smooth;" and they have no rattles to warn the honest traveler of their insidious approach. Like the copperhead, their character is "stained by dark blotches;" and, like it, they "prefer dark places" to the light of day. Like that sneaking reptile, their prey is "small, feeble creatures;" and they "seldom venture to attack a man." If we add that our political Copperheads, like their reptile type, are so "slow and clumsy in their motions" that they deserve the additional cognomina of "Chunk-heads" and "Deaf-adders," and that "a very slight blow" makes an end of them, we shall have made the analogy complete. It is creditable to the discernment of our Western fellow-citizens that they so quickly realized the resemblance between the copperhead snake and the peace politician, and baptized them by one common appellation.

We shall not waste time in arguing with the copperheads. Men who are capable of justifying the rebels and espousing their cause when the blood of some member of almost every Northern family reddens Southern soil, and the bones of Northern soldiers are worn as ornaments by Southern women, are not likely to be con-

[1] See p. 216, above.

THE COPPERHEAD PARTY.—IN FAVOR OF *A VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF PEACE!*

CARTOON IN HARPER'S WEEKLY OF 28 FEBRUARY, 1863, VII. 144

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM A COPY IN THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM

vinced by argument, or to be pervious to any thing short of a bayonet thrust.

But one suggestion we will make. If Mr. Vallandigham, or any of his fellow-copperheads, will visit any large camp of loyal troops, either in the East or in the West or in the South, and will, in presence of the soldiers, express the sentiments they have uttered at Newark, New York, and elsewhere; and if, without the protection of the generals and provost-marshals, whom they so heartily abuse, they succeed, after delivering their speech, in making their escape alive, and without a coat of tar and feathers, we shall agree that Copperheads may fairly be tolerated. Our soldiers are anxious to have the challenge accepted.[1]

A letter dated Chittenango, Madison County, New York, March 4, printed in the Albany Argus and Atlas of March 6, is headed: "'Copperhead' Victory in Sullivan! 'Black Snakes' Cleaned Out."[2] These items were printed in the Crisis of March 18 and April 1:

About Snakes.

A Democrat said the other day to a Republican: "If it has come to *snakes*, I would rather be a *copperhead* than a *black* snake."

So much for the snake question.[3]

From Portage County, Ohio.
(Extract of a Letter.)

Gov. Medary — *Dear Sir:* . . . The Abolition Black-snakes are now using every effort to obtain subscribers to a new *ism* that Greeley has put forth, which they denominate the "*Loyal National League.*" . . . The Black-snake editors appear to be urging their followers up to "blood letting" among us. We are dubbed Copperheads and Traitors, and the same hatred of Democrats is instigated as has for many years been instigated against Southern men and their institutions.[4]

A letter from Wood Grove, Morgan County, Ohio, April 7, said: "I tell you that we just completely skunked the Black Snakes — they did not even get a supervisor elected;" and ended: "Give the Black Serpents thunder."[5] A letter from Brimfield, Ohio, April 7, stated that "We held our annual election on Monday, and elected

[1] Harper's Weekly, vii. 130.
[2] Crisis, March 18, iii. 63.
[3] Crisis, March 18, iii. 61.
[4] Crisis, April 1, iii. 77.
[5] Crisis, April 15, iii. 92–93.

our Copperhead ticket clean through, whipping the Blacksnake ticket by some 52 majority."[1] A correspondent writing of the election from Linnville, Ohio, April 7, said: "We do not feel like doing without your *Copperhead* paper, as it is termed by the (dis)-Union party. . . . One hundred and thirty-three *Copperheads* formed in line of battle. But to our great disappointment not one Black Snake appeared against us."[2] A letter from Milton township, Jackson County, Ohio, April 9, declared that "The 'Copperheads' wiped out the *Black* Snakes (or Black Republicans) on Monday last. . . . The following are the names of the men elected, all regular built 'Copperheads.'"[3] "In the days of 'Bleeding Kansas,'" remarked the Darke County (Ohio) Democrat, "the Black Snakes were the champions of 'Free Speech.'"[4] The Crisis of April 22 contained this passage:

The Viper Stinging Itself.

When we see Abolitionists raging and foaming about Democrats wearing butternut emblems of "two hearts united in one," and copperheads of "LIBERTY," we are reminded of the viper in the circle of fire stinging itself to death.

Who applied the "butternut" and "copperhead" designation to the Democrats? Not the Democrats themselves, most assuredly. It was these black (*snake*) Republicans, and the Democrats, instead of getting mad at the intended blackguard terms, took it in good humor by turning it off as a joke, and then the *black* snakes got "all fired riley" at their own villainous acts! That's the true story.[5]

In the same paper of April 29 was this paragraph:

OUR NEW NAMES. — The name "Butternut," applied to Democrats is the reverse of any offensive appellation. The butternut, when cut into two parts, near the centre, presents a perfect picture of *two hearts*, united at the base — typical of the North and South united together, under the rule of the Butternut Democracy. As to Copperheads, that reptile is inoffensive except when *trod on*, or in the month of August. In either case it is dangerous.[6]

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[1] Crisis, April 15, iii. 93.
[2] Crisis, April 29, iii. 110.
[3] Crisis, April 15, iii. 92.
[4] iii. 95.
[5] Crisis, April 22, iii. 101.
[6] Crisis, April 29, iii. 110.

In the Old Guard for April is a description of a "Great Lincoln Picture Gallery," No. 21 being "A copperhead chasing a huge black snake, which is running away with affrighted velocity;" [1] and in the same number is this item: "Copperheads and Black Snakes. The republicans call democrats '*copperheads*' — the democrats retort by calling republicans '*black snakes.*' If the snake family ever get to fighting, save us from the fate of the black snakes, say we." [2] A paragraph headed "Swearing Rattlesnakes," printed in the Chicago Tribune of May 5, begins: "Still at the work of swearing Rattlesnakes. . . . But with chagrin they now see the mailed hand open again, and these Copperheads gliding safely away" (p. 1/1). A letter from Concord township, Champaign County, Ohio, stated that "The Blacksnakes held what they called a loyal war meeting here a few days since." [3] Our extracts are brought to an end with the following vigorous and amusing retort from the Crisis of May 6:

Copperheads vs. Blacksnakes.

The Black Republicans, excessively fond of applying pet names to their opponents, are now very industriously applying the term "Copperheads" to the Democrats. We like it much. There is an applicability about it which speaks out boldly and has a palpable meaning.

The "Copperhead" is peculiar to this country — a fearless, independent snake that knows its power, and when disturbed or interfered with, uses it. It is a brave snake, and, therefore, naturally tolerant, harmless and passive; but take care you do not trample upon it, for it never runs except to attack its foe, and its bite, when once aroused, is awful.

Now, the representative of the Republicans, opposite to the Copperhead, is the Blacksnake. And here, too, the analogy is complete. The Blacksnake is a cowardly, hissing, thieving reptile. He possesses somewhat the power to charm, but he always charms the innocent to destruction. — He robs bird's nests, visits barn yards and sucks hens' eggs, and will often be found coiled around the legs of a cow, sucking her milk, just as Black Republican contractors, jobbers, and office holders are now doing with Uncle Samuel's cow.[4]

The earliest cartoon I have seen in which a snake is represented is in Harper's Weekly of February 28, 1863, reproduced facing page

[1] Old Guard, i. 92.
[2] i. 94.
[3] Crisis, May 6, iii. 118.
[4] iii. 119.

232.[1] The same illustration was used in a broadside entitled "Copperheads vigorously Prosecuting Peace. Resolutions of the Hartford Convention, Feb. 18, 1863. Woodcut. Large folio, 2 columns. (Hartford, 1863)." [2] In Vanity Fair of May 2 is a cartoon labelled, "Lord Lyons: In full regalia, as he appeared on the occasion of being chosen Chief Moderator of the Copperhead or K.G.C." [3] The British Minister at Washington has on an apron on which is depicted a snake, and in his hand is a caduceus (with two snakes). In the same paper of May 9 is a cartoon labelled "Manton Marble: The Man of 'The World;'" and underneath the words "The World" is a snake.[4] Charles Godfrey Leland's Ye Book of Copperheads, the title-page of which is also here reproduced (facing this page), was probably published about June, 1863. In his Memoirs, published in 1893, Leland said:

I was very busy during the first six months of 1863. . . . I also wrote and illustrated, with the aid of my brother, a very eccentric pamphlet, "The Book of Copperheads." When Abraham Lincoln died two books were found in his desk. One was the "Letters of Petroleum V. Naseby," by Dr. R. Locke, and my "Book of Copperheads," which latter was sent to me to see *and return*.[5]

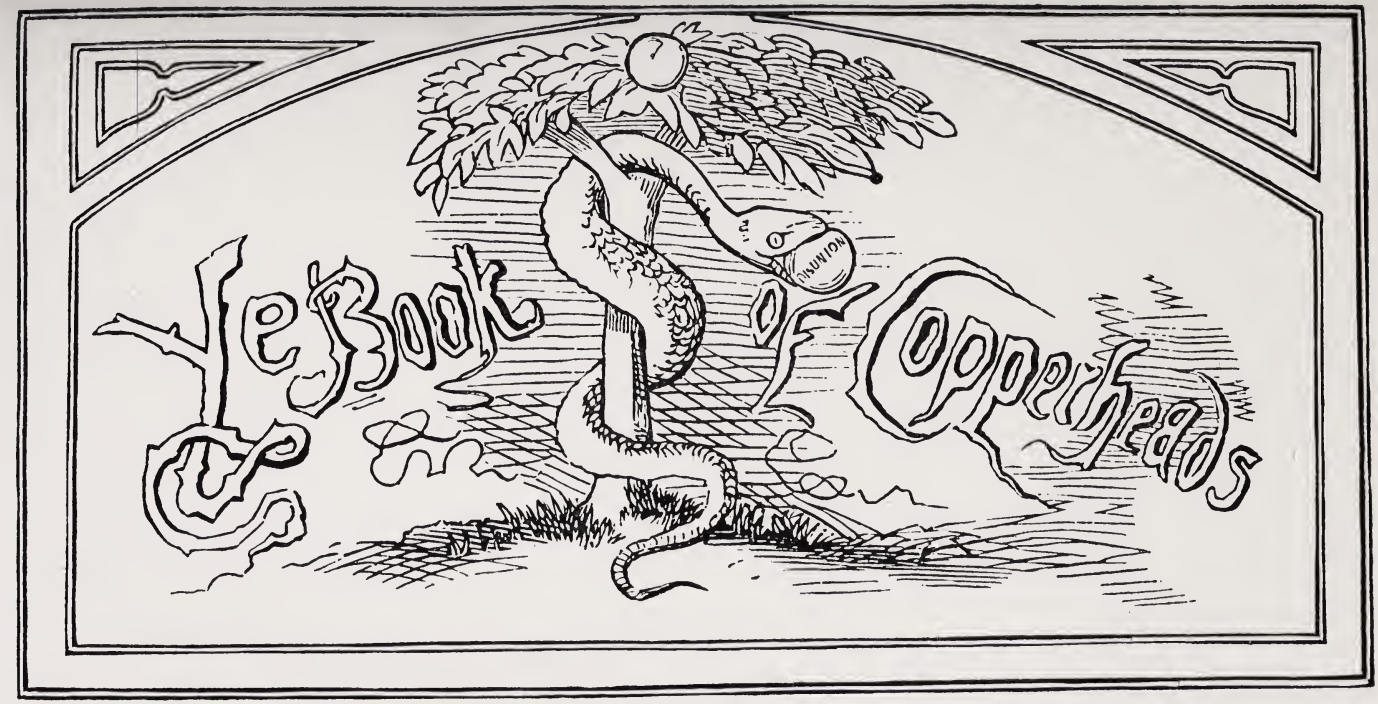
[1] Harper's Weekly, vii. 144. In the legend attached to a cartoon in Harper's Weekly of January 31 (see p. 212, above) are the words "Peace Sneaks." It is clear from the extracts here given that the Republicans indulged in a play on the words "snake" and "sneak" — and perhaps such a pun was intended in that legend.

[2] This title is taken from the catalogue of Libbie's sale of April 25–26, 1918, no. 225, p. 19. The broadside was bought by the Library of Congress, and I am indebted to our associate Mr. A. P. C. Griffin for the information that the woodcut is identical with the one in Harper's Weekly of February 28.

[3] Vanity Fair, vii. 33. [4] vii. 45.

[5] Memoirs, London, ii. 44. Mrs. Joseph Pennell also states that Leland "wrote, with his brother [Henry Perry Leland], 'The Book of Copperheads,' and illustrated it" (Charles Godfrey Leland, 1906, i. 254). As the pamphlet contains on its last page an extract from the Richmond Enquirer of May 18, and on p. 22 a cartoon dated May 23, it could not have been published earlier than the very end of May; but possibly some of the cartoons or rhymes had appeared elsewhere before being published in book form. The following is taken from Vanity Fair of May 2 (vii. 35):

Yea! Verily!
"The Philadelphia 'Copperheads,'"
Quoth UNCLE SAM to me,
"Are in a very shaky state,
As whoso reads 'THE BOOK' may see!"



PHILADELPHIA:
FREDERICK LEYPOLDT.
1863.

TITLE-PAGE OF YE BOOK OF COPPERHEADS

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM A COPY IN THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM

In 1863 there was also published at Philadelphia a skit entitled, "Ye Sneak Yclepid Copperhead. A Satirical Poem. I do not like 'em — sneaks, I mean." On the title-page is a cut of an eagle seizing a snake in its talons, and there are seven illustrations, in all of which a snake is depicted.[1]

Reviewing the evidence as a whole, it appears that Butternut and Copperhead — like Whig, Tory, Yankee, Brother Jonathan, Uncle Sam, and scores of other terms — take their place among the designations which have been accepted by those to whom they were originally applied in contempt or in mild derision.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE exhibited a volume containing two tracts, and spoke as follows:

Often in the wills made in colonial days bequests were made of one or more books which were considered valuable possessions. If these small collections should be counted among the libraries of that period they would make interesting additions to their number. Now and then a single work fortunately comes to light, but most of those mentioned have long since disappeared from view. Such books were kept, not probably for their literary or historical value, but more likely for their restraining influence on the rising generation.

One of such a group has been discovered in the library of the

---

"How so?" quoth I with mild surprise.
"Why, see you not how dire their need
Must be whose chief dependence lies,
As theirs, upon 'a broken REED'?"

This would seem to be an allusion to William Bradford Reed of Philadelphia, who is satirized in Leland's pamphlet, a cartoon on p. 10 having the inscription:

There once was a twistified Reed, who took for his pattern Snake-*Weed;*
Till the Copperheads all, great, middling, and small,
Seemed *straight* by the side of this Reed.

On the other hand, I have found no proof that the cartoons or rhymes were printed independently, and Mrs. Pennell kindly informs me that as her uncle's books and papers are stored in London she can throw no light on this matter.

[1] In the catalogue of the Boston Public Library this is attributed to Leland, though on what authority is not stated; and Mrs. Pennell, as she kindly writes me, hesitates to say anything about it. "Ye Introduction" to this skit begins: "Ye 'sneak' is a *sly-bird.* Ye rattle-snake, indeed, hath some chivalry, even if it is in its tail; but ye Sneaks yclepid 'Copperheads' hath none."

Dedham Historical Society, where it has long been in its possession as a Dedham relic. It has two tracts bound together in the original covers, the first without the title-page and the preliminary pages of signature A, and the rest, somewhat mutilated, containing 155 pages. This title is found to be:

Rebels no Saints: / — / or, a / Collection / of the / Speeches, Private Passages, Let- / ters and Prayers of those / Persons lately / Executed, /

Viz.
- Tho. Harrison, Octob. 13.
- Jo. Carew, Octob. 15.
- Jo. Cook, and Hugh Peters, Octob. 16.
- Tho. Scot, Greg. Clement, An. Scroop, and Jo. Jones — Octob. 17.
- Dan. Axtell, and Fr. Hacker, Octob. 19.

. . . / — / By a Person of Quality / — / . . . / London . . . 1661. 16mo. pp. (2), 155.

When signatures E and F were printed the sheet was not turned, so that pages 50, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, and 62, 63, were not printed. These blank pages were supplied in writing. Benjamin Simon in 1664 left his autograph signature at the top of page 63.

The second tract in the book is thus described:

Murderer Punished / AND / PARDONED: / OR, / A true Relation of the Wicked Life and Shamefull / Happy Death of *Thomas Savage*, Imprisoned, just- / ly Condemned, and Twice Executed at *Ratcliffe*, for / his bloody Fact, in Killing his Fellow-Servant, on / *Wednesday, Octob.* 28. 1668. / — / By us, who were often with him in the time of his Im- / prisonment in *Newgate*, and at his Exec[ution] /

Robert Fra[nkl]*in*, *Thomas Doolittle*, *Hugh Baker*, { *Thom*[as Vincent] *Ja*[mes Janeway]

/ — / To which is Annexed a SERM[on] / at his Funeral. / — / The Twelfth Edition; with the Addition [ ] / Life and Shameful Death of *Hannah* [Blay] / Condemned and Executed for being [ ] / bloody Murther committed by *Thom* [ ] / other new Additions. / — / London Printed in the Year [1669]. 16mo. pp. 62, A in 8, B in 4, C in 8, D in 4, E in 7.[1]

[1] Title-page, verso, "To the Reader;" pp. 2–9, "Murder Punished, &c.;" pp. 9–17, "An Account of a Discourse betwixt T. D. and T. S. about Fourteen Days after he was Prisoner in Newgate;" pp. 17–21, "A Discourse betwixt H. B. and T. S. Prisoner in Newgate, after some Friends went away dissatisfied, fearing he had not a Sense of his Sin, &c.;" pp. 21–22, "On Friday-night he uttered these expressions in Company with H. B. being the Day that the other Prisoners were Executed;" pp. 22–30, "On Saturday at Night, in Company with Mr. Baker, he Discoursed thus;" pp. 30–33, "The Prayer of Tho. Savage in

This little volume came into the possession of the Society from an unrecorded Dedham source, and it was probably given in its early days. When I took the book down from the shelf and examined it I recalled the entry in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary (II. 237) under Hezekiah Gay, born in Dedham, July 3, 1640, four years after the settlement of the town, the son of John Gay one of its founders. Savage quotes from the nuncupative will [1] of Hezekiah drawn on October 25, 1669, only a few days before his death, in October or November, that he gives "My sister Whiting that new book concerning Thomas Savage;" and then James Savage writes "for which I fear, all search in bibliographical works will be vain." All the circumstances connected with this book and its discovery point strongly to its identification as the one mentioned in the will, and seem to show that the Thomas Savage title was not known to James Savage. There is a copy, however, in the British Museum of this twelfth edition.

Hezekiah Gay also gave, in his will, to his mother, "Mr. Burrowe's Book," which was probably one of Edward Burrough's works. The two books mentioned in the will may have been all the books that Gay owned, and the survival of one shows at least the kind of reading in one early New England home.

Mr. Chester N. Greenough read the following note —

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF SINGING OF PSALMS A GOSPEL ORDINANCE

Among the treasures of the collection recently given to the Harvard College Library by the widow of the late Frederick L. Gay is a unique copy of the first edition of a work usually ascribed to John Cotton:

Singing / Of / Psalmes / A Gospel-Ordinance / Or / A Treatise, / Wherein are handled these foure Particulars. / 1. *Touching the Duty it selfe.* / 2. *Touching the*

Newgate, with those that sate up with him the Night before his Execution;" pp. 33–40, "The Last Speech of Thomas Savage, at the Place of his Execution, at Ratcliff;" pp. 41, 42, "A Relation of what pa[ ] the Imprisonment an[Execution of Hann[ah Blay];" pp. 43–62, "2 Tim. 2. 22 Flee also Youthful Lusts."

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlviii. 324.

Matter to be Sung. / 3. *Touching the Singers.* / 4. *Touching the Manner of Singing.* / By John Cotton, Teacher of the / Church at *Boston* in *New-England.*/ London; / Printed by M. S. for *Hannah Allen,* at the *Crowne* / in *Popes-Head*-Alley: and *John Rothwell* at the / *Sunne* and *Fountaine* in *Pauls*-Church-yard./ 1647.

On the reverse of the title-page, in the handwriting of John Cotton, is a list of "Faults in ye Printing corrected" as follows:

Faults in ye Printing corrected.

Pag. 4. lin. 16.	not ædifyed	reade	is not ædefyed.
lin. 32.	Prov. 9, 10.	reade	2 Chron. 35:21, 22.
Pag. 24. lin. 4.	Instruments	reade	Instructions.
lin. 16.	as	reade	but as.
Pag. 26. lin. 21.	Donology	reade	Doxology.
Pag. 35. lin. 13.	have	reade	not have.
Pag. 47. lin. 22.	to	reade	so.
Pag. 49. lin. 17.	to ye Golden Calf	reade	to ye making of ye Golden Calf.
lin. 32.	left in	reade	left it to.
Pag. 51. lin. 7.	Partition of wall	reade	Partition wall.
Pag. 52. lin. 6.	cleane	reade	uncleane.
lin. 28.	and	blot out	
lin. 31.	in singing forth ye Praises of ye Lord, Adde, yet neither were their Psalmes types of ours but one & ye same: neither was their singing with voyces a type of ours: but both of them a Performance of one & ye same morall Duety, the singing of ye Praises of ye Lord, so		
Pag. 53. lin. 7.	so	reade	yet.
Pag. 64. lin. 5.	Art	reade	Act.
Pag. 65. lin. 3.	As	blot out	
Pag. 70. lin. 11.	to Abuse	reade	to Prævent
lin. 25.	Idoll	reade	Idiot

Below this list of errata [1] is a rather surprising memorandum, apparently in the handwriting of the younger Thomas Shepard (1635–1677), who graduated from Harvard College in 1653, and in 1659 was

[1] Though these errata would alone seem to make this copy unique, it appears that a certain number of other copies were similarly annotated: H. M. Dexter (Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, Appendix, p. 68) suggests that they were fairly numerous: "Copies circulated by the author," Dexter writes, "contain nearly a page of errata on back of title." The Massachusetts Historical Society has a copy (given by John Cotton to Richard Mather) with the errata as in the Gay copy; but I have not thus far succeeded in finding any others.

I am indebted to the assistant librarians of the John Carter Brown Library and of the Yale University Library for collations of the first edition of the Singing of Psalms with the second edition (1650). In the second edition only one of the errata noted by John Cotton has been corrected, that on page 51, line 7.

SINGING OF PSALMES A GOSPEL-ORDINANCE.

OR

A TREATISE,

Wherein are handled these foure Particulars.

1. *Touching the Duty it selfe.*
2. *Touching the Matter to be Sung.*
3. *Touching the Singers.*
4. *Touching the Manner of Singing.*

BY JOHN COTTON, Teacher of the Church at *Boston* in *New-England.*

LONDON,
Printed by *M. S.* for *Hannah Allen*, at the *Crowne* in *Popes-Head*-Alley: and *John Rothwell* at the *Sunne* and *Fountaine* in *Pauls*-Church-yard.
1647.

Faults in ye Printing corrected.

Pag. 4. lin. 16. not adopted, reade as not adopted.

lin. 32. Prov. 9. 10. reade 2 Chron. 35. 21, 22.

Pag. 24. lin. 4. Instruments reade Institutions.

lin. 26. as reade but as

Pag. [illegible] lin. 22. Doxology reade Doxology

Pag. 25. lin. 3. have reade not have

Pag. 47. lin. 22. to reade so

Pag. 49. lin. 17. to ye Golden Calf, reade, to ye making of ye Golden Calf

lin. 32. left in reade left it to

Pag. 51. lin. 7. Partition of wall, reade Partition wall

Pag. 52. lin. 6. clean reade unclean

lin. 28. and blot out

lin. 32. in singing forth ye Praises of ye Lord, [illegible] yet neither were their Psalmes a Type of [illegible] but one & ye same: neither was their singing with voyces a Type of ours: but both of them a Performance of one & ye same morall Duety, the singing of ye Praises of ye Lord, to

Pag. 53. lin. 7. so reade [illegible]

Pag. 64. lin. 5. slit reade [illegible]

Pag. 65. lin. 3. [illegible] blot out

Pag. 70. lin. 11. to abuse, reade, [illegible]

lin. 25. Idoll reade Idiot

Mr Cotton's owne writing

Mr Edward Bulkley pastor of ye ch of xt in Concord told me Sept. 20. 167[illegible] that when he boarded at mr Cotton's house at ye 1st coming forth of this book of singing of psalms, mr Cotton told him that my Father Shepard had the chief hand in ye composing of it, & yrfore mr Cotton said: I am troubled that my bro: Shepards name is not prefixed to it.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY FROM THE LIBRARY OF [illegible] NOV [illegible] 1916

ordained teacher of the Church at Charlestown, where he remained until his death. Shepard writes:

> Mr. Edward Bulkley pastor of ye Ch of X^{t} in Concord told me Sept. 20. 1674 that w^{n} he boarded at m^{r} Cotton's house at ye 1st coming forth of this book of singing of psalmes, m^{r} Cotton told him that my Father Shepard had the chief hand in ye composing of it, & y^{r}fore, m^{r} Cotton said, I am troubled that my bro: Shepard's name is not praefixed to it.

The title-page of the Gay copy is also interesting. At the top, apparently inked over an older inscription, appears the autograph of Thomas Shepard, with the date 1655. Below that we find "Wm Brattle's book March 23 170⅘." Just above the words "By John Cotton" we find, apparently in the hand of the third Thomas Shepard (1658–1685), the words "my H[onore]d Grandfather Mr. Thomas Shepard pastor of Camb: as my Father told me Mr. Cotton acknowledged w[he]n it came forth."

To decide from internal evidence whether John Cotton or Thomas Shepard is more likely to have written the Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance is a task quite beyond my powers. I should suppose that the similarity of the two men in learning and in style would, in fact, make extremely difficult the work of anyone who should attempt to settle the matter on such grounds. I propose merely to record the existence of this odd bit of testimony to Shepard's authorship,[1] and then to attempt a partial answer to the question which one naturally asks, — namely, Why did not John Cotton take measures to see that Shepard's name was prefixed to the work?

That this question suggests itself indicates that we naturally assume the seventeenth century author to have had the same control over his work as that enjoyed in our own time, — that is, we assume that he could make sure that title-page, front matter, and text were all as

[1] So far as I am aware, Shepard's authorship of this work has been asserted only by the Rev. John A. Albro, who on p. cxcii of the first volume of his edition of the Works of Thomas Shepard, 3 vols., Boston, 1853, includes Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance in his list of Shepard's works. He gives no evidence of Shepard's authorship, however. It is, of course, possible that Albro may have seen the Gay copy of this book. Who owned the Gay copy in 1853 or thereabouts I am unable to learn. Cotton Mather (Magnalia, 1820, i. 255) mentions "a discourse about *singing of psalms*, proving it a gospel-ordinance" as Cotton's; in his account (ibid. i. 343–357) of Thomas Shepard, Mather gives no indication that Shepard had any part in planning or writing this work.

he wished them to be. Let me cite a few instances to show that the seventeenth century author was to a surprising degree at the mercy of the publisher.

George Wither's Scholar's Purgatory, undated, but published about 1625, contains a very interesting character sketch of a good stationer and another of a bad stationer.[1] It must of course be remembered that Wither's quarrels with the publishers somewhat injure the value of his very spicy testimony. Of the mere stationer Wither says that he —

> . . . will not stick to bely his author's intentions, or to publish secretly that there is somewhat in his new imprinted books against the state, or some Honourable personages; that so, they being questioned, his ware may have the quicker sale. He makes no scruple to put out the right author's name, and insert another in the second edition of a book; and when the impression of some pamphlet lies upon his hands, to imprint new Titles for it (and so take men's moneys twice or thrice for the same matter under diverse names) is no injury in his opinion.
>
> If he gett any written Coppy into his powre, likely to be vendible, whether the Author be willing or no, he will publish it; And it shall be contrived and named alsoe, according to his owne pleasure: which is the reason, so many good Bookes come forth imperfect, and with foolish titles. Nay, he oftentymes gives bookes such names as in his opinion will make them saleable, when there is litle or nothing in the whole volume sutable to such a Tytle.[2]

It was probably somewhat more than forty years later that Samuel Butler wrote his character of A Stationer, concerning whom he finds nothing good to say:

> When a book lies upon his hand and will not sell, notwithstanding all his lies and forgeries of known mens approbation, his last remedy is to print a new title-page, and give it a new name, (as mercers do by their old rotten stuffs) and if that will not do it is past cure, and falls away to waste paper. He makes the same use of mens names as forgers do, and will rob the living and the dead of their reputation by setting their hands

[1] Miscellaneous Works of George Wither, printed for the Spenser Society, 1872, Publications of the Spenser Society, Issue No. 12, First Collection, pp. 121–122.

[2] Quoted in part by Phoebe Sheavyn, The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age, Manchester [England], 1909, pp. 81–82, where other interesting examples are given.

to the frauds and impostures of false and counterfeit scriblers, to abuse the world, and cheat men of their money and understanding.[1]

These passages, of course, are written by satirists who were almost required by the rules to exaggerate the foibles of humanity. There are a number of cases in which the evidence is somewhat less open to doubt.

In 1646 The Perfect Diurnal, No. 185, which is dated February 8–15, contains (p. 1486) a note that "such hath bin the malice of some ignorant Anonymous" as to write a pamphlet "to scandalize and vilifie the army under his Excellency Sir *Tho. Fairfax*," in which pamphlet he gives a false account of a murder "for the better vending of his pamphlet."

Three years later the same periodical gives us another instance:

This is desired to be inserted; That Whereas there was lately printed, and put to publike sale a book called *A discription of the Country and People of Scotland;* That consisted of some invectives against that Nation which was entituled to Mr. *James Howell*, I do hereby declare and attest that *He* was not the Author thereof, nor had any thing to doe with it, and that there was use made of his name, not out of any designe to prejudice so well known and worthy a Gentleman, but to further only the vending of the thing; Therefore with all due respectfullnesse, I do hereby crave his pardon, and desire the world to take notice hereof.

London this 6 of July: 1649 *per me I. Stephens.*[2]

In 1649 The Perfect Diurnall for July 30–August 6, No. 314, contains on the last page the notice that "there is an excellent peece come forth entituled An hue and cry after *Vox Populi*, written by that learned and judicious Minister, Mr. *John Collins* in Norwich." But a month later, in No. 319 (p. 2513), the editor found it necessary to retract, which he did as follows:

About a moneth since at the request of a Bookseller of Norwich, was incerted in the Diurnall that Master Collins Mlnister [sic, for Minister] of Norwich, had published a book intituled a hew and cry after Vox populi, the said Mr. Collins desires you to take notice, that he did not write or compose the said book, but utterly disclaims it.

[1] Samuel Butler: Characters and Passages from Note-Books, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge [England], 1908, p. 262.

[2] Perfect Diurnal, No. 310, July 2–9, 1649, p. 2561.

On September 22, 1655, Lord Tweeddale wrote to Cromwell from Edinburgh, declaring that in a late pamphlet called A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's Intentions touching the Anabaptists in the Army, etc., his "*name is used to a Forgery.*" [1]

In 1659 Edward Reynolds found it necessary to declare that he did not write a certain book advertised as his. He inserted his disavowal as an advertisement in the Publick Intelligencer, No. 2, p. 380 (April 18–25, 1659):

Advertisement:

' *Whereas in a Catalogue of Books Printed and sold by* Henry Marsh *at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane near Fleetstreet, annexed to a Book of* Edw. Leigh *Esq; entituled,* England *Described, there is mention of a Book called,* A Word of Caution to the present Times, in relation to the Atheists and Errorists thereof. By *Edward Reynolds* D. D. *The said* Edward Reynolds *doth hereby declare, That he never was either the Author or Publisher of any such Book, but hath been herein wronged by the Compiler and Publisher of that Catalogue.*

Although many other cases might be cited,[2] perhaps one more will suffice; and this is a colloquy which appears in the course of John Tutchin's trial for a libel (1704) entitled The Observator:

Mr. Mountague. The question I would ask you, is; do you, when you have a copy, strictly keep to the letter of the copy? Or do you, as you think convenient, alter it?

How. I have altered it oftentimes to make it safe.

Mr. Mountague. Then you do take it on you to alter?

How. To strike out a line, never to alter his sense.

Mr. Mountague. Do you not insert any thing?

How. Yes, frequently a word.

Mr. Mountague. Do you not take upon you to insert several words, and leave out several?

How. Yes.[3]

As may readily be imagined, New England authors were not less imposed upon than their English brethren by these conditions of

[1] Thomason (Catalogue, ii. 125) says this pamphlet was published about the middle of August, 1655. He dates his copy August 20.

[2] See, for instance, London Gazette, No. 886 (May 14–18, 1674); the Compleat Library, Vol. 2, p. 220 (March, 1693).

[3] Howell, State Trials, xiv. 1106–1107 (London, 1816).

publication. In the preface to A Disputation Concerning Church-Members and Their Children, London, 1659, the writer gives us, particularly in his last sentence, some astonishing light upon this situation:

And this is the rather said, because perhaps the Reader may have been deceived in some other Treatises, which have gone abroad, and generally been look't upon, as the compilement of the Elders in New-England; whereas they had but one private person for their Author. So it is indeed in the 32 Questions, the Answerer whereof was Mr. Richard Mather, and not any other Elder or Elders in New England, who likewise is the Author of the discourse concerning Church-Covenant printed therewith, which latter he wrote for his private use in his own Study, never intending, nor indeed consenting to its publication, nor so much as knowing unto this day how the copy of it came abroad into those hands by whom it was made publick, save that he conjectures some procured a copy of it from Mr. Cotton, to whom (such was their intimacy in his lifetime) he communicated it, as he writes in a late Letter to a Son of his now in England who it seems had enquired of him concerning those Treatises; and much less is there any truth in that which is said in the Title page prefixed to the Discourse of Church-Covenant, as if it were sent over to Mr. Barnard Anno 1639; Mr. Mather having neither acquaintance nor any intercourse by Letters with Mr. Barnard.

The case of Edward Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England is sufficiently well known.[1] It will be remembered that Nathaniel Brooke, who brought out in 1653, under date of 1654, the first edition of Johnson's book, inserted the unsold copies as the third part of America Painted to the Life, 1659, and asserted that the whole was "written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight." Against this fraud the younger Gorges (grandson of the alleged author) protested in the following advertisement, which appeared in the Mercurius Politicus for September 13, 1660:

I, Ferdinando Gorges, the entituled Author of a late Book, called *America Painted to the Life*, am injured in that additional Part, called Sion's Saviour in New England (as written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges:) that being none of his, and formerly printed in another name, the true owner.

[1] For a full account of this matter, see J. F. Jameson's edition of Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, New York, 1910, pp. 3–5.

Both Shepard and Cotton had suffered from this kind of vexation. Of his Sincere Convert Shepard is reputed[1] to have written to Giles Firmin:

> It was a collection of such notes in a dark town in England, which one procuring of me, published them without my will, or my privity. I scarce know what it contains, nor do I like to see it; considering the many Σφαλματα typographica, most absurd; and the confession of him that published it, that it comes out much altered from what was first written.

"And this," exclaims Albro,[2] "was said in October, 1647, a year after the English publisher, in his fourth edition, declared that the book had been 'corrected and much amended by the author.'"

Of John Cotton his grandson wrote that "few of John Cotton's works were printed with his own *knowledge* or *consent*. . . . his printed works, whereof there are many, that *praise him in the gates*, though few of them were printed with his own *knowledge* or *consent*." [3] And of Cotton's sermon on the Seven Vials, Lechford says: "Mr. Humfrey had gotten the notes from some who had took them by characters, and printed them in London without Cotton's consent." [4]

Some further light is thrown upon this question when we consider the printer of The Singing of Psalms. M. S., who printed the edition of 1647, is presumably Matthew Simmons.[5]

Of John Cotton's works the following were printed by M. S. or by Matthew Simmons: in 1644, The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven was "printed by M. Simmons for Henry Overton;" in 1645, The Covenant of Gods free Grace was "printed M. S. for Iohn Hancock;" in 1645, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England was "printed by Matthew Simmons;" in 1647, The Bloudy Tenent Washed was "printed by Matthew Symmons for Hannah Allen;" and in 1648, The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared was "printed by Matthew Simmons for John Bellamie."

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[1] Magnalia, i. 351.

[2] Shepard's Works, vol. i. p. clxxxvi.

[3] Magnalia, i. 255.

[4] Plain Dealing, ed. J. H. Trumbull, p. 52 note.

[5] On Simmons, see Henry R. Plomer, A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England and Ireland from 1641 to 1667, London, 1907, p. 164.

With Thomas Shepard's works the case is similar: in 1641, The Sincere Convert was "Printed by T. P. and M. S. for Humphrey Blunden;" in 1646, The Sincere Convert was again "printed by Matthew Simmons;" in 1648, Certain Select Cases Resolved was "printed by M. Simmons for J. Rothwell;" in 1648, The First Principles of the Oracles of God was "printed by M. Simmons."

Whether Simmons did or did not print the second edition (1650) of The Singing of Psalms cannot be told from the title-page, the imprint on which runs thus: "London, Printed for J. R. at the Sunne and Fountaine in Pauls-Church-yard; and H. A. at the Crowne in Popes-Head-Alley. 1650." Since J. R. and H. A. are presumably John Rothwell and Hannah Allen, the stationers for whom Simmons printed the edition of 1647, it is not unlikely that Simmons also printed for them the edition of 1650.

Whether Simmons printed the edition of 1650 or not, the fact that he occasionally printed works by Cotton and by Shepard after 1647 may suggest, though of course it does not prove, that these authors had no reason to be seriously annoyed at anything that occurred in connection with the publication of The Singing of Psalms in 1647.

It thus seems fairly evident that we should hesitate to give way to the impression that John Cotton was at fault for having failed to make sure that Thomas Shepard, if he was the principal author of the discourse on The Singing of Psalms, received credit therefor upon the title-page.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham exhibited a photostat of an Elegy on Urian Oakes by Daniel Gookin, Jr., and spoke as follows:

Elegies and rhyming epitaphs constitute a fair share of the little poetry that was written by New Englanders in the seventeenth century. The Elegy upon Urian Oakes, President of Harvard College, written in 1681 by Daniel Gookin, Jr., which is now printed for the first time,[1] adds another poem, as well as another poet, to the annals of our early American literature.

[1] Printed from the original manuscript in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, "Worcester Papers," i. 11.

Moses Coit Tyler, in referring to Urian Oakes, says [1] that his prose furnishes the greatest originality and breadth of thought of any sermon literature from the settlement of the country down to the Revolution, and furthermore that the one example left to us of his verse, his elegy upon his friend Thomas Shepard, reaches the highest point touched by American poetry during the same period. Shepard died in 1677 and within a few days of his death Oakes published his Elegy, a poem of fifty-two stanzas. Although marred by some defects in metre and by a little of the theological hyperbole so common to elegies, it is stately, flowing, and filled with imagery. The closing lines are especially impressive:

> My dearest, inmost, bosom-friend is gone!
> Gone is my sweet companion, soul's delight!
> Now in an huddling crowd I'm all alone,
> And almost could bid all the world — Goodnight.

It is a far cry from such a beautiful verse to Daniel Gookin's Elegy upon Urian Oakes. This Elegy was written soon after the death of Oakes, July 24, 1681,[2] and was probably read in connection with one of the college services for the deceased. Oakes was graduated from Harvard in 1649, resided in England until 1671, was pastor at Cambridge from 1671 to 1681, and President of Harvard from 1675 to the time of his death. Daniel Gookin, Jr., was the son of Major-General Daniel Gookin, of Indian fame, was born at Cambridge in 1650, was graduated from Harvard in 1669, was instructor at Harvard from 1673 to 1681 and librarian during part of this period, was chosen pastor of the church at Sherborn in 1685, and died in 1718. No other examples of his versification are known. This Elegy, although filled with stilted religious imagery, bad rhyming and occasional startling departures from the metre, is a good example of the theological poetry of the period.[3]

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[1] History of American Literature during the Colonial Period, ii. 16.

[2] Oakes probably died in the night of July 24–25, since his death is sometimes given as July 25: see our Publications, xviii. 369 note 9.

[3] Sibley stated (Harvard Graduates, i. 181) that "An Elegy on Oakes was written by Daniel Gookin, H. U. 1669," but in his additions and corrections (ii. 529) said:

Upon The

Death

Of the reverend, pious, incomparably learned, and faithfull servant of Christ, in the Work of the Ministry

Mr. Urian Oakes,

Pastor of the Church at Cambridge & President of Harvard Colledge:

Who left his Work to recieve his Reward July 24. 1681. the 50th. Year of his Life

'Twas but the other Day when all that knew
The Wound that made poor Cambridge smart
(a Wound that reach'd her very Heart)
Bewail'd her State, she was forgot by few.
'Twas when now blessed Mitchel chang'd his Place
Left Earth, gain'd Heav'n, which only's gain'd by Grace.

'Twas but ev'n now their Sorrow them forsook,
They'd hardly laid their Mourning by.
From Funeral Tears scarce clear'd their Eye,
And to themselves Garments of Gladness took.
They had with much ado recover'd Breath,
And for a little While took leave of Death,

With Hopes again of seeing Happy Days
Blessing the courteous Waves and Wind
(Confessing that they were most kind)
When they might bring their Offerings of Praise
For the Rich Grant was made, which they did gain,
When Oakes came [illegible] to them [illegible] the Main:
[illegible]
[illegible]
Or as a Man that only pass'd his Way.
Or as a Traveller that's far from Home
Yet thither bends his Course, and hopes to come

'Twas more his Life than Lips that did declare
(As doth the sacred Text report
Of Antient Worthies in this sort)
He saught a City, far 'bove Earth and Air.
A City whose foundations are most sure,
Her Builder, He that ever doth endure.

Thither he mounted born on Angels Armes
Elijah's Coach convey'd him home
Elijah's Lord was his defence
At length he safe arrives freed from all Harms:
Herein the only Difference that we mind
He not Elijah'd left His Dust behind.

His Gain is not our Griefe, his weighty Crown
His Gain is not our Eye's Food
Or that he now enjoy's all Good
It is not this that Bears our Comfort down.
It rather helps to mitigate our Greaf
And to our sinking Spirits gives some reliefe.

But when we look around on every Side
And see the Tears of Harvards Hall.
The dewy Cheeks of Church and all,
(Their Mourning can't those from any hide)
When here We're all Bereft we see, and th' Crown
That once adorn'd our Temples, now cast down.

This turns our Dance to halting, Lames our Mirth
Untunes our Harps, our Hearts doth wound
No Musick's now in any Sound
Our Hopes are cover'd under Clods of Earth.
'Tis this that kill's the Springing[illegible]
Not Heaven but Hearts are now in mourning clad.

The Time doth signalize this fatal Turn.
'Twas when the Father of the Day
In hast was posting on his way
To bury Summer in th' Autumnal Urn.
'Twas when (as loath to see this dismal sight)
Phœbus had coffin'd up himself in Night:

But that which kills to think, which kills to say,
Which is a Dagger to the Heart;
Which wounds and stabs as doth a Dart.
This This (by Mans appointment) was the Day
When in a Figure the Celestial Bread
Some hoped to eat, and drink the Blood was shed.

In Gods Decree, before the World began,
Before the Mountains were begot,
While Earth and Heavens yet were not;
And all the Last: by th' Hand of bloody Man:
Hereby they hop'd their Souls to satisfie
But th' Sovereign Hand Snatch'd all from Mouth and Eye.

A second Mitchel's now laid in the Dust:
Who could have thought that such another
(As if he had not been another)
Should into Mitchels Office Work be thrust?
They had like choice Endowments many Ways.
In naming one, we speak the others Praise.

When [illegible] rare, rich Accomplishments of Mind
His Wisdom, Piety and [illegible]
His thoughtfulness [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
For Universal Learning [illegible] admir'd.
For his rare Skill in Tongues and Arts.
Of Natures Beings Unlock the Hearts.
Whether the like, by searching had acquir'd,
They spi'd the Motions of the heavenly Flames,
They only could not call them all by Names.

The ones admir'd as a most choise Divine
Theology Polemical
And likewise Systematical
He also Casuistical
Adorn'd his Mind, did in his Doctrine shine
And if we give the other his just due,
We'll speak the very same, and yet speak true

But now this Worth lies cover'd under Dust:
(The Hungry Grave devours much good
And yet is never cloid with food)
Until the Resurrection of the Just,
When Spirits and Dust of Saints shall joyn'd remain
Attend their King, who shall for ever reign

And then this blessed Saint among the high'st
Shall have his Kingly, Priestly Throne;
And [illegible] be acquainted then as our
Fit for to have his Seat among the high'st
Unto the Throne of the immortal King,
To whom blest Saints sweet Hallelujahs sing.

We thus Lisp out his Praises but half his due;
If we should think to give I would fill
Large Volumes & quite tire our Quill:
Hyperboles are vsual, but here true;
We leave the rest to Tongues of th' Heavenly Host:
Who preach his Worth, and [illegible] him make their Boast.

Daniel Gookin Junr.

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Upon The
Death
of the reverend, pious, incomparably learned, and faithful
servant of Christ, in the Work of the Ministry

Mr. Urian Oakes,
Pastor of the Church at Cambridge & President of Harvard Colledge;
Who left his Work to recieve his Reward July 24. 1681.
the 50th. Year of his Life.

T'was but the other Day when all that knew
The Wound that made poor Cambridge smart
(a Wound that reach'd her very Heart)
Bewail'd her State, she was forgot by few.
'Twas when (now blessed) Mitchel[1] chang'd his Place
Left Earth, gain'd Heav'n, which only 's gain'd by Grace.

'Twas but ev'n now their Sorrow them forsook,
They'd hardly laid their Mourning by,
From Fun'ral Tears scarce clear'd their Eye,
And to themselves Garments of Gladness took.
They had with much ado recover'd Breath,
And for a little While took leave of Death,

With Hopes again of seeing Happy Dayes
(Blessing the courteous Waves and Wind
Confesing that they were most kind,)
When they might bring their Offerings of Praise
For the Rich Grant was made, which they did gain,
When Oakes came swimming to them through the Main:

He step't ashore, and made a little Stay,
As Men that sojourn for a while
On some remote or foreign Isle;
Or as a Man that only miss'd his Way,
Or as a Traveller that's far from Home,
Yet thither bends his Course, and hopes to come

"For 'Daniel Gookin, H. U. 1669' read 'Cotton Mather, H. U. 1678.'" I have been unable to learn from what source Sibley obtained his information regarding Gookin.

[1] Jonathan Mitchell (H. C. 1647), Oakes's predecessor as pastor of the Cambridge church, died July 9, 1668.

'Twas more his Life then Lips that did declare
(As Doth the sacred Text report
Of Antient Worthies in this sort)
He saught a City, far 'bove Earth and Air,
A City whose Foundations are most sure,
Her Builder's He that ever doth endure.

Thither he mounted born on Angels Armes
Elijah's Coach convey'd him hence,
Elijah's Guard was his defence
Att Length he safe arrives freed from all Harms,
Herein's the only Diff'rence that we mind
He not (Elijah) left His Dust behind.

His Joy is not our Griefe, his weighty Crown
His Gain is not our Envy's Food,
Or that he now enjoy's all Good
It is not this that bears our Comfort down,
It rather helps to mitigate our Grief
And to our sinking Spirits, some Relief.

But when we look around on every side
And see the Tears of Harvards Hall.
The dewy Cheeks of Church and all,
(Their Mourning Vails can't these from any hide)
When how We're all bereft we see, and th' Crown
That once adorn'd our Temples, now cast down.

This turns our Dance to halting, lames our Mirth
Untunes our Harps, our Hearts doth wound,
No Musick 's now in any Sound
Our Hopes are cover'd under Clods of Earth,
'Tis this that kills the springing joys we had
Not Heads, but Hearts, are now in mourning clad.

The Time doth signalize this fatal Turn,
'Twas when the Father of the Day
In hast was posting on his way
To bury Summer in th' Autumnal Urn,
'Twas when (as loath to see this dismal sight)
Phœbus had coffin'd up himself in Night:

But that which kills to think, which kills to say,
Which is a dagger to the Heart,
Which wounds and Stabs as doth a Dart;
This This (by Mans appointment) was the Day
When in a Figure the eternal Bread
Some hope'd to eat, and drink the Blood was shed,

In Gods Decree, before the World began,
Before the Mountains were begot,
While Earth and Heavens yet were not;
And att the last by th' Hand of bloody Man:
Hereby they hop'd their Souls to satisfie,
But th' Soveraign Hand snatch'd, all from Mouth and Eye.

A second Mitchel's now laid in the Dust,
Who could have thought that such another
(As if he had not been another)
Should into Mitchels office Work be thrust:
They had like choice Indowments many Ways,
In naming one, we speak the others Praise.

When th' ones rare, rich Accomplishments of Mind,
His Wisdom, Piety, and Love,
His thoughtfulness of Things above
We speak; the like or same in th' other shined:
If in the scales of Learning they'd been laid
Hard 'twould have been t' have Judged which out weigh'd

For Universal Learning th' ones admir'd,
For his rare Skill in Tongues and Arts,
Of Natures Beings t' unlock the Hearts,
Th' other the like, by searching had acquir'd,
They spi'd the Motions of the heavenly Flames,
They only could not call them all by Names.

The ones admir'd as a most choice Divine
Theology Polemical
And likewise Systematical
As, also Casuistical
Adorned his Mind, did in his Doctrine shine
And if we give the other, his Just due,
Wee'l speak the very same, and yet speak true

But now this Worth lies cover'd under Dust,
(the Hungry Grave devours much good
And yet is never cloid with Food)
Until the Resurrection of the Just,
When Spirits and Dust of Saints shall joyn'd remain
T' attend their King, who shall forever reign.

And then this blessed Saint among the high'st
Shall have his Kingly, Priestly Throne,
And be accounted then as one
Fit for to have his Seat among the high'st
Unto the Throne of the immortal King
To whom blest Saints sweet Hallelujahs sing.

We thus lisp out his Praise, but half his due,
If we should think to give 'twould fill
Large Volumes & quite tire our Quill:
Hyperbolies are seldom (but here) true;
We leave the rest to Tongues of th' Heav'nly Host;
Who preach his Worth, and of him make their Bost.

DANIEL GOOKIN Junr

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1918

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, 21 November, 1918, at half past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved.

The Hon. JAMES PARKER PARMENTER of Arlington was elected a Resident Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

In such a period of abnormal intensity as the present, it is right and proper that many of the institutions of life should catch the prevailing contagion, and re-align their activities to meet the exigencies of the moment. It is equally desirable that a few of our institutions should resist, so far as possible, the confusing tendencies of the times, and should endeavor to perform their share of service by holding true to the purpose for which they were founded.

Your Council reports with a certain degree of pride that the Colonial Society has not allowed itself to be thrown off its centre by the exceptional influences of the past year, but has endeavored to carry on consistently the quiet purpose for which it exists, and has thereby rendered its most valuable immediate service to our deeply perturbed day and generation.

The usual five stated meetings have been held, four of them in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to whom we again acknowledge our debt of gratitude. The April meeting, which was by far the best attended of the year, was held at the home of our Treasurer, Mr. Edes.

Papers of unusual substance and interest have been presented at

these meetings, and have been incorporated in the published Transactions of the Society.

The Editor reports that the last published volume is Volume XVIII. Volume XIX, which contains the Transactions from November, 1916, to November, 1917, both included, is now going through the press, and will be distributed shortly. Volume XX, also a volume of Transactions, has advanced to page 252, containing the meetings up to and including April, 1918. Thus the Transactions are all in plate to the present moment. Volumes XV and XVI, containing the Corporation Records of Harvard College down to 1750, are well advanced, and will, it is hoped, be completed next year. An index to volumes I–XX has been authorized by the Council, and is in course of preparation.

The following gentlemen have been elected to Resident Membership in the Society during the year:

Henry Cabot Lodge,
William Crowninshield Endicott,
George Russell Agassiz,
Frederick Cheever Shattuck;

and to Corresponding Membership:

Frederic Adrian Delano,
Otis Grant Hammond.

Your Council reports with profound sorrow the loss by death of three members of the Society:

Edward Hale, whose brave and gentle spirit greeted life with joy, and death with confidence. He was admired by all for the transparent purity of his nature; and beloved by all for the sympathy which made him mourn for the sorrows of others, while he smiled at his own.

Marcus Perrin Knowlton, whose genial simplicity as a man accentuated his greatness as a jurist; and who by his wisdom and rectitude has made our Massachusetts jurisprudence his own noblest memorial.

Andrew Dickson White, whose exceptional diversities of gifts were controlled by one and the same spirit of generous unstinted service, and who will long be remembered as one of the soundest historians, the wisest diplomats, and the foremost educators that our country has produced.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 18 November, 1918.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 19 November, 1917		$121.11
Admission Fees	$40.00	
Annual Assessments	590.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	16.80	
Sales of the Society's paper	14.98	
Contributions from two members	15.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,100.00	
Interest	4,198.02	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	10,550.00	
Provident Institution for Savings, withdrawn for investment	150.00	16,674.80
		$16,795.91

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$1,079.02	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure	181.00	
Folsom Engraving Company	28.00	
John Ogden, engraving	52.10	
Bigelow, Kennard & Co., plate printing	5.75	
Mary A. Tenney, indexing	100.00	
Andrew Stewart, auditing	20.00	
Clerk hire	141.95	
Library Bureau, index cards	18.25	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light and janitor service	20.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	24.00	
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	686.76	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	11,750.00	
Interest in adjustment	58.05	
Deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings	100.00	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	700.00	
George V. Leverett's Estate, demand loan without interest	750.00	16,764.88
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 18 November, 1918		31.03
		$16,795.91

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$75,950.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston

200.00 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston

$76,150.00

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS		
Cash		$31.03
Mortgages	$75,950.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	200.00	76,150.00
		$76,181.03
CREDITS		
Income		$31.03
Editor's Salary Fund	$300.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	570.00	
General Fund	14,280.00	76,150.00
		76,181.03

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 18 November, 1918

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee[1] appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 18 November, 1918, have attended to their duty and report, that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, Certified Public Accountant.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT
Committee

BOSTON, 19 November, 1918

[1] The Committee consisted of Messrs. Winslow Warren and William Crowninshield Endicott. Mr. Warren's illness prevented him from serving.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. Frederick Jackson Turner presented the following candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

PRESIDENT

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

MARK ANTONY DeWOLFE HOWE

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Frederick John Foakes-Jackson, the Rev. Reuben Kidner, and Messrs. Edwin Hale Abbot, Alfred Lawrence Aiken, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Hermon Carey Bumpus, William Bradford Homer Dowse, John Henry Edmonds, Lucilius Alonzo Emery, Morris Gray, Paul Henry Hanus,

Edward Mussey Hartwell, Albert Andrew Howard, Edward Sylvester Morse, James Parker Parmenter, Henry Goddard Pickering, Arthur Stanwood Pier, Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., Harry Walter Tyler, Arthur Gordon Webster, John Tyler Wheelwright, and Samuel Williston. The PRESIDENT presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1918

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 19 December, 1918, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter accepting Resident Membership had been received from Mr. James Parker Parmenter.

On behalf of Mr. William C. Endicott were communicated (1) a will of Governor John Endicott, in which the date had been crossed out; (2) a deposition of Jeremiah Howchin, taken in 1665; and (3) a memorandum of Howchin's conversation with Governor Endicott concerning the disposal of his estate, dated 29 January, 1665. Howchin's daughter Elizabeth married John Endicott, the eldest son of Governor Endicott. Governor Endicott died on 15 March, 1665, and when his will, dated 2 May, 1659,[1] was offered for probate, it was not accepted and a long controversy ensued.

I

The last will & testament of John Endecott Senno^{r} late of Salem now of Boston made the ffowerth day of the [2] as followeth

I John Endecott being (through the grace & mercie of God) at this

[1] The will of May 2, 1659. is printed in C. M. Endicott's Memoir of John Endecott (1847), pp. 113–116; in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register (1861), xv. 126–128; and, together with various other documents, in Essex Institute Historical Collections (1888), xxv. 137–157. See also Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 151, 279, 289, 311, 387.

[2] The date has been so effectually crossed out as to be illegible.

p^r^sent in health and of sound memorie do make this my last will & testam^t^ as followeth

Imp^r^mis I giue to my deare & loving wiefe Elizabeth Endecott all that my ffarme at Orchard together wth the dwelling house out howses, barnes stable Cowhowses & all other building & appurtenences therevnto belonging, and all the orchard^s^, nurseries of fruite trees gardens fences, meadow & salt marsh therevnto appertayning And all the feeding ground^s^ & arrable & planting ground^s^ there, both that wch is broken vp & that wch is yet to break vp as also all the tymber trees & other trees for wood, together wth all the swampes therevnto belonging or apptayninge during her naturall liefe.

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my moueable good^s^ wch are at Boston in the howse I now dwell in, viz all my bed^s^ bedsteeds bolsters pillowes coverletts blanket^s^ ruggs curtaynes & vallence & all furniture belonging to them of one kinde or another as also my carpetts cuseons &c As also I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my table board^s^ table linning cubbard^s^ cubbard clothes chaires, stooles trunks, chests, or any other good^s^ now in my possession as pewter brasse plate, AnIrons spitts spoones of one kinde & another & all my linnen of what sort soeu^r^

Itm I giue vnto her all my ruther cattle of one kinde or another as also all my sheepe as also all my wearing Clothes wch she may bestow on my children as she shall see good

Itm I giue vnto my said loving wiefe all my books but such as she shall see meet to make vse of her selfe or to bestow on my children for their vse & the rest to be sold to helpe pay my debts

Also I giue vnto her my said wief my howses at Salem & the ground belonging vnto them. & all the good^s^ there wch are myne: leaving to my wief full power to dispose of them as she shall see good.

Itm I giue vnto my said wief all such debts as are due vnto me from the Conntrie or from any pson inhabiting either in England or in this Countrie or else where & I giue vnto her Catta Iland neere Salem wch the Conntry gaue me.

Itm I giue vnto John Endecott my Eldest sonne the farme wch I bought of Henry Chickerin of dedham wch I formerly bestowed on him & all howses & land whither meadow or pasture or land for tillage as it is conveyed to mee in an Indenture dated the wch Indenture is to be deliuered vnto him. & this land wth the Apurtenncēs to be to him & his heires for euer.

Itm I giue vnto him & to my younger sonne Zerobabel the farme called orchard to be pted indefferentlie betwene them after the decease of my said wiefe Moreouer I giue vnto Zerobabel a farme out of the farm lying

vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer contayninge 200 acres whereof fortie acres of meadow wch lyeth before it lying in the playne by the riuer side next to Zacheus Gould^{s} land wch lyeth by the brooke side that runneth into the riuer at the farthest end of the playne.

Itm I giue vnto my said Loving wiefe my eldest mare wch shee was wont to ride one & her foale & one younge mare, the older of the two young ones.

Itm I make my wiefe sole & onely executrix of this my last & will & testament And do desire Elder Pen & Elder Coleborne to be the overseers of this my last will. & if either of them should be called out of the world: that the longest liuer of them hath hereby libertie wth my wiefes consent to choose ano^{t}her overseere vnto him.

And whereas the generall Court hauing granted me the ffourth pte of block Island, I doe hereby bequeath it vnto my said wiefe to helpe pay debts wthall if I dispose not otherwise of it before I dye.

Itm I giue vnto my said twoe sonnes John & Zerobabel the twoe farmes I bought the one of Capt Hawthorne the other of Captaine Trask lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer next adioyning to my farme vpon the said riuer.

Itm I giue all the rest of the Land belonging to my farme vpon the said Ipsw^{ch} riuer wch is not disposed of, to my twoe sonnes John & Zerobabel my eldest sonne to haue a double portion.

Itm I giue vnto John Endecott & Zerobable all that Land wch was giuen me by the twoe Sachmes lying neere vnto Quinebaug to be equaly Devided between them.

Itm I giue to my grand child John Endecott.[1] Tenne pownds wch hee is to receiue when he is xxj yeares of age. And that Land I haue bequeathed vnto my twoe sonnes in one place or another my will is that the longest liuer of them shall enioy the whole. except the Lord send them children to enheritt it after them.

Itm I giue vnto m^{r} Norrice Teacher of Salem xl^{s} to Mr Wilson pastor of Boston xl^{s} & to Mr Norton teacher of that Church xls.

Itm I giue to the poore of Boston 4^{lb} to be disposed of by the deacons of the Church.

Jo: Endecott[2]

[*Endorsed:*]
John Endictes
paper 1665

II

Thee testimony of Jeremy Howchin agead about forty nine yeers testifieth and and sayth: that when John Endicott Eldest Sõn to thee

[1] This John Endicott was a son of Zerobabel Endicott.

[2] Printed from the original will, in the possession of Mr. Endicott.

late Gouernour Mr John Endecott Esquire desired to make sute vnto this deponants daughter thee sayd mr Endicott then Gouernour did promise that if this deponant would giue Consent vnto thee matching of his daughter with his Sōn thee sayd Mr Endicott then Gouernour did promise to beestow vppon this Sōn thee lands formerly Chickrols farmee prsently and to make thee house in good reepayre and to build him A barne and finish it of Thirty foott long: and to leane to it on on side or both ends and sufficiently fence in thee sayd farme to bee setled vppon his son his heires and assignes foreuer and promised to put vppon thee farme on horse and four good Oxen and Six good milch Cowes and Ten sheepe and beestow theem vppon his Sōn: and ffirther thee then Gouernour Endecott did faythfully promise that his sayd Sōn his heires and assignes should posses and Inioy all thee farme Called thee Orchard farme immediatly after thee sayd Gouernours decease only excepting his wife should out liue him: his wife to inioy on halfe of it for time of her naturall life and after heer decease to goe vnto his Sōn John: wheer vppon this deponant gaue his daughter to wife vnto his Son and without that thee match had neeuer been Consented vnto: by this deponant: and this deponant did not in thee least doubt but John Endicott Sōn to thee Gouernour should accordingly Inioy thee Orchard farme:

firther this deponant sayth that about the 29 January last past vppon some speech with thee then Gouernour hee tould this deponont that hee had made noe will that hee aproued of neyther had hee finnished nor diliuered any thing as, A will all though great indeavours by his wife had beñ that way neyther am I Capable to make A will to please my self it must bee my wiues and not my owne sayd hee: what I haue done is no thing in law: I must leaue my estate to bee settled by thee Court: Brother sayd hee I profess vnto you I haue made noe will but doe renounce and revoake what euer shall or may bee brought forth as a will to bee vtterly voyd and of none efeckt: and within A very short space after within less than half quorter of an hour: hee thee then Gour spoak to this deponont and disered mee to bee faythfull vnto him in deliuering A Messuage vnto thee Court declareing his minde and then when hee had manifested his desire and minde: this deponont did take A peece of paper and did wright it downe: and after that it was writt it was read vnto him and hee sayd it was his minde I had writt rightly and thanked this deponant: which wrighting is now in Court and nothing but thee truth in it it bearr date thee 29 Jenua 1664.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, XV B. 95.

III

Brother Howchin I pray diliuer this messuage vnto thee Court wher as they Com to settle my estate after my decease out of this world and bee you faithfull in it if God giue you life for I am not like to Continue long in this world: Tell the Magestrates that I am not Capaple to make my will my self for Reasons best knownn to my selfe I would willingly liue that little time I haue to live in peac which is not like to bee long I haue made noe will that I aproue of neyther haue I deliuered any in on respeckt or another as my will to this day and doe declare all that bee pʳtended to be my will I say I doe renounce and disowne and to be of none effect: I desire matters may bee setled according to the worde of God and this Court heer established: I loue my deer wife shee haue taken paynes with mee not a little I desire respect may bee vnto heer I desire shee may haue my orchard farme which is fiue hundred acres for time of heer life only eight acres of sault meadow to bee taken from it and layd to my sōn John for she my wife making noe spoyle or waste and I would haue my wife haue all my Cattle household goods and monies and debts shee paying my debts only what goods weer brought by my daughter into thee house is my daughter to Inioy and take away and Two. horses I would haue my Two Sons haue I haue giuen my Sōn John on meere this winter and I would haue him take his Choyse of on more and my Sōn Zerubbabell Another and I doe Charge that my Sōn John may haue a double portion of all my estate Confirmed vppon him his heires and assignes foreuer Chickerols farme to bee aprezsed and 8 acres of medoe and Zerubobels land to be apʳised and that at Salim and what my sōn Johns went by estimation to bee as much more in vallue as that I haue giuen to Zerubbobell to bee made good to John and his heires and assigns foreuer hee is the son of my strent[?] and haue taken paynes with mee and after my wifes decease my Two: Sōns to haue the orchard farme my Sōn John Two thirds and Zerubbabell on third to be diuided and 2 thirds to John and his heires and assigns foreuer and on third to Zerrubbobell his heires and assigns foreuer this aboue written was the Desire and words of John Endicott Esquir and Gouner and written in his pʳsence and read vnto him and hee answered I thanke you good bro: it is my desire you haue writt rightly my minde this taken this 29 January 1664. wittnes

and my Son John to haue what books that hee desireth for Phissick and Chirurgery

JER HOWCHIN [1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, xv B. 96. Other documents relating to the disputed will are in the same volume, pp. 96a–106.

Mr. Stephen W. Phillips gave an account of Governor Endicott's real estate holdings in Essex County, including the Orchard Farm of three hundred acres in the present town of Danvers, where the Governor lived for many years, and the River Farm of five hundred acres along the Ipswich River, mostly in the town of Topsfield. Mr. Phillips commented on the interest the Governor took in fruit trees, and stated that the Governor's early residence in Salem was in a house in the present Washington Street that probably belonged to the Colony or to the Massachusetts Bay Company.

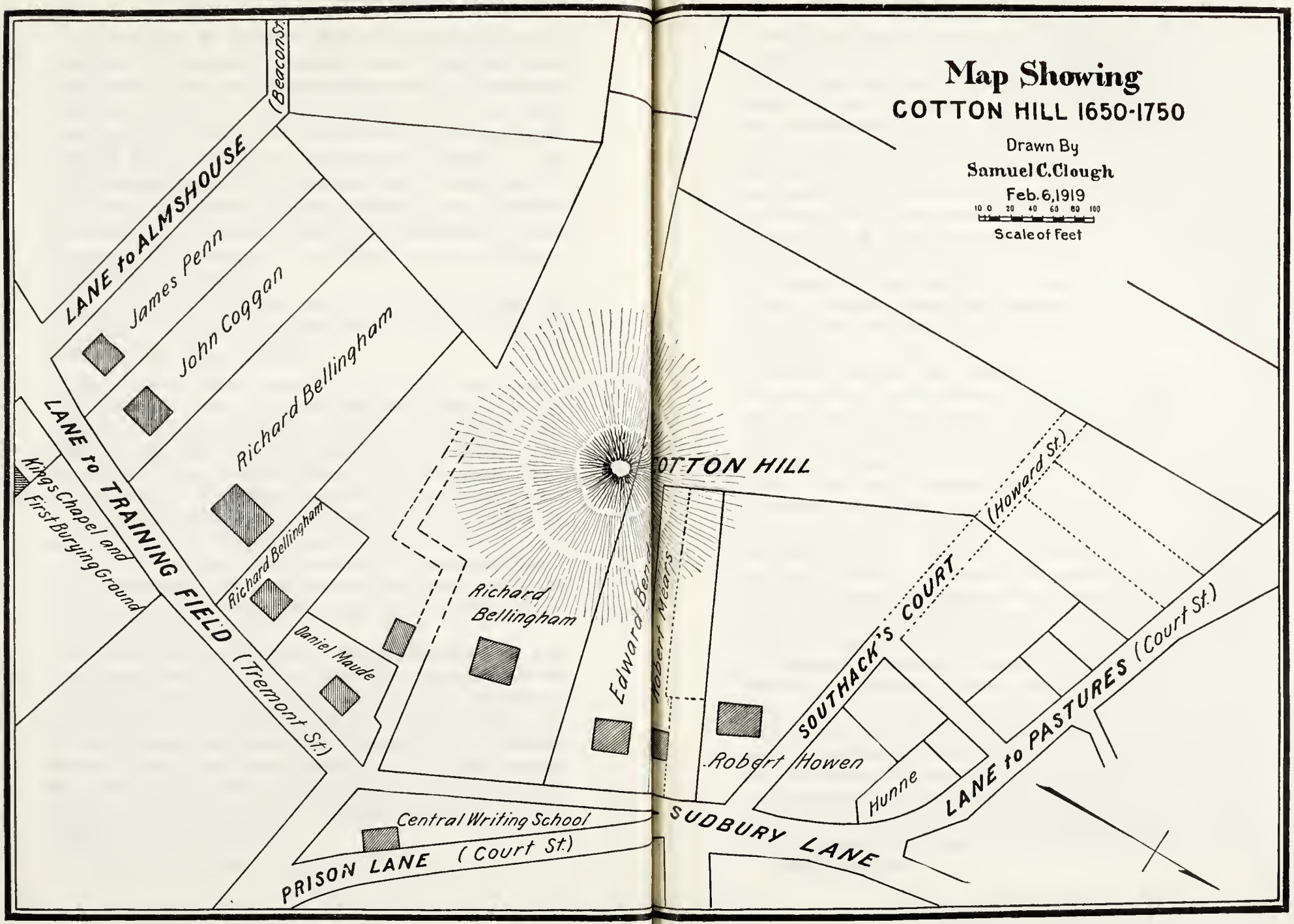
Mr. Samuel C. Clough exhibited a map showing Cotton Hill and adjacent estates from 1650 to 1750,[1] and made the following remarks:

I have prepared a small map of the section of the town of Boston which included the home of Governor Endicott. This map is of no particular date, and represents a period of about one hundred years, beginning with 1650; it might be called a composite map, as the properties are shown on general lines and are not consistent as to any specific time. It comprises that part of Boston formerly known as Cotton Hill and Sudbury Street, which at the present time are called, respectively, Pemberton Square and Tremont Row.

Cotton Hill was one of the three peaks of Trimountain (Beacon Hill), which embraced the area between West Cedar, Beacon, Tremont, Court and Cambridge Streets, and has some bearing on the home of Governor Endicott.

In settling Boston, the Winthrop colony established the town centre at the head of what is now State Street, around which were grouped not only such buildings as were required for the conduct of town affairs, but the shops and homes of the leading merchants. As the town increased in business and population, this neighborhood was called upon to meet the new conditions and as a result, not only were these estates divided and subdivided, but shops and more dwellings appeared along such thoroughfares as had heretofore been bordered only by large estates.

[1] The map is here reproduced.



ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Within one block of the Town House we find a section of the town comprising about ninety acres, which remained unchanged for a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years after the date of settlement. This was Beacon Hill. No street passed entirely through this area until the latter part of the eighteenth century, and not over twenty houses were within its boundaries at any one time. The size and height of the hill which covered this area offered too great an obstacle to the further development of that section of Boston, and it remained for the nineteenth century to lay it out as we know it to-day. Thus, with few exceptions, the estates covering the Hill were not only large, but long retained their original boundaries. It is therefore not surprising that these estates were held or soon acquired by wealthy people and prosperous merchants, who could afford to build such luxurious homes and establishments as the times permitted.

Governor Endicott was a tenant and not the proprietor of the house in which he lived during his residence in Boston. He was, therefore, free to choose his place of abode in a neighborhood which was in keeping with the dignity of his office. Its location includes the property which to-day is numbered 14 to 19 Tremont Row, being a part of one of the Woolworth Stores, between Howard Street and Pemberton Square, and was originally Edward Bendall's lot No. 2 in the Book of Possessions, — "a house and garden together with two acres of land." This was an L shaped lot of land having a frontage of 103 feet on Tremont Row, extending westerly, up the hill, 614 feet, thence northerly to Court Street, on which it bounded 170 feet. Bendall came with Winthrop in 1630 and established himself at the head of the Town Cove on the site of the present Johnson Fish Market at the corner of Faneuil Hall Square. He was one of the first enterprising men of Boston, and prior to 1636 had built his wharf, crane, and warehouse at the head of the Cove which for many years bore his name. The promiscuous manner in which he mortgaged his holdings, however, led his creditors to call him to account and probably resulted in his being obliged to dispose of his property on Cotton Hill. This was sold to David Yale, merchant of Boston, in 1645.[1] Yale placed his affairs in the hands of his attorneys, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Lake, and others, who conveyed the estate

[1] Suffolk Deeds, ii. 48.

to Hezekiah Usher in 1653 "for the use of Captain John Walle of London, marriner." [1] Neither Yale nor Walle was what might be considered a resident inhabitant of the town, and it was during their ownership that Endicott held the offices of Governor and Deputy-Governor, and became tenant of the Bendall property.

It is unfortunate that prior to 1700 so few descriptions are to be found of the homes of prominent citizens of Boston, but we may safely assume that Endicott's establishment was suitably furnished as befitted a Governor of the Colony. Its location not only commanded a fine view of town and harbor, but was central enough to enable the Governor conveniently to discharge the duties of his office.

In 1678 Walle's heirs (his widow and son) conveyed the estate to Edward Shippen, "late in the tenure or occupation of his tenants or assignees," [2] which clearly shows that the premises had been leased to other parties. Edward Shippen was one of the most enterprising merchants of Boston, but being a Quaker removed to Philadelphia, where he might more peacefully enjoy his faith. He was one of the proprietors of the Quaker Meeting House in Brattle Square, and besides his house on Cotton Hill he owned a home on the south side of State Street, a large wharf below Merchants Row, a house on the westerly side of Washington Street, and another in North Street. Shippen disposed of nearly all his property in Boston prior to 1702. Two lots, each 48 feet wide, fronting on Court Street, were sold out of the Cotton Hill estate to Benjamin Fitch and Andrew Mariner, and in 1702 the remainder of this lot was sold to Cyprian Southack.[3]

In 1704 Captain Cyprian Southack served in an expedition against the French and Indians, and in 1717 managed the affairs of Governor Shute in connection with the wreck of the pirate fleet at East-

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[1] Suffolk Deeds, ii. 48. [2] xi. 195.

[3] Suffolk Deeds, xxxviii. 56; xv. 167. Mr. John H. Edmonds kindly furnishes the following receipt (Massachusetts Archives, xlviii. 148):

Recd of m^r^ Richard Russell ye 12 of May 1676 one hundred & thirty thre pounds of Indigoe att 3^s^ a ℔: which is in part of ye Arears of Rent due for a house in Boston y^t^ Governor Endicott Liued in I say Recd as atturney To John Bell and Susen his wife of London } 20–00–

℔ Edward Shippen

ham. He contributed part of his land for the extension of the present Howard Street, which was first known as Southack's Court. In 1725 Southack sold the front part of the estate on Tremont Row to John Jekyll, one of the early Port Collectors of Boston,[1] whose heirs conveyed it to Dr. James Lloyd in 1768.[2] In 1798 Dr. Lloyd is listed with quite a large mansion for the times, it being valued at $12,000.

The northerly neighbor of Bendall was Robert Mears, who died in 1667, devising his land "as adjoining to the late Governor Endicott." Part of this lot was sold to John Staniford, who conveyed it to the Rev. Henry Harris of King's Chapel, who sold it to James Pemberton, who gave his name to Pemberton Square and to Pemberton Hill. The portion of the estate fronting on Tremont Row was in the possession of Dr. Samuel Danforth in 1798, and was valued at $8,000.

The two lots originally making the corner of Court Street were held by Robert Howen and Anne Hunne. In 1662 and 1663[3] the sons John and Israel Howen conveyed to Simon Lynde with a reference to Governor Endicott as a next door neighbor but, in reality, a neighbor one lot removed.

Lynde also acquired the Hunne lot from Thomas Boyden in 1662,[4] a corner lot known as the "Spring House." Lynde's heirs laid out the present Howard Street, twenty feet wide, and re-adjusted the lines of the estate, part of which fell to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of George Pordage. Their daughter Hannah married James Bowdoin, father of Governor Bowdoin. The portion of this estate south of Howard Street came into the hands of Theodore Lyman, and was valued at $13,500 in 1798.

The southerly neighbor of Bendall was the Rev. John Cotton with "a house and garden about 1½ acres." Cotton by will, in 1653, left to his son Seaborn a portion of the estate and "the house which Henry Vane built whilst he sojourned with me." This was confirmed to Seaborn by the other heirs in 1664,[5] and by him sold to John Hull, mint-master. Nicholas Paige purchased the residue in 1677,[6] bounded north in part on Simon Lynde "and in part on the house and land where Governor Endicott last dwelt." This was also

[1] Suffolk Deeds, xxxviii. 98.
[2] cxiv. 137.
[3] iv. 61, 141.
[4] iv. 61.
[5] vi. 233.
[6] x. 107–108.

purchased by John Hull in 1682,[1] thus bringing the Cotton estate together. Hull died in 1683, and the estate fell to Hannah, wife of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall. A frequent and natural mistake has been made in referring to the Cotton Hill house as the *home* of Judge Sewall, in an attempt to explain various references made in his Diary. Had these references been thoroughly investigated, it would have taken no stretch of the imagination to locate definitely Judge Sewall in the *former* mansion of John Hull on what is now Washington Street, on the site of the Jordan Marsh store. On this lot he built his new mansion in which he died in 1730.

The house on Cotton Hill fell to Judith Cooper as her share, and by her heirs it was conveyed to William Vassall in 1758.[2] In 1790 it was the property of Patrick Jeffrey, listed in 1798 as "a wooden house, kitchen, barn and green house" valued at $22,500.

The small lot south of Cotton was originally owned by Daniel Maude, schoolmaster. Robert Howard, notary public, whose name appears on many deeds, occupied it during the latter part of the seventeenth century. It was owned by James Bowdoin in 1798, and valued at $5,000. It is now covered by the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others.

The next two lots originally belonged to Governor Richard Bellingham, whose home lot[3] is now traversed by the *present* Cornhill. The smaller one was sold to the Rev. John Davenport, minister of the First Church, whose heirs conveyed it to the Deacons of the First Church of Christ in Boston in 1693.[4] It remained the property of the Church until 1787, when it was purchased by Sampson Read and in 1798 was valued at $5,000.

The remaining Bellingham lot was sold to Humphrey Davy in 1663.[5] It was purchased by Andrew Faneuil in 1710,[6] and on his death in 1737 it came into the hands of his nephew Peter Faneuil. At the time of his death, in 1742, the estate was appraised at £12,375. William Phillips purchased this estate in 1791 when, according to the Tax List of 1798, it was valued at $18,000.

The southerly neighbor of Bellingham was John Coggan. This estate was the home of the Rev. John Oxenbridge, another minister

[1] Suffolk Deeds, xii. 216.
[2] xci. 76.
[3] See our Publications, vi. 93, 94.
[4] Suffolk Deeds, xvi. 133.
[5] xxv. 166.
[6] xxv. 168.

of the First Church, from 1671 until his death in 1673, and in 1683 it became the property of the Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton.[1] In 1707 it was conveyed to the Rev. Samuel Myles,[2] whose executors sold it to George Cradock in 1728.[3] In 1733 it was bought by John Jeffries and is listed in 1798 as valued at $4,000.

The lot on the corner of Beacon Street, opposite King's Chapel, was originally owned by Elder James Penn of the First Church, who devised it to his nephew Colonel Penn Townsend. After passing through the hands of various parties it became the property of the eminent merchant Samuel Eliot, and was valued at $8,000 in 1798..

This brings us to the end of old Tremont Row, and it is needless to add that Governor Endicott's neighbors are sufficiently well known to establish the character of the locality.

Mr. Julius H. Tuttle exhibited a copy of The Whole Booke of Psalmes, published at London in 1621, bearing on the title-page the autograph signature of "Jo: Endecott his booke." [4]

On behalf of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham was communicated a copy of a letter, dated 20 October, 1663, now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, signed by Governor Endicott "in the name and by the appointment of the General Court," to the Rev. Dr. John Owen, "to second the Invitation and Call" of the First Church in Boston "unto your Self to come over and help us." [5]

Mr. William C. Lane exhibited two tracts relating to Governor Endicott's time now in the Harvard College

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[1] Suffolk Deeds, xii. 356. [2] xxiv. 98. [3] xlii. 284.

[4] The book was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the heirs of John Pickering, October 29, 1846, and has inscribed on a fly-leaf in front the following entry:

This volume was formerly Gov[r] *Endecott's*, as appears by his autograph on the titlepage. It was bought at an auction, in Salem, & presented to me by John S. Appleton Esq[r] of that place. The binding was almost destroyed; but in putting on the present binding we took great pains to imitate the original as nearly as possible.

Jn[o] Pickering

[5] The letter is printed in Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 98.

Library: "The Humble Petition and Address of the General Court to Charles II, in 1660," and Edward Burrough's "A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecution and Martyrdom of the People of God, called Quakers, in New England for the Worshiping of God," London, 1660.

Mr. Tuttle also made the following communication:

Judge Sewall wrote on Sabbath Day, December 19, 1686, "Tho Baker told me Sir Edmund was below," and on the next day noted that "Governour Andros comes up in a Pīnace, touches at the Castle, Lands at Govr Leveret's wharf[1] aboute 2 P. M." Andros soon appeared at the Town House in "a Scarlet Coat Laced," read his commission, and gave oaths to the Councillors. Four days later a novel sight met the people's gaze when "About 60 Red-Coats are brought to Town;" and the next day the "Governour goes to the Town-House to Service Forenoon and Afternoon, a Red-Coat going on his right hand and Capt. George on his left."[2]

Andros, as Governor of the Territory and Dominion of New England, held a Commission, issued June 3, 1686, which included Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Maine, New Hampshire, and the Narragansett Country. While the people suffered the continuance of the Andros régime in silence, Sewall's entry of January 7, 1687, in his Diary, in the light of the suppressed popular feeling, is rather interesting. He wrote, "I went to Capt. Winthrop's upon business, and the Governour happen'd to be there, Capt. Winthrop[3] had me up to him, so I thankfully acknowledged the protection and peace we enjoyed under his Excellencie's Government."[4] Did the judge mean what he said? Nearly a year of events passed, which often called for new sacrifices on the part of individuals and institutions before Andros began to exercise his further powers. Sewall wrote on —

Wednesday, Oct. 26. [1687] His Excellency with sundry of the Council, Justices and other Gentlemen, four Blew-Coats, two Trumpeters, Sam.

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[1] Leverett's Wharf was a little to the south of the then lower end of what is now State Street.

[2] Diary, i. 159–163.

[3] Wait Winthrop (1642–1717).

[4] Diary, i. 164.

Bligh one, 15 or 20 Red Coats with small Guns and short Lances in the Tops of them, set forth for Woodcocks, in order to goe to Connecticut to assume the Government of that place.[1]

At the Council meeting the day before, an order was passed "That the Treasurer [John Usher] doe take care to defray the expence and charge of his Excellencyes journey to Connecticut." [2] The following papers are copied from manuscripts in the possession of Mr. William A. Jeffries, who kindly allows their publication. The second paper is not signed, and was probably kept at the time for Mr. Usher.

An Acc° of the Charge for mounting fiveteen Grenadiers with Cloaks; Boots; Bridles Saddles and huseing &c[a] Detached the 26th of October 1687 from the Two foot Companyes (in his Ma[ties] Pay) for to make a Guard to Attend his Excellency to Connetticott

		£:s:d	£:s:d
For Eighty Two yrds ½ of Reed Cloth for Cloaks at 7s 6d ℔ yard		30:18:9	
For Twenty Eight yards of Blew Flanell and one ps perpetuana for Lyning		03:14:0	
For Two pounds of Thread	0: 6:0	3:6:0	
For makeing 15 Cloaks at 4s each	3: 0:0		
For Seven Bowlstered Sadles Curpers[3] Girths and Seven male Girths at 20s each	7: 0:0	14:14:0	
For Eight full Scirted Sadles Curpers Girths and Male Girths at 19s 3d each	7:14:0		
For 15 Collors	1: 1:8	3: 6:8	72: 2:2
For 15 Bridles Bitts head stall and Rains	1:15:6		
For 15 Links Buttons and Rings	3: 9:6		
For 15 paire of Boots at 12s ℔ paire	9:00:0	9:18:9	
For 15 pr: of Spurrs	0:18:9		
For 15 huseings at 6s each		4:10:0	
For mending and waxing 15 pr of Boots now Lodged in the Stores		1:00:0	
For mending and Stuffing the Sadles now Lodged in y[e] Stores		0:14:0	
Errors Excepted Boston 24th Decem[br] 1687			

Allowance is humbley craved for this Acc° amounting to Seventy Two pounds Two Shillings and Two pence being disbursed for his Ma[ties] Service According to Order by

FLORANCE KANE

[1] Diary, i., 193.

[2] Council Records, ii. 149.

[3] "Curper" is an obsolete form of crupper.

Boston 28 Decembr 168⅞

Received these of John Usher Esqr Treasurer and receiver Genll of his Matics Revenue in New England the sume of Seventy two pounds Two shillings and two pence in full of the within mentioned Bill I say recd by me

FLORENCE KANE

[*Endorsed:*]

Boston in New:England
the 24th of December 168⅞
The Charge of mounting 25
Granadiers with Cloaks, Boots,
Bridles Saddles & huseing
is 72:2:2

Octobr

26.	Expences [1] in bateing at Dedham	£2	6
	drink at Medfeild		6
	a guid Medfeild		3
	George Monck to buy pvisions	1	10
	suger	2	2 [2]
	Guid for ye Baggage		3
	35 qts 1 pint wine [at Woodcock's]	2:13:3	
	33 gals Syder	1: 2:4	
	beer		13 4
	Oates	1: 4:	
	Wine 12 bottles		18:
	Oates	1: 2:	
	Victuals for 42 men & horses	3: 5:	
	Wine brandy & Syder		6:6
	Oates		1:
	Trucking cloath & bareskins		14:
	15 Souldiers Supers		7:6
	Oates		10:
	Syder & Breakfast hay &c	1: 4:2	
		18	9 1
27	guid to providence		6:
	expences at Providence	1:10:	
	Brandy	1: 0:0 [3]	
	Guid to Naragansett		7:6
		2.	3.6
	Servts	1	[3]

[1] With this account, compare an account of expenses of a journey from Boston to New Jersey about 1688, in our Publications, xix. 28–32.

[2] Entry after footing was made. [3] Entries after footings were made.

28	Smiths & bills	9:
		5. 14[1]
	Victualls &c Sider for man & horse at Richensons	6:16:
	Servants	1: 0:0[1]
	Stonton's Bill	1:11:0[1]
	3 guids	1: 4:
		8. 9
29	1 guid from Stoningtown to Norwich	15:
	post to Co[l] Winthrop[2]	6:
	4 b[ls] Syder	3: 5:
	Sheep	2:15:
	1 C Beife	16:8
	60[l] porke	15:
	Fowls	1: 7:
	Servts	1: 0:0[1]
	dressing &c	3: –:
	Keeping y[e] horses	1:19:4
	Wine & Rum	1: 7:
	Smith for nailes	5:
	breakfast & maid	16:
	Constable for horses	3:10:
	post from Stonington	15.
	guid from Norwich	15:
		22. 7. 0
31	2 Foot Compa[s] at Hartford	4:—:
	Troop	1:10:
	Oates	8:
	Ferrige	1:10:
	Hinchmans expeces to Narragansett	15:
	do	4[1]
	M[r] Fowl	6:6
	George Monk to buy pvisions	4: 2:
	3 guids from Norwich	2: 4:
	Oates	10:
	Fetching y[e] acts from Springfeild	10:
	Messenger to Capt Winthrop	6:
	given	2: 0:[1]
	Smiths bill	1: 1:9

[1] Entries after footings were made. [2] John Winthrop (1638–1707).

Mr Masons west & fowls Horses			19:
provender			11:
post to C L			14:
Richenson for his horse		1:	3:[1]
Wm Hodson		5:	
for horse shoes			11:
Nichols & Billigs Horses & Smith		3:	4:
mending sadles			7:
Mr Davy		5:	
Souldiers Lodging		7:	
Gilberts bill & Servats		29:	5:
Deputys diner		6:	12:
		78.	8. 3
		129	16 10
Treasurer & 14 more at coming home		9:	4
pd p Capt Davis Dirn			
at Serjat Rockfords			5:
at walling ford 40 men and Horses		2:	15:
Expenses at N Haven		4:	10:
given		1:	0:0
Gilford Compa		1:	—:
Strattford Ferrey 46 Horses		1:	—:
2 days & 2 nights at Fairfield		13:	—:
given		1:	10:0[1]
3 posts to woodberry & Stanford			13:
Major Gold for Indean			10:
Marshall at Fairfield		1:	—:
Ferrige at Fairfield		1:	—:
at Milford		1:	9:
New Haven for horse		3:	18:
given		1:	[1]
Compa N. Haven		1:	14:
Strawbridge. post Grenwich			14:
Ferige at N. haven		1:	3:
Expenes at Branford			10:
Gilford ordinary		1:	10:
Gilford Compa			10:
Compa at Killingsworth			10:
Guner Seabrook		1:	—:

[1] Entries after footings were made.

	Seabrook ordinary & 3 other places	4:17:
	given	1: 0:[1]
	3 men for carying horses to Seabrook ferry	14:
	at Seabrook Ferry for 41 horses	1:10:
	at lime Ferry	13:
	Marshall Graves	10:
	Capt Syls at lime	1:15:
	N London Compª	1:
	Serjaᵗ Capman & Robᵗ Lord attendance from Seabrook	18:
	given	1: 0:0[1]
10.	Jnº Plumb N. London 30 horses & entertainment	4:10:
	yᵉ Smith at N. London	6:
	For Ferrige	1: 3:
	On this Side N. London	11:
	Mistick Ferry	16:
	at Stantons	5:
	Richensons of Stoning town	5:16:
	given	1:10:[1]
	at Daniel Stantons	10:
	Expence Colo bulls	1:10:
	pilott from Narragansett to Stoneton	5:
	Rhoad Island Compª	1:
	Capt Pain Road Island	2:
	Mays accoᵗ at Rhoad Island	4:12:
	Smiths bill	18:
	Sadlers bill	5:
	given	2: 0:0[1]
	portsmº Compª	10:
	Coˡˡ Stanford 4 sloops from Boston Neck to Roed Island	3
	Capᵗ Pellham for horses	12:
	Rhoad Island Ferry	1: 5:
	Indean Queen	12:
	Bristoll Compª	1:—:
	Jabez Holland Bristoll	1:4:
	given	1: 0:[1]
	Mʳ Williams	9:
	Seaconck Compª	10:
	—— ordinary & horses at Bull	2: 8:

[1] Entries after footings were made.

Att Red bull	11:
for Mr Harris	6:
Woodcocks bill	8:—:
John Perry for post & attendance	5 —:
Consta^{t} of Cambridge for 3 horses	4:15:
Saml Bligh Trumpeter & expenes	5:12:
Nathan^{l} Dyer for bringing horses to Boston & hire 3 horses	2:—:
R^{d} Peacock attendance & disbursem^{ts}	2: 4:
John Perry for Ferrige of Sundry horses	12:
Jeremy Bumsted his horse	1:10:
Hawkins for Foxcrofts horse & keeping	2:—:
p^{d} Arnold for post to Co^{l} Winthrop	15:
p^{d} Allford ye Smith for horse shoes &c	1: 3:
p^{d} Chevers for his horse & ferrige	1:13:
p^{d} Natt Dyer for keeping Stevens mare and bringing down	18:
p^{d} Mr Stoughtons bill to Stanton &c	1:11:
p^{d} Consta^{l} Lyn for 3 horses	4:10:
p^{d} Majo^{r} Henchman for Pilott to Mr Tyng	4:
p^{d} Joshua Attwater for 2 horses	3:
p^{d} Woodmancy for his mare	1:10:
p^{d} Tho: Child & Jno Blake for 2 horses	3:—:
p^{d} Natt Dyer for Luscombs mans horse	7:6
p^{d} James Lowden & Gilbert Cole for 2 horses	2:10:
p^{d} Aron Boarman shoeing Cambridg horses	3:6
p^{d} Natt Huttchenson & Tho: Foskett 2 horses	3
p^{d} Joshua Broadbent for his mare	1:10:
p^{d} for 72^{l} of suger at 7^{d}	2: 2
p^{d} Tho. Hall of Cambridg his horse killed	5:—:
Expences at Dedham	3:17:
Stephen Richensons bill	8:15:
Edward Dor Consta^{l} Roxbery 7 horses	10:—:
Edward Gouge for his horse	1:—:
Wm Hudson his horse killed	7:—:
Tho Yardly his horse	1:10:
George Monck	10:—:
Seth Perry for his horse	1:10:
Jno Bennett keeping horses	14: 1:2
Cash Brandy to Major Smith	5:14:
Smith Winnesiett for ferige horses to Salem	10:

Jn° West Esqr his bill of disbursem^ts on ye Journey	5:	10:
Jn° Woodcock for hire of his horse		10:
Keeping bringing down & Fowls mare	1:	

The entry above "Fetching the Acts from Springfeild," is probably explained by the following paper from the same source. John West, Randolph's Deputy Secretary, apparently was on his way to the Governor with the necessary public papers, and had reached Hartford at about the same time.

An Account of Charges & Expences on my Journey to Connecticott & Severall disbursm^ts there by his Exce^lls Ord^r

1687		vizt
Octob^r 26	To Jos. Carroll for Hyer of a Horse . . . . . £	:16:
	Expenses on ye Road & att Marleburow	4:
27	for a horse & Guide from Marleburow to Worcester	5:
	Expenses att Worcester	7:
	Att Squabague	1:
28	for a horse & Guide from Worcester to Springfield	10:
	Expenses & Ferriage	6:
	for a horse & Guide from Springfield to Hartford,	10:
	To Mr Bridgham who brought my Portmantle to Hartford	8:
Nov. [ ]	To ye Messenger sent from New Haven to Greenwich	6:
	To ye Comp^a att Stratford	1: 8:
8	To Marshall Morris for Goeing to fairfield . . .	6:
	To 2 Indians	3:
		£5:10:

JOHN WEST

The Andros party, of sixty or more, returned to Boston on November 16; but before leaving Hartford Andros and his Council met on November 1, swore in Governor Robert Treat and Secretary John Allyn, as members, and went to Fairfield to swear in the military officers of each county, and the customs officers of the various seaports. The route to Hartford had been from Boston to Dedham, then through Medfield to Wrentham, to Woodcocks four miles beyond, to Providence, to Narragansett, to Stonington, Norwich,

and Hartford: and the return by New Haven, Seabrook, New London, Stonington, and so on through Dedham to Boston.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE communicated the following —

NOTE ON WINTHROP'S COURSE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

Inasmuch as I became informed of considerable of the historical material in my communications "A Forgotten Prime Meridian" [1] and "Supplement to 'A Forgotten Prime Meridian'" [2] after my communication "Winthrop's Course Across the Atlantic," [3] I wish to submit a change in the sketch of the voyage accompanying the last named paper.

On the sketch there is a direct line from the position of the ships on April 24th to that on April 30th (in the year 1630). This was because I found it difficult to locate the positions on the days between. But in view of the importance of the fact that the ships probably passed the meridian of St. Michael's, then regarded by most English navigators as the Prime Meridian, during this interval, I have gone over Winthrop's statements with some care and submit a revised sketch which I think cannot vary to any great extent from the course sailed. I have laid on the sketch now submitted the meridian of the island of St. Michael's.

Owing to southwesterly followed by northwesterly winds the course of the ships was generally northwesterly the 25th, 26th, and 27th of April and southwesterly thereafter until the 30th. These southwesterly winds would temporarily prevent the ships from continuing in the southwesterly course to a point near the intersection of the parallel of 43° 15′ with the meridian of St. Michael's; but owing, apparently, to the northwesterly winds the latitude of 44° was reached on the 30th.

[1] December, 1909, Publications, xii. 382–398.
[2] January, 1911, Publications, xiii. 226–234.
[3] December, 1908, Publications, xii. 191–203.

SKETCH TO ACCOMPANY
NOTE ON THROP'S COURSE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC
BY HORACE E. WARE, DECEMBER 1918
Engr for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

JANUARY MEETING, 1919

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 January, 1919, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on the fourth of January, of FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE, a Resident Member.

Mr. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN of Cambridge, and Mr. HENRY GODDARD PICKERING of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

In response to an invitation from the Council, Miss Alice Bache Gould, a daughter of the late Dr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, the first President of the Society, was present, and described her work among the archives of Spain in searching for material relating to Christopher Columbus.[1]

[1] A paper and some documents communicated at this meeting will be printed in vol. xxi.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1919

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 February, 1919, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death of two Resident Members — HORACE EVERETT WARE on the twenty-seventh of January, and the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER on the seventeenth of February.

He also reported that letters accepting Resident Membership had been received from Mr. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN and Mr. HENRY GODDARD PICKERING.

Mr. ROBERT GOULD SHAW of Wellesley was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Ware, and read the following paper which had been prepared by Mr. Ware for presentation at this meeting:

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE PERIODICAL CICADAS

In my Note on the Periodical Cicadas,[1] I made reference to The Periodical Cicada by C. L. Marlatt, now Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Entomology, United States Department of Agriculture.[2] This is a comprehensive and lucid treatise on this most interesting

[1] Pp. 104–108, above.

[2] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Entomology, Bulletin No. 71 (1907).

insect. The Bulletin contains 181 pages and has maps and other illustrations.

There are two races of periodical cicadas, — the seventeen-year race and the thirteen-year race. In the Bulletin the broods occurring in the different years are severally designated by Roman numerals. Taking the different broods together, this cicada is known to occur pretty generally within the United States east of Central Kansas and north of the peninsular portion of Florida. No broods, however, have been found in northern New England except a doubtful record in Vermont, nor west of the Mississippi above Iowa. Two maps showing the distribution of the broods of the 13-year race and the 17-year race respectively, are here reproduced facing page 282 from pages 36 and 37 of the Bulletin. The 13-year broods are mostly in the Southern States, the bulk of them in the States adjoining the Mississippi River from northern Missouri and mid-Illinois southward. Very few of the 17-year broods are found south of Tennessee and North Carolina. Swarms belonging to a single brood in some cases inhabit widely separated areas.

I have received a letter from Mr. Marlatt under date of November 8, 1918, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of my Note on the Periodical Cicadas. In the course of his letter Mr. Marlatt says:

> The record made by Winthrop in 1648 very probably has no connection with the Plymouth swarm; at any rate, the inference apparently is much stronger that it refers to Brood XI which occurs chiefly along the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The record which you quote was unknown to me or I should have suggested the assignment to this record rather than to the appearance of the Plymouth brood of 1651.
>
> The correctness of the date of the first appearance of the Plymouth brood in 1633 seems to be well supported by the evidence which you have produced. In that event, subsequent to that period there must have been some extraordinary climatic condition of excessive cold which belated this brood in one of its 17-year periods one year, giving it for that period an 18-year cycle. It is on the theory of such retardations and accelerations that the periodical Cicada has been broken up into the numerous broods which now characterize it, and hence this particular evidence is significant and interesting and also corroborative of this theory.

The Plymouth brood or swarm comes under Brood XIV in Marlatt's Periodical Cicada. I quote the following from his account of that brood:

No published records have been found of the later appearances [than 1633–1634] prior to 1789, but definite records have been made of each return since that year. An interesting account of the last appearance (1906) of the Cicada in Plymouth County is given in a report received from Martha W. Whitmore, Chiltonville, Plymouth, Mass. The near-by Barnstable colony was also most abundant last year (1906) all along Cape Cod. As reported by Miss Grace Avery, of Washington, D. C., the ground along the coast was covered with the dead bodies and the trees in the forests were all fired and brown from the egg-laying of the females.

Prof. H. T. Fernald reports (letter September 26, 1906) the distribution in Plymouth and Barnstable counties as in the following towns: Plymouth, Wareham, Bourne, Falmouth, Sandwich, Mashpee, Barnstable, Yarmouth, and Dennis, being most abundant in the three first named.

This brood, like Brood VI, covers a very wide range, extending from Massachusetts westward to Illinois, with important groups of swarms extending from Pennsylvania southward into northern Virginia and in the Lower Alleghenies, covering portions of North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, etc., and in the Ohio Valley region, covering especially southern Ohio, Indiana, central Kentucky, and western West Virginia.[1]

The next appearance of Brood XIV is expected in 1923.

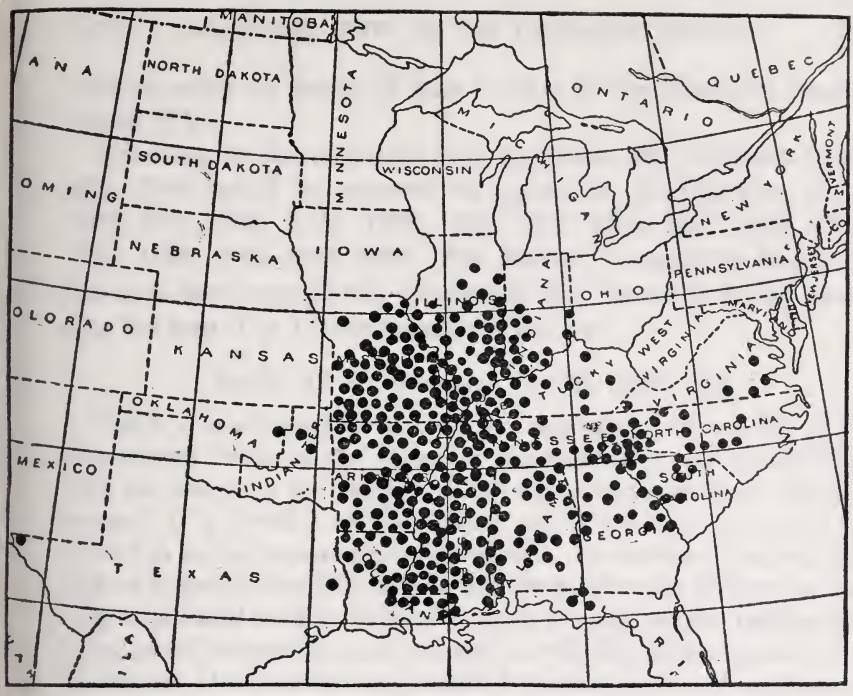
The record made by Winthrop in 1648 referred to in Mr. Marlatt's letter is under date of August 15, 1648, and is as follows:

About the midst of this summer, there arose a fly out of the ground, about the bigness of the top of a man's little finger, of brown color. They filled the woods from Connecticut to Sudbury with a great noise, and eat up the young sprouts of the trees, but meddled not with the corn. They were also between Plymouth and Braintree, but came no further. If the Lord had not stopped them, they had spoiled all our orchards, for they did some few.[2]

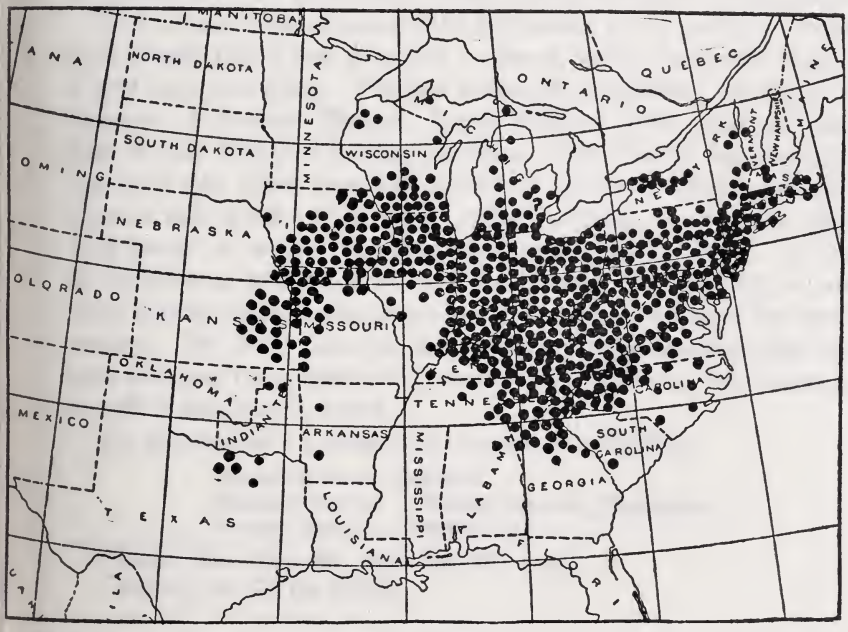
As stated in the extract from his letter quoted above, Mr. Marlatt inclines to the opinion that the swarm told of by Winthrop

[1] Bulletin No. 71, pp. 58–59.

[2] Journal (1908), ii. 348. Cf. p. 106 note, above.



MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BROODS OF THE 13-YEAR RACE



MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BROODS OF THE 17-YEAR RACE

FROM U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY, BULLETIN NO. 71, FIGS. 2, 3
ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

belongs rather to Brood XI than to that of the Plymouth swarm, Brood XIV.

According to the seventeen-year succession the Winthrop brood after 1648 would be expected to appear in the following years: 1665, 1682, 1699, 1716, 1733, 1750, 1767, 1784, 1801, 1818, 1835, 1852, 1869, 1886, 1903, 1920. Mr. Marlatt's account of Brood XI has such pertinence in this connection that I quote it in full omitting the map (Fig. 14) accompanying the text:

BROOD XI — *Septendecim* — 1920. (Fig. 14.)

This is a small brood limited, for the most part, to the valley of the Connecticut River in the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with one colony in the vicinity of Fall River separated from the main swarm. It is Brood I of Walsh-Riley and Brood 9 of Fitch, who reports it as having occurred in 1818 and 1835. It was recorded also by Dr. Gideon B. Smith from 1767 to 1852, and the genuineness of the brood was fully established in 1869. Like most small broods in settled regions, it is being greatly reduced in numbers, and in 1903 Mr. Britton reports[1] that he was not able to secure any records for Connecticut, although special effort was made to do so through correspondence. A personal examination of the area was, however, not made by the entomologist, and a clipping from the Hartford Courant of June 6 reports them present.

In this year (1903), however, the first record of the periodical Cicada from Rhode Island was obtained, no brood having previously been reported from this State. The late James M. Southwick, curator of the Museum of Natural History, Roger Williams Park, reported under date of May 23d that a living specimen of the Cicada was brought to him that day taken near the southwest corner of Tiogue Reservoir, about a mile north of the New London turnpike, an unsettled region with plenty of woods. The specimen was secured by Mr. C. E. Ford, of Providence, who reported that the Cicadas were making so much noise that he thought they must be frogs or toads having a late spring concert. Mr. Ford says, on the authority of his mother, that some were collected there thirty-four years before. This is a very interesting as well as unexpected record.

The distribution by States and Counties is as follows:

CONNECTICUT. — Hartford.
MASSACHUSETTS. — Bristol, Franklin, Hampshire.
RHODE ISLAND. — Providence.[2]

[1] Report Conn. Exp. Sta. 1903, Part III, p. 214.
[2] Bulletin, No. 71, pp. 54–55.

In "The Periodical Cicada in Massachusetts" is a table giving the occurrence of the insect in New England. The portion of this table of chief interest to us is as follows:

Marlatt Numbers	Year next due	Occurrence in New England.
II	1911	New York and Connecticut near Massachusetts State lines.
VIII	1917	Dukes.
X	1919	Bristol, Rutland, Vt.
XI	1920	Bristol, Franklin, Hampshire (Mass.), Connecticut, Rhode Island.
XIV	1923	Barnstable, Plymouth.[1]

In the same publication is the following paragraph regarding the Bristol County swarm of Brood XI:

The Bristol County swarm was observed at Freetown, near Fall River, in 1818, 1835, 1852 and 1869. "In 1818 they were very numerous, in 1852 still less, and in 1869 were quite scattering as compared with 1818." Since which time there is no record of their appearance.[2]

From Mr. Marlatt's opinion as expressed in his letter and from the evidence and data I have cited, I think we are justified in concluding that the swarms told of by Winthrop as occurring in 1648 belong to Brood XI of Marlatt's classification. Swarms of this brood have appeared in areas more or less near to those designated by Winthrop in several of the years of the seventeen-year succession indicated above. Winthrop's information was undoubtedly derived through hearsay or common report. By such means locations are not apt to be accurately defined. Moreover the disappearance of the periodical cicadas from any region may have come about, among other causes, through the cutting away of forests and the cultivation of the soil by incoming white men.

Assuming that the Winthrop swarms belong to Brood XI, we may look for the swarms which remain of that brood in 1920.

The mystery of the thirteen-year and the seventeen-year periods

[1] C. W. Hooker, The Periodical Cicada in Massachusetts, in Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station (1909), part ii. p. 201.

[2] P. 206.

makes the Periodical Cicada a subject of peculiar interest. Its characteristics are so striking that, as we have seen, allusion was made to some of them by our two distinguished colonial governors in their classic narratives. There was, apparently, a break in the seventeen-year succession of the Plymouth-Barnstable swarm in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. It is to be hoped that old records, letters, or memoranda will be found giving the years in which there were appearances of the insect during that period. But in addition it would be well that all new evidence and data of appearances, in the future as well as in the past and wheresoever occurring, be preserved and sent to the United States Department of Agriculture or to the State Agricultural Experiment Station.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a volume containing several tracts[1] published at London and at our Cambridge in 1662–1675 that once belonged to the Rev. Thomas Prince. On the inside of the cover is written, in the hand of Mr. Prince, "Thomas Prince. Boston. 1735," "Thomas Prince jun^{r} his Book. 1742," and "Sarah Prince her Book 1748."[2] On the recto of the first fly-leaf is written "Ja^{s} Murdock Jan. 1805." On the title-page of one of the tracts appears the autograph of "Jno Chickley."

Mr. Farwell also presented to the Society a copy of a reproduction of a large drawing by Henry O'Connor entitled, "United States Naval Radio School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1917–1919," depicting all the buildings occupied by the School during the War.

Mr. E. B. DELABARRE read the following paper:

[1] Propositions concerning the Subject of Baptism (1662); Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana; A Defence of the Answer and Arguments of the Synod Met at Boston in the Year 1662 (1664); The First Principles of New-England, Concerning the Subject of Baptisme & Communion of Churches (1675); and A Discourse Concerning the Subject of Baptisme (1675). The first two items (published together, though separately paged) were printed at London, the last three items were printed at Cambridge.

[2] Cf. our Publications, xix. 333.

RECENT HISTORY OF DIGHTON ROCK

Since the publication of the earlier papers of this series,[1] two minor facts have come to the writer's attention that may now be added for completeness. Early in the nineteenth century, references to Dighton Rock began to appear in gazetteers. Worcester's Geographical Dictionary of 1817 and Morse's New Universal Gazetteer in its third edition of 1821 are examples. Both of them assert that no satisfactory explanation of the inscription has yet been given. The second fact demands fuller discussion. According to a writer in the Taunton Whig, in its issue of January 23, 1839, "in 1798, M. Adel, a young and learned Frenchman hunted it out, and as it was during the existence of the Gallo-phobia, his visit created a great excitement in the neighborhood. The late Dr. Baylies fell under considerable odium for harboring a Frenchman." Judging from the contents of the other portions of the article, it seems likely that its author may have been Joseph W. Moulton, joint author with Yates of a History of the State of New York in 1824. It is probable that both the name and the date as he gives them are slightly erroneous, and that he should have informed us that the visit was made by Citizen Adet in 1796.

Pierre Auguste Adet was French Minister to the United States from 1795 to 1797.[2] He arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, from France on June 2, 1795.[3] Inasmuch as he was in Philadelphia by June 13,[4] it is not probable that his visit to Dighton occurred at that time. His letters from Philadelphia are almost continuous from that date until June 21 of the following year,[5] after which his movements can be traced only fragmentarily. During a portion of the summer, at least, he was "travelling in several States of the Union."[6] On August 6, 1796, he was mistakenly reported as being in Boston, but

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[1] Early Interest in Dighton Rock, and Middle Period of Dighton Rock History, in our Publications, xviii. 235–299, 417, xix. 46–149. In the present paper, references to sources are generally omitted whenever these are indicated in the Bibliography, pp. 438–462, below.

[2] Described in the Nouvelle Biographie Générale as a chemist and "homme politique," born in 1763, died about 1832.

[3] Newport Mercury, June 2, 1795, p. 3/1; June 9, p. 3/2.

[4] Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, ii. 734.

[5] ii. 721–1009.

[6] ii. 943.

his expected visit was prevented by sickness.[1] By September 5, he had been in Albany and had proceeded thence to Lake George.[2] On September 13 he arrived in Boston from the southward.[3] He remained there for some time, being received by Governor Adams on the 14th, waited on by the selectmen on the 22nd, and given a public dinner on the 23rd.[4] On October 3 he was again in Philadelphia,[5] whence he sailed for France on May 6, 1797.[6] His visit to Dighton, if it occurred, was probably in September of 1796. He certainly had no later opportunity. That the Gallo-phobia mentioned by our informant had not at that time attained its extreme intensity is evidenced by the public courtesies extended to him in Albany and in Boston, and by his own impressions as expressed in a letter written by him from Boston on September 24. He remarks that although the merchants are ruled by fear of England, yet "as to the people, they appear to me to be entirely devoted to us. On my journey I have received from them many courtesies and marks of affection every time that I have been recognized. I dare believe that if it were necessary they would exert all their efforts to demonstrate in a more positive manner their attachment to the [French] republic and their desire to please it."[7]

With these additions, it has been possible for us, in surveying the earlier incidents connected with this persistent inciter to battles of opinion, to assemble in chronological order every incident, argument, and description that is now discoverable. With the vastly increased literature of the subject that now confronts us, such minuteness of detail is manifestly impossible, and the exact chronological order can no longer be profitably followed. Ever since Professor Rafn addressed

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[1] Newport Mercury, August 9, 1796, p. 3/1; Columbian Centinel, August 6, p. 3/1, August 13, p. 2/4.

[2] Newport Mercury, September 13, p. 3/3; Boston Mercury, September 13, p. 2/4. Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 337.

[3] Columbian Centinel, September 14, p. 2/4; Independent Chronicle, September 15, p. 2/5; Boston Gazette, September 19, p. 3/2.

[4] Independent Chronicle, September 15, p. 2/5, September 29, p. 3/1; Boston Mercury, September 30, p. 2/4; Boston Gazette, October 23, p. 3/2; Columbian Centinel, September 24, p. 3/3.

[5] Boston Mercury, October 14, p. 2/3.

[6] Annual Report of American Historical Association for 1903, ii. 1017, letters of May 5, 16.

[7] ii. 947.

his circular letter to the scholars of America in 1829, asking for evidences of the reputed visits of ancient Northmen to our shores, discussions of Dighton Rock have been exceedingly numerous. No single year has passed without some new printed mention of the rock, and in some years there have been many of them. Those known to the present writer within this period of ninety years now approach a total of four hundred. Their number and continuity are a clear indication of the importance attached to this monument and the deep interest that is still widely felt in its mystery. It has been its misfortune both to have been given much unmerited prominence through use of it as an alleged proof of important historical events, and likewise to have been subject to much unmerited ridicule and disrepute through realization of the follies of argument that it has incited. While endeavoring to avoid these exaggerations and to make our examination as calm and dispassionate as is the unmoved rock itself, yet it has been our constant endeavor also to accompany the search for historic truth with a realization of its human and psychological features, and with an appreciation of the entire movement with its changing incident and its varied actors, personifiers of recurring and struggling ideas, as a drama with consistent plot and strong poetic appeal. It is in this spirit, with mingled historic, psychological, scientific, and æsthetic interests, that we continue our research. Most of the material can best be handled topic by topic, instead of year by year, as heretofore; and our first task will naturally be to follow the fortunes of the Norse hypothesis from its inception down through the entire controversy that centered around it.

Rhode Island Historical Society's Drawings, 1834

In view of the deductions which were drawn from it, apart from all question as to its reliability, no more important reproduction of the lines on Dighton Rock has ever been made than that known as the "Rhode Island Historical Society's Drawing." At the same time none has been subject to more of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. One current error of importance concerning it, originating in a misstatement by Rafn, is that it was made in the year 1830; and a second, that the drawing which has been frequently published under that name correctly represents what the Society's committee saw and drew. As a matter of fact, the drawing was not in existence

until four years later than the date always assigned to it; and as a matter of fact, the genuine unaltered drawing has never heretofore been reproduced.

The circumstances that led to the production of this and a companion drawing are discoverable mainly from the unpublished records of the Rhode Island Historical Society.[1] The fact that Charles Christian Rafn[2] was undertaking an ambitious reproduction and translation of all the Icelandic manuscripts that bear upon the Norse discovery of America, and wished to learn whether any remains of the Norsemen were discoverable anywhere on the American coast, was responsible for this new attempt to depict the characters on the rock. Rafn himself describes the earliest beginnings of the event:

When, in the course of the year 1829, after several years of preparation, we decided upon the approaching publication of this work, we felt that there were lacking various illustrations for it, to be sought in America itself. Accordingly we sought them from various learned societies of the United States of North America which presumably might provide and communicate them most readily and adequately.[3]

In pursuance of this purpose Rafn addressed a letter on June 15, 1829, to the Rhode Island Historical Society.[4] Among other things, including mention of the runic inscription found in 1829 at latitude 73° on the west coast of Greenland, he said:

It is known, that the inhabitants in the North of Europe have long before Columbus's time visited the countries on the coasts of North

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[1] These will be referred to hereafter as C, meaning the manuscript volumes entitled Correspondence and Reports; R, meaning the volumes entitled Records; and T, the Trustee's Records. References to T and R are by dates, not by numbered pages.

[2] Born January 16, 1795; died October 20, 1864. At his suggestion, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries was founded in Denmark about 1825. Rafn was its perpetual secretary, editor of most, if not all, of its publications, practically sole author of many of them. The society was under the patronage and titular presidency of Frederick VII, King of Denmark. See 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, 1866, viii. 80–84, 175–201; and no. 67.

[3] No. 16, p. 355. The original is in Latin. The reference here, as in all footnotes similarly expressed, is to the corresponding number in the Bibliography, pp. 438–462, below.

[4] Now preserved in C i. 79. Some writers, including Bartlett, have asserted that the activity of the society in this matter was in response to a circular letter from Rafn to the American newspapers; but this is clearly an error.

America. The greatest part of the informations concerning the same have not hitherto been published.

At a time, when the researches about the former times of America have gain'd a greater interest, durst then the undertaking of bringing for the light these informations expect the approbation of the American Antiquaries.

I have now gone through all the old manuscripts belonging to the same, and made a complete collection of the several pieces, which illustrate the knowledge, that the old Scandinavians had of America.

The collection has been made with all the accuracy which has been possible for me, and I intend now to publish this collection complete with a Latin translation. . . .

I have had the pleasure, that this my undertaking has met with a kind reception of several American learned men. I must therefore no longer consider about deferring of printing the work, which will at least take half a year.

It would rejoice me very much, If I, before the work is ready from the press, might likewise hear the thoughts of your honoured Soc^y about this my undertaking.

It was in consequence of the receipt of this letter that the society thus addressed sent to Rafn a number of drawings of inscribed rocks, considerable accompanying information, and two new drawings produced under its own direction. These contributions were ultimately responsible more than anything else for the now little credited belief that the Vinland and Hop of the Northmen were on the shores of Narragansett Bay. The detailed course of the events may be followed from the records of the society.

On December 19, 1829, the letter from Rafn was read to the trustees of the society, and they appointed William E. Richmond and W. R. Staples a committee to answer it (T). These men employed Dr. Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the society, to "draw up a memoir of the Writing Rocks in this vicinity, with a view to transmit the same or some parts of it to Chevalier Rafn" (R, July 19, 1830). On January 23, 1830, the trustees voted the sum of $18.62 for expenses in examining Dighton Rock, with promise of more if needed (T). In February the committee visited Dighton Rock.[1] It is practically certain that on this first visit no drawing of the rock was made. At any rate, the drawings subsequently made use of by Rafn were not

[1] No. 16, p. 357.

produced until more than four years later. However, other drawings were assembled at about this time and shortly forwarded to Rafn; and it is this fact, doubtless, that led to the later error, originating in a confusion of dates due to Rafn himself, of attributing the Rhode Island Historical Society's drawings to the year 1830.

On September 10, 1830, the committee reported to the trustees of the society a draft of a reply to Rafn's letter; and the trustees "resolved that the secretary cause said answer and the accompanying drawings to be copied and transmitted" (T). This was done under date of September 22 (C i. 91; R, July 19, 1831); and the letter was afterward published in full by Rafn in the Antiquitates Americanæ.[1] Following is a much condensed abstract of this letter:

In the Western parts of our Country[2] are numerous mounds, remains of fortifications, and articles of pottery, which could not have been produced by any of the Indian tribes; also many rocks, inscribed with unknown characters. The Indians were ignorant of the existence of these rocks. A rock, similar to these, lies in our vicinity. It is known as the Dighton Writing Rock. Its material is bluish gray fine grained grey wacke. Details of its situation and measurements are given. Its face is covered with unknown hieroglyphics. No one, who examines attentively the workmanship, will believe it to have been done by the Indians. . . . Various drawings have been made of this inscription, the first by Cotton Mather in 1712, others by James Winthrop in 1788, by Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin in 1790,[3] by E. A. Kendall in 1807, and one recently by Job Gardner. Copies are enclosed of the drawing by Baylies and Goodwin and the lithograph by Gardner; the others are in cited publications, and are not sent. The Committee has also examined a manuscript letter of Ezra Stiles, describing inscribed rocks at Scaticook and other places. Copious extracts are given from Stiles's letter, and copies of some of his drawings, (not including any of Dighton Rock), are enclosed. The Committee has also heard of inscribed rocks in Rutland and in Swanzy, Massachusetts.[4]

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[1] Pp. 356–361.

[2] This remark was later distorted by at least two writers (Beamish, 1841 and 1907, and Bodfish, 1885) into the statement that the mounds and other things mentioned were in the western part of Bristol County, Massachusetts.

[3] Both name and date of this drawing as here given and from this source always subsequently known, are partially erroneous. See our Publications, xix. 83.

[4] The one in Swansea was never found. Concerning that at Rutland, Webb

Apparently nothing more was heard from Rafn for several years. Meanwhile, on April 25, 1833, the society appointed a committee on the antiquities and aboriginal history of America, consisting of Dr. Thomas H. Webb, John R. Bartlett, and Albert G. Greene.[1] By the following September, the society had received a formal acknowledgment of the receipt by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of the letter and documents sent in 1830.[2] On May 23, 1834, Rafn again made similar acknowledgment in a letter containing a long list of questions and stating his confidence that he should probably succeed in deciphering the Dighton inscription.[3] A special meeting of the board of trustees was held on August 15, at which this letter was read; and it was voted "that said communication be referred to the Committee on the Antiquities and Aboriginal History of this Country, with full power to take such steps as they may deem expedient" (T). Some time between this date and the following September 27, Dighton Rock was twice visited, "the first time to make the necessary preparatory arrangements, and the second, to take a drawing of the Inscription."[4] "This Drawing," they declared, "is confidently offered as a true delineation of what is now to be seen on the rock, altho' it will be found to differ much from every other copy that has come under our observation." The committee again visited the rock, "for the third and last time on the 11th of December and the Society's Drawing made as perfect as circumstances would admit of."[5]

Meanwhile, the committee also concerned itself with formulating answers to Rafn's numerous queries. These asked for fuller information as to the rock and its environment, the nature of the bird and the quadruped figured upon it, the occurrence of ruins or antiquities near-by,[6] the occurrence of wild grapes, wild grain and ornamental

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later wrote that its alleged inscription had nothing artificial about it (No. 16 p. 400).

[1] C ii. 54; R, July 19, 1833.

[2] T, September 3, 1833; R, July 19, 1834.

[3] C ii. 41.

[4] T, October 14, 1834; C ii. 25, 31.

[5] C ii. 30; T, January 6, 1835.

[6] The answer given was that there were none; but at a later date Webb called Rafn's attention to the so-called "Fall River Skeleton in Armor" and to the Newport tower, which were accepted by Rafn as Norse remains.

wood, character of the climate, especially in winter, and the like. A draft of a reply was submitted to the trustees on October 14, 1834; and it was voted to forward it, together with the accompanying documents, and that it be signed by the president and the secretary of the society "for and in behalf of this board." [1] A few changes were subsequently made in it, and the completed document was dated November 30, though without altering the statement that the committee "reported to the Board this day" — that is, October 14.[2] A second letter was also prepared and given the same date, stating that the committee had unsuccessfully attempted to find alleged inscription rocks in Swansea and Tiverton.[3] Apparently there was also a third letter of the same date.[4] A second report was made to the trustees on January 6, 1835;[5] a fourth letter was written on January 19, and then or shortly afterwards the four letters were forwarded to Copenhagen and received there on March 30.[6] It will be remembered that the drawing by Baylies and others of 1789 and that by Job Gardner of 1812 had already been forwarded in 1830. In the parcel with these new letters of 1834–1835 were included [7] copies of the drawings by Winthrop 1788, E. A. Kendall 1807, Sewall 1768, and Danforth 1680; [8] a book on geology, a chart and a map,

[1] T, vol. i; C ii. 31.

[2] C ii. 33. This reply was published in full in no. 16, pp. 361–371.

[3] Published in part in no. 16, p. 372.

[4] C ii. 52; no. 483, viii. 189.

[5] T; C ii. 30, 34.

[6] See same references as for third letter.

[7] C ii. 30.

[8] The Winthrop and the Kendall were copied from the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and had been mentioned by Webb in his letter of 1830. The Sewall was especially copied for this occasion from the original at Harvard College (see our Publications, xix. 61 f). The Danforth was unknown to Webb previous to September 27, 1834 (C ii. 25), but he had heard of the papers in Archaeologia by Lort and Vallancey. On October 14, he had not yet seen Archaeologia, and hence was not yet acquainted with Danforth; but by November 30 he had found it, and inserted a reference to it in the revised reply to Rafn (C ii. 33). Of it he says that it "purports to be 'a faithful and accurate representation of the Inscription.' This is not sent with any idea that it will prove serviceable in your present inquiry, but simply to shew what strange things have been conjured up by travellers, and sent to Europe for examination" (no. 16, p. 371). This derogatory opinion as to the merit of Danforth's drawing we have already claimed is wholly unjustified (our Publications, xviii. 254). His statement that it purports to be a faithful and accurate

and two specimens of the rock; and in addition to these the two following items, which finally prove that the true date for the society's own drawings is 1834, not 1830:

Copy of R. I. Hist. Soc. Drawing of the Dighton Rock Inscription.[1]
R. I. Hist. Soc. Representation of the Rock.[2]

A letter from Rafn dated April 16, 1835, acknowledged the receipt of these documents and asked certain further questions about local names, the coasts of Rhode Island, and the occurrence of honey-dew;[3] and on the 19th of November he made a few additional queries.[4] At the annual meeting of the society on July 21 many of these matters were referred to (R). During this summer of 1835, the committee continued its activities, endeavoring unsuccessfully to obtain copies of Stiles's drawings of the Tiverton rocks;[5] seeking unsuccessfully to find alleged inscription rocks in Warwick on July 31 and on Gardner's Point on Mattapoisett Neck in Swansea on August 5; and visiting and delineating rocks with inscriptions at Portsmouth before July 20 and on August 10, and at Tiverton on August 18 and 19.[6] The results of these investigations, accompanied by drawings of the Portsmouth and Tiverton rocks, were communicated to Rafn in letters dated September 14[7] and October 31.[8] The second of these, as preserved

representation is also an error, rendered worse by being placed within quotation marks, whose only possible source must have been Vallancey's description of it in Archaeologia (viii. 303) as "a fac simile copy of the inscription, taken before the stone was impaired or injured, exactly half a century prior to Dr. Greenwood's drawing." In this distorted quotation by Webb lies the source of the still more distorted claim by Wilson in 1862 that "Dr. Danforth executed what he characterized as 'a faithful and accurate representation of the inscription,'" and a nearly similar statement in the unpublished manuscript by the Rev. C. R. Hale, written in 1865 (see our Publications, xviii. 254 note). Naturally it was meant by its author faithfully and accurately to represent the inscription, and it succeeded far beyond most subsequent drawings. But Danforth never made any claim as to its merits, nor did Vallancey state that he had done so.

[1] Reproduced with alterations by Rafn in no. 16 as "Rhode Island Historical Society's 1830."

[2] Reproduced with alterations in no. 16 as "View of the Assonet Inscription Rock. J. R. Bartlett del."

[3] C ii. 52; no. 483, viii. 189.

[4] C ii. 45.

[5] C ii. 48. Apparently they never heard of his drawings of Dighton Rock.

[6] C ii. 40, 49, 74; no. 16, pp. 397 f.

[7] No. 16, pp. 397–399.

[8] C ii. 49; no. 16, pp. 400–404.

in the files of the society, is a very closely written 18-page letter, discussing Indian names as well as the inscriptions, and only a small portion of it was printed in the Antiquitates Americanæ. It makes mention also of the fact that Mr. Almy, owner of the Tiverton Rocks, understood Stiles in 1780 to say that there was an inscription rock near Mt. Hope.[1] On November 16 the committee made report to the trustees on its recent activities;[2] and on December 11, 1835, Albert G. Greene lectured before the society on the subject of ante-Columbian discoveries. Whether or not he made mention of these inscribed rocks in that connection is doubtful, for Rafn's conclusions on this subject were not yet published, and there is no indication that the latter had given any preliminary information as to their nature in his correspondence with the society.[3]

No further contributions on the subject were sent by the Rhode Island society to Denmark; but the society's records give evidence of an active interest in these matters that continued at least until 1841. At each annual meeting during these six years the report of the board of trustees mentions a continuing correspondence with the Danish society. In 1836, moreover, the report includes a long discussion on the general subject of Inscription Rocks,[4] urging further efforts toward their discovery, study and preservation, and expressing the following opinion concerning their importance:

> We are confident that these memorials have been viewed by many in a wrong aspect; they have been considered as naught but insignificant scrawls, heedlessly made, and destitute of method or design. Not so are they looked upon abroad. . . . Whether, however, they are monuments erected in by-gone times by some colony or wanderers from the Eastern Hemisphere, are the peckings of idlers, (and industrious idlers must they have been), the records of the red man, or what some have hastily though not very sagely imagined, the effects of Nature's freaks, they have proved extremely valuable to us, and will in future be viewed with an increasingly intense interest by all. . . . The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries declares them of great importance in a historic point of view, monuments whose destruction would be an irreparable loss to science.

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[1] This rock has subsequently been rediscovered. Its inscription is described and figured in no. 312, and in W. H. Munro's History of Bristol, p. 388.

[2] C ii. 74.

[3] No. 483.

[4] This report was printed, and a copy is preserved in C ii. 101.

In 1838, the society seriously considered the possibility of purchasing the Rock, as is shown by the following record of July 19; although there is nothing further in correspondence or other records to show what steps, if any, were taken:

Resolved that the secretary be directed to address a letter to the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Historical Society, urging the necessity that measures be taken by them for the preservation of the Dighton Inscription Rock — provided the same together with a suitable portion of the adjoining land cannot be purchased by the Board of Trustees for this Society.

The last mention of Dighton Rock in the records of the society, so far as I have examined them, appears in the report of the trustees at the meeting of September 21, 1840. They speak of a letter received in April from Dr. Christopher Perry of Newport, saying that he had discovered some rocks near Newport bearing inscriptions resembling those on the rocks at Dighton and Portsmouth. "Since then the rock has been visited and examined by John R. Bartlett. The impressions were found to be very indistinct, but Mr. B. succeeded in making a drawing, which will be presented to the Society."

Some further details concerning the making of the new drawings of 1834 can be learned from a letter written by Bartlett in 1873 to the librarian of the society:

The Society . . . appointed Dr. Webb, Albert G. Greene and myself, a Committee to visit the Dighton Rock. . . . We accordingly opened a correspondence with Captain Smith Williams, of Dighton, in relation to the rock, and upon the invitation of that gentleman, visited Dighton, and passed the night at his house. . . . Early on the following morning Captain Williams sent a man to the rock . . . with brooms and brushes to clear it of weeds and moss. . . . We crossed in a boat. . . . When it was completely exposed to view, Dr. Webb and Judge Greene traced with chalk every indentation or line that could be made out, while I, standing further off, made a drawing of them. . . . As I progressed with my drawing, my companions compared every line with the corresponding one on the rock, to be sure that every figure was correctly copied, and nothing omitted. We were several hours thus employed and it was not until the tide had begun to flow and cover the rock that we desisted from our labors. . . .

Dr. Webb and I afterwards traced several miles of the shores of

Rhode Island in search for inscribed and sculptured rocks. We discovered several of which I took copies, and which Dr. Webb afterwards transmitted to Copenhagen. There was nothing remarkable in these sculptures, which were, doubtless, nothing but the scratches of some idle Indians, without any meaning.[1]

Further indications of the great care with which the Dighton Rock Drawing was made are given by Dr. Webb. In his letter of 1834 he says:

Our Committee have taken particular pains to represent on the Society's Drawing all that could be satisfactorily made out upon the lower part of the rock. This was formerly, no doubt, well covered by the Inscription; but if ever as deeply engraven as the upper portion, it has become, through the lapse of time, and the war of the elements, so far obliterated, that it is utterly impossible to follow the lines. We have copied, with continuous lines, all that is still to be clearly ascertained, much of which, it will be seen, varies from every other representation, not even excepting Dr. Baylies'; we have also shewn, by broken or interrupted lines, certain portions which we feel considerably confident about, although the unaided eye would not have enabled us to copy them; but there is much, very much, that is beyond our power to delineate with the least degree of accuracy; all such, we have, of course, left unrepresented.[2]

In another letter written in 1854, Webb speaks of the importance of viewing the inscription at different times of day and by different lights, and continues:

In the drawing transmitted to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries portions are represented in different ways; three modes are resorted to,[3] according to the distinctness or faintness of the original; and much was so extremely indistinct, that we deemed it advisable to leave the spaces, thus conditioned, blank. What is figured was carefully examined by four individuals, each inspecting for himself, and subsequently conferring with the others; and nothing was copied unless all agreed in relation to it.[4]

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[1] No. 41.

[2] No. 16, p. 365.

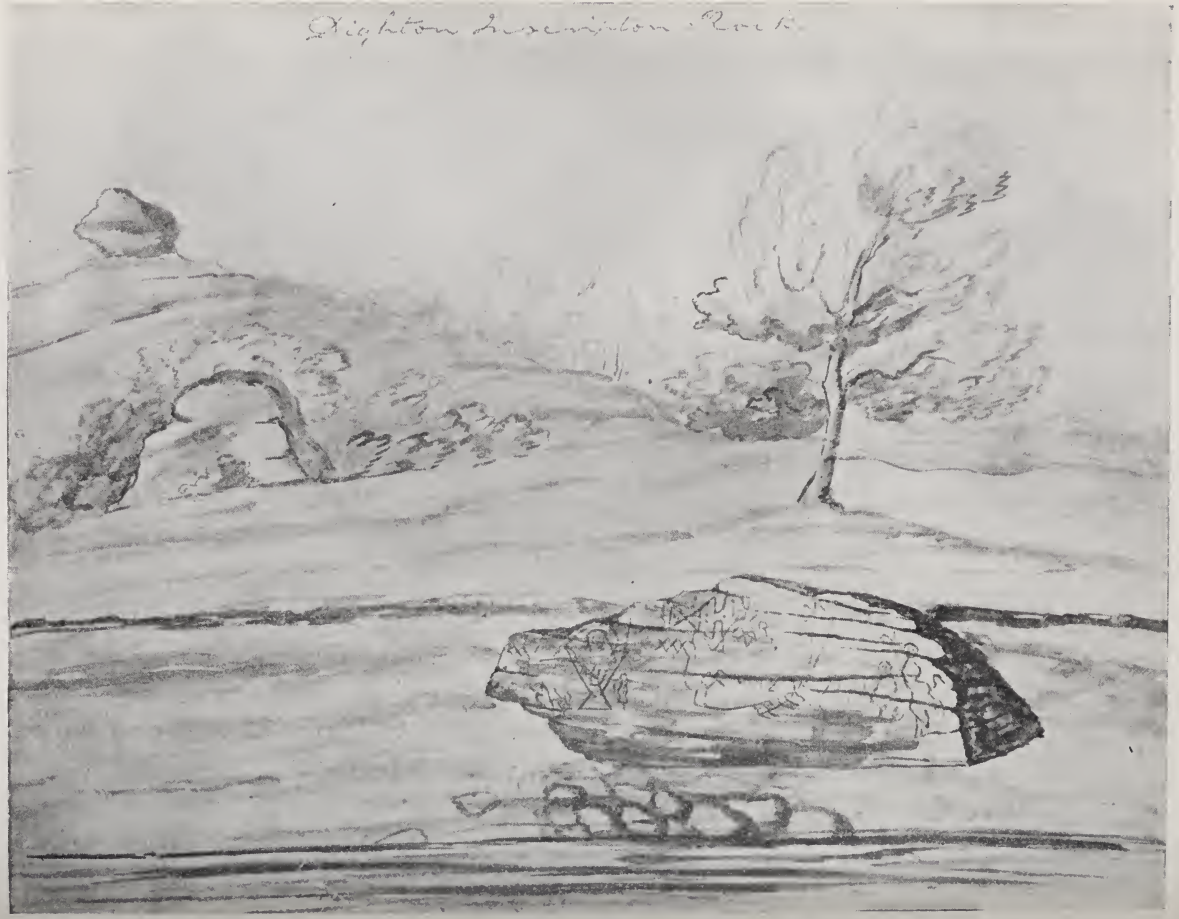
[3] This is an error of memory. Two modes only were used, the continuous lines and the broken lines alluded to above. The third mode, the use of shaded lines, was a later addition by Rafn.

[4] No. 482.

The accusation has sometimes been made [1] that the committee who made the drawing knew of the theory that Rafn was seeking to prove, and complaisantly allowed their imaginations to discover confirmatory letters and figures on the rock. As Webb put it, in the letter last quoted: "Another boldly and shamelessly asserted, that knowing what the Danish society wished to find there, or to make out, we, the suppliant tools, formed and fashioned characters accordingly." Such a charge is clearly baseless. It is practically certain, as already stated, that the committee knew nothing concerning Rafn's conclusions before these were published; the above descriptions give evidence of the extreme care with which the drawing was made; and comparison of the genuine and original drawing with Rafn's reproduction is sufficient to show that all of the imaginative features on which the Norse theory was based are due to Rafn, and not to the committee. The same considerations afford a sufficient answer to even more extravagant accusations against the Rhode Island committee. There is no need to take them seriously. But mention of them adds a bit of humor in the midst of our long discussion, and serves to illustrate the infinite variety of opinion and controversy that centers about this rock. Laing put his accusation in a facetious form in speaking of "the ridiculous discovery of the Runic inscription" and of its companion in crime, the Newport mill. "Don Quixote himself could not have resisted such evidence of its having been a wind-mill. But those sly rogues of Americans dearly love a quiet hoax. . . . It must be allowed that these Rhode Island wags have pulled off their joke with admirable dexterity." But Melville was apparently serious in claiming "this inscription has been copied by some designing wretch, and forwarded to . . . Copenhagen, undoubtedly for deception;" [2] and so too was an anonymous writer of 1881 who, in a paper about as full-crammed with errors in statement as it could hold, remarked that "some person, in order to practice deception, forwarded an altered copy of the inscription." [3]

On the other hand, excessive praise has sometimes been accorded to this drawing, as the best and most reliable ever produced. There is no such thing as a "best" drawing or photograph, except such as

[1] Wilson, no. 493. Denied by A. H. Everett, no. 156.
[2] Nos. 276, 310, 355.
[3] No. 293.



BARTLETT'S VIEW OR SKETCH, 1834

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN

RAFN'S REPRODUCTION OF BARTLETT'S VIEW OR SKETCH, 1837

FROM ANTIQUITATES AMERICANAE, 1837, TAB. X. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

depict the face of the rock in its natural condition, without any interpretative preliminary tracing of its supposed lines by means of chalk or other substances designed to render them easier to reproduce.[1] In this case, the lines were chalked.

We have seen that there were two drawings of Dighton Rock produced by the committee of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1834 and forwarded to Rafn. To distinguish them, we shall hereafter make use of Rafn's distinctive terms, referring to the one usually known as the "Rhode Island Historical Society's 1830" as the "Drawing" of 1834; and to the other, representing the rock in its surroundings, as Bartlett's "View" or "Sketch" of the Rock.

The Drawing was made sometime between August 15 and September 27. Examination of the tide data for that year enables us to approximate even more nearly to the exact date. There could not possibly have been a sufficiently long exposure of the face of the rock to permit of the several hours of work over it that Bartlett describes, unless at an exceptionally low tide. Only one such occurred between the dates mentioned. There were three spring tides within this period, following the full moon of August 19, the new moon of September 3, and the full of September 17. On the first and third of these occasions the water at low tide — unless attended by unforeseeable circumstances which would not have influenced the choice of the day — probably did not fall below mean low water. But at the new moon period, with perigee occurring on the following day, low water at Newport probably fell .6 foot below mean on September 3, again .6 on September 4, and .7 on September 5; and there must have been an even more extensive fall in the Taunton River.[2] We may then conclude with practical certainty that we are justified in fixing the date of the Drawing as on or about September 4, 1834, with the possibility that some revision of it was made on the occasion of the final visit to the rock on December 11.

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[1] See our Publications, xix. 87, 112.

[2] The tide tables of 1834 do not give these data. But Professor Frederick Slocum of Brown University, to whom I referred the problem, tells me that the relations of Full and New to Perigee and Apogee were nearly the same in 1913 as in 1834. He kindly calculated the results for me, and remarks: "By analogy it would seem as if the tides of September 4, 1834, should have been 8 or 9 inches lower than the tides of August 20 or September 18. Theoretical considerations would lead to the same conclusions."

The View also was doubtless sketched on one or both of these dates; but was probably completed at home, for some of the features included in it are far from being correct representations of the actual scene.[1] The hill shown behind the rock does not exist in that place, though there is a very slight rise there, and a wooded hill a considerable distance further back. The peculiarly shaped boulder shown on its summit is not now, at least, either on top of the slight rise of ground near the rock or on the summit of the hill, although there is a delicately poised boulder, differently shaped, on the slope of the hill and entirely invisible from the shore. The view, then, introduces fanciful details and hence was probably not executed on the spot. Its presentation of the inscription on the face of the rock is similar to that of the Drawing, but is much more sketchy and was evidently not designed to be exact.

Inasmuch as there developed in the course of my investigations reasons for believing that what purport to be reproductions of these two drawings in the Antiquitates Americanæ could not be relied upon to assure us what the original drawings were like, I made search for the latter. Unfortunately no copies of them have been preserved by the Rhode Island Historical Society. On writing to Denmark, however, I discovered that the original drawings themselves are preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and thus I was enabled to secure photographic copies of them, which are reproduced in Plates XXXIII and XXXIV.[2]

Rafn's Reproductions of these and other Drawings, 1837

In his Antiquitates Americanæ, which appeared at last in 1837, Rafn presented nine drawings of the Dighton Rock inscription, besides the View of the rock, and six drawings of the Tiverton and Portsmouth inscriptions. Most of these were reproduced from the drawings sent to him by the Rhode Island Historical Society. Those by Mather and by Greenwood, which Webb mentioned but did not copy for him, he must have taken from Archaeologia; and the Danforth and Sewall he may have derived from either source. The

[1] Compare it with the Shove lithograph, Plate XXXVII.

[2] I am informed that the measurements of the originals are: of the View, about 9 x 11.4 inches (23 x 29 cm.); of the Drawing, about 15.3 x 35 inches (39 x 89 cm.).

two earlier papers of this series have shown in one plate the nine drawings as copied by Mallery from Antiquitates Americanæ; and in succeeding plates, more accurate reproductions of the originals of them all except the two of 1834.

In presenting the two new drawings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Rafn was not content merely with accurately reproducing them as they were sent to him. Consequently we exhibit his reproductions side by side with their originals in Plates XXXIII and XXXIV. In the View,[1] it will be seen that he has greatly embellished the landscape, and that also he has introduced a great deal more of detail in the inscription. The added details have clearly been transferred from the other Drawing. The reproduction of the Drawing [2] is very faithful to the original with the minor exception that the outline of the rock has been copied from the View instead of from the original drawing, and with the further exceedingly important exception that in certain parts of the inscription Rafn added a number of conjectural lines of the most essential importance for the interpretation of the inscription that he advocated. These inserted lines are all, with one exception, in the central portion of the inscription, and are as follows: the entire character, resembling a Greek Gamma, that precedes the three X's; the very short lower portion of the right-hand line of the character M in the same line; in the line below, following the diamond shape, the lower half of the upright line of the R, all of the F except the upper half of its upright line, the entire I, the first upright of the misshapen N, and the two horizontal lines of the X; and finally, at the extreme left of the drawing, all of the P-like character except its dotted outlines, which by themselves alone do not resemble a P. Rafn believed that he was justified in supplying these conjectural restorations, through a comparison of the Rhode Island Historical Society's drawing with earlier ones, especially those of Kendall and of Baylies. In fact, all of his inserted lines are present in one or more of the earlier drawings, with the exception of those of the F. Here, where both of the Rhode Island drawings have allowed him sufficient space to insert the two characters, FI, one or the other of them must be taken as an absolutely unsupported conjecture on his part; and a careful study of the rock itself, or of the Hathaway

[1] No. 16, Tab. X. Measures about 7¼ x 10 inches.

[2] No. 16, Tab. XII, Number IX. Measures about 5 x 11½ inches.

photograph [1] of it, shows that there is absolutely no trace of more than one character in that position, and actually no room for two of them. By means of these amendments to the drawing, Rafn believed that he could read the following numerals and words as part of the inscription: CXXXI, NAM, THORFINS. For his purpose, the Gamma was interpreted as a C; and the P, either the one alluded to above or an assumed one immediately before the O, as the Icelandic þ, equivalent of TH.

On the drawing as he presented it, Rafn attempted to distinguish his own additions by drawing them with shaded lines. Unfortunately, the shadings are not very distinct, and are easily overlooked.[2] Of the fifteen later reproductions of this drawing known to me, six present it without any shading or other marks of distinction whatever, and few of the others copy the shaded portions in exactly the same positions as on the original.[3] Moreover, although it may be inferred from his discussion of these portions of the drawing in his text,[4] Rafn nowhere explicitly says that the shaded lines are additions by himself, but misleadingly calls the whole "The Rhode Island Historical Society's" drawing. As to the View, there is nothing whatever in text or in distinguishing marks on the drawing that could lead one to infer that he had greatly amplified and embellished what was sent to him, hence he wrongly attributes it to J. R. Bartlett as its delineator. As a consequence, only the most critical readers of his text have

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[1] Plate XXXII.

[2] Among others, Squier called attention to this disadvantage. He says of the interpolations that they are "hardly to be distinguished, by the lighter manner in which they are engraved, from the rest of the so-called inscription — a circumstance which has been a fruitful source of error to superficial inquirers" (no. 436). It is to be noticed also that even a photographic or a photostatic copy of the drawing in the Antiquitates is very likely to blur the shaded lines so that they are not distinguishable from the others.

[3] The reproductions known to me are as follows:

Of the View in whole or in part: Aall, 1838; Schoolcraft, 1839; Laing, 1844; Lelewel, 1852; Horsford, 1887; Winsor, 1889; no. 34. Also a painting in oil prepared for A. H. Everett, 1838, for which see p. 320 note 2, below.

Of the Drawing: Aall, 1838; Barber, 1839; Beamish, 1841; Laing, 1844; Hermes, 1844; Guillot, 1844; Holmberg, 1848; Schoolcraft, 1851 (in part); Gravier, 1875; Andree, 1878; Mallery, 1889; Onffroy de Thoron, 1889; Gaffarel, 1892; Neukomm, 1896; Brittain, 1903. Note also reproduction prepared for A. H. Everett, 1838, for which see p. 320 note 2, below.

[4] No. 16, pp. 387 f.

clearly realized how much of the depicted inscription was due to the actual observers of the rock, and how much was purely conjectural; and this fact has led to much misconception as to the strength of the argument for the Norse theory of the origin and meaning of the inscription. Hereafter, no one should refer to either of the two drawings in the Antiquitates Americanæ as those of the Rhode Island Historical Society. They should evidently be known as Rafn's conjectural drawings, based on a comparison of the Rhode Island drawings with those of earlier date.

It is a curious fact that none of the originators of the drawings, so far as I have knowledge of their published writings and unpublished letters, ever disputed the correctness of the date that Rafn assigned to them, or the justice of calling them, exactly as they were published, the Rhode Island Historical Society's drawings. Webb, we have seen, even came to believe that the shaded lines as well as the others had been drawn by his committee. It has required a careful study of Rafn's text, a comparison of the statements of nearly all the later expositors of his theory, and finally an examination of the original records of the Rhode Island Historical Society and the securing from Denmark of copies of the original drawings, to make possible a presentation of the actual facts.

The results of Rafn's studies were published in 1837 in an impressive volume entitled Antiquitates Americanæ. A month before it appeared, however, a brief hint concerning his conclusions about Dighton Rock had already been given. The periodical called Dansk Kunstblad in its issue of March 17 reproduced Kendall's drawing of the rock, and remarked: "A rock found in Massachusetts, which is covered with numerous hieroglyphics and sundry characters of *Runic* appearance, will, if correctly delineated, furnish to our antiquaries unlooked for elucidations of the olden time of America, and of its indisputable connexion with the old world in times that are long since passed away." [1]

Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837

Whatever may be said of the success of the attempt to connect Dighton Rock with the visits of the Northmen to America, and

[1] This is quoted from a letter from M. Weslauff, President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, who speaks of the rock as "a very important monument" (no. 485).

through it or otherwise to identify localities connected with their discoveries, the service rendered by the publication of the Antiquitates Americanæ was a memorable one. The book is a quarto volume of 526 pages, illustrated by facsimiles of some of the ancient manuscripts, by maps and charts, and by six engravings of Greenland and American monuments. The body of the work contains an Introduction written in Danish and Latin; a Conspectus of the eighteen manuscripts presented; a twelve page essay written in English entitled "America Discovered by the Scandanavians in the Tenth Century. An Abstract of the Historical Evidence Contained in this Work;" the original text of each of the Icelandic manuscripts with a Danish translation in parallel columns and a Latin translation subjoined; lengthy discussions in Latin of monuments found in Greenland and America; and finally, geographical annotations in Latin, and indexes.

In order to appreciate satisfactorily the setting into which the theory of Dighton Rock was fitted, it is necessary to review briefly the story given in the Historical Abstract. Eric the Red settled in Greenland in the spring of 986. Later in the same year, Biarne Heriulfson, attempting to join Eric's colony, was driven out of his course and saw strange lands of three typically different characters, but did not go on shore. In 1000, Leif, son of Eric, set forth to discover Biarne's new lands. The first that he found he called Helluland (identified by Rafn with Newfoundland), the second, Markland (Nova Scotia), and the third Vinland, because of the wild grapes found there (vicinity of Cape Cod and Nantucket). Here he erected large houses, afterwards called Leifsbooths (in Mount Hope Bay), and wintered. Thorwald, Leif's brother, sailed in 1002, and passed two winters at Leifsbooths. He explored the country to the south, and gave the name Kialarnes to a prominent headland (Cape Cod). He was killed in a contest with Skrellings, and was buried at Krossanes (Gurnet Point). His companions wintered once more at Leifsbooths. In 1005, Thorstein, another son of Eric, made an unsuccessful voyage. Thorfinn Karlsefne, a wealthy and powerful man of illustrious lineage, went from Iceland to Greenland in 1006, accompanied by Snorre Thorbrandson, Biarne Grimolfson, and Thorhall Gamlason. Thorfinn married Gudrida, widow of Thorstein. In the spring of 1007 he set sail in three ships with his wife and companions, together also with Thorward and his wife Freydisa, daughter of Eric, and another

man named Thorhall. They had with them 160 men and much livestock, intending to establish a colony. They found all the places already named, and gave names also to Furdustrandir (Wonder strands; the long sandy stretches of Cape Cod), Straumey (Stream Isle; Martha's Vineyard), and Straumfiördr (Streamfirth; Buzzards Bay). At the latter place they landed and wintered. Thorhall with eight men left them. The others sailed southwards and arrived at Hop (Mount Hope Bay), where they found wild wheat and vines. They saw natives, erected dwelling houses a little above the bay, and wintered there. No snow fell. In the spring of 1008 (1009?) they traded with the natives, who were frightened away by the loud bellowing of a bull. About this time Gudrida gave birth to a son, who was named Snorre. Early next winter they were attacked by the Skrellings, but repulsed them after a severe conflict. In consequence of the hostility of the natives, they left Hop, and after some further exploration they spent the third (fourth?) winter at Streamfirth, and returned in 1011 to Greenland.[1] In 1012–13 another expedition to Leifsbooths was made under the leadership of Freydisa. Later voyages also occurred, ending with one to Markland in 1347.

The Inscription Interpreted by Magnusen and Rafn

Rafn supported his identifications of localities by arguments drawn from geographical and nautical descriptions, by statements concerning climate and soil, produce and natural history, and by an observation seeming to determine the length of day and hence the latitude. But the most conclusive evidence that the Hop of the Northmen was situated at the head of Narragansett Bay, he believed, is furnished by the inscription on Dighton Rock. Apparently before he had received the new drawing of 1834, Rafn submitted some or all of the earlier drawings to Finn Magnusen[2] for his opinion of them.

[1] The text is not explicit as to how many winters were spent in each place. It does state that the return to Greenland was in 1011, and that Snorre was then three years old. It would seem that, in order to make the narrative consistent, the corrections given in parentheses above must be made to the statements of the text.

[2] Magnusen is called by Rafn an expert in Runic inscriptions. But his expertness has been called in question. Rau (no. 370) tells of the instance of the Runamo rock in Sweden, which in 1833 was visited by a committee of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, including Magnusen. In 1841 Magnusen pub-

Magnusen's report, based wholly on the Baylies drawing of 1789, was as follows:

I am glad to say that I support unhesitatingly your opinion as to the inscription and figures on the Assonet rock. I believe there is no doubt that they are Icelandic and due to Thorfinn Karlsefne. The Icelandic letter þ, near the prow of a ship, at the spectator's left, shows this at first glance, as do also the principal configurations cut in the rock. Several other considerations support this belief. . . . I. The numeral characters CXXXI exactly correspond to the number of Thorfinn's men; for these were CXL, of whom nine under Thorhall left him at Straumfirth. With the rest he went to Hop. Under the numeral characters appears the combination ᚿᛘ, consisting of two letters, a Latino-gothic N and a runic M,[1] standing for norraenir (north) and menn or medr (men). Between them is a ship divested of masts, sails and ropes, indicating that these men came to this land in the ship but later left it after removing its masts, sails and ropes, and erected fixed habitations on the land occupied by them. The whole phrase means: CXXXI North-European seamen.

II. Following the numerals CXXXI is a Latino-gothic character resembling an M, the right-hand half of which has a crossline making it, taken by itself, an A. This is a monogrammatic combination standing for NAM, equivalent to land-nám. Underneath it is a diamond shaped O followed by an R. This OR is an ancient Scandinavian form for modern Icelandic and Danish *vor*, in English *our*. *Nam or* signifies "territory occupied by us," or "our colonies." — III. In the highest

lished an illustrated quarto work of 742 pages, the principal feature of which was his translation of the marks on Runamo Rock. He made out a runic inscription of thirteen lines. In 1842 and 1844, the rock was visited by J. J. A. Worsaae, who reported "that there is no runic inscription whatever on Runamo Rock, and that the marks considered as runes by Finn Magnusen are simply the natural cracks on the decayed surface of a trap dike filling up a rent in a granite formation." Rau regards the arguments of Worsaae as absolutely convincing. At any rate, it is not difficult to believe the story, after one has examined Magnusen's methods in dealing with Dighton Rock.

[1] The former shaped like a lower-case n, the latter somewhat like a trident. They are easily found on the Baylies drawing in the position indicated. Magnusen's exposition can be followed best by reference to Plate XXVI (our Publications, xix. 106), whose lower drawing is the one used by Magnusen. Plate XXXV (p. 316, below) is a fair substitute, although most of the figures referred to are shown in rather faint dots. Number 23 on that plate is the N, number 21 the M, and between them the mastless ship. The original text uses special forms for the letters C. M, N. and O. differing somewhat from those here employed.

part of the configuration, above the portions just discussed, is a rather artificial figure [1] representing in our opinion a great shield provided with a singular foot resembling a fish-tail. This shield, together with the adjacent inverted helmet, I accept as symbols of the peaceful occupation of this land. — IV. This occupation, or the cultivation of the land or development of the colony, is further indicated by a very crude figure cut in the rock underneath the *n* of norraenir, if this, as we conjecture, represents a heifer lying down or at rest. At the time of the first occupation of Iceland, the ground covered by a heifer in its wanderings during a summer's day customarily determined the extent of the land to be occupied. — V. I believe that the configuration as a whole presents to the spectator this scene: the famous ship of Thorfinn Karlsefne as it first set out for Vinland and came to this shore, with a wind-vane [2] attached to the mast. His wife Gudrida, seated on the shore, holds in her hand the key of the conjugal dwelling, at that time, as is evident, long previously constructed.[3] Beside her stands their three year old son, Snorro, born in America. Thorfinn's CXXXI companions were then occupying Vinland, and had declared it to be their own possession, thus occupied. One of their ships in which they had come, is represented fixed to the shore, for this reason despoiled of its sails.[4] A cock [5] announces by his crowing domestic peace, as do also the shield at rest and the inverted helmet. Then suddenly approaching war is indicated. Thorfinn,[6] leader of the colonists, is seated, enjoying rest; but he seizes his shield [7] and endeavors to protect himself against the approaching Skrellings,[8] who violently assail the Scandinavians, armed with clubs

[1] The combination of figures, largely triangular, whose centre lies above the MA monogram. It is number 3 in Plate XXXV. The helmet next spoken of is number 8 lying to the right of the MA monogram. The heifer is number 22.

[2] Ventilogium. This is a word that is not often correctly translated. It is not given in most Latin dictionaries; but may be found in Du Cange's Glossarium, 1846. The ship here mentioned demands a complaisant imagination for its recognition in the jumble of lines between the P at the extreme left of the drawing and the first human figure. It is number 40 on Plate XXXV.

[3] The key is easily identified inside the drawing representing Gudrida, the large human figure at the left.

[4] This ship is the one mentioned under I, between the N and the runic M.

[5] This is of course the figure of the bird, at the middle bottom of the drawing; number 14.

[6] The apparently human figure just to the right of the central part of the drawing; number 25.

[7] Thorfinn's shield is the series of lines, to the right of Thorfinn, shaped like an hour-glass at the top, thence curving down to a small triangle near the bottom of the human figure; number 10.

[8] The two human figures at the right; numbers 26, 27.

or branches, with bow and arrows, and furthermore with a military machine, unknown to us, which in Thorfinn's history is called a ballista, from which are thrown, besides missiles and large rocks with ropes attached, as is seen, also a huge ball, which fact is testified to in express words in the same history.[1] — VI. Certain other features of the inscription, ropes and runic enigmas, must be left unexplained.[2]

Rafn devotes 42 pages of the Antiquitates Americanæ [3] to his own discussion of Dighton Rock. First he reproduces the letters which he had received from the Rhode Island Historical Society, then quotes the accounts of the rock that had been published by Lort, by Warden, and by Vallancey.[4] Since his time these sources have been accepted as the basis of nearly all accounts of the earlier history of investigation of this subject; but how inadequate this account is both in accuracy and in completeness has been shown constantly in the course of our own investigation. Rafn then announces: "We are of the opinion that the inscription is due to the Icelanders. Finn Magnusen, an expert in Runic inscriptions, whose opinion we consulted, supports us." [5] Magnusen's interpretation is presented, the nine copies of the inscription known to Rafn are enumerated, and finally he reviews the opinions of Magnusen and adds corrections and amplifications of his own. Concerning the numeral characters CXXXI in division I, it will be noticed that Magnusen left them without stating their equivalence in Arabic numerals. Rafn expresses the belief that the C stands for the Icelandic "great hundred," which is ten dozen instead of ten tens. Hence the whole signifies not 131 but 151, the true number of Thorfinn's men after Thorhall's nine had left. The Gothic N and Runic M with a dismasted ship between them are to be regarded as less certain, since they are to be found on the Baylies drawing only. Nevertheless, Magnusen's explanation of them fits

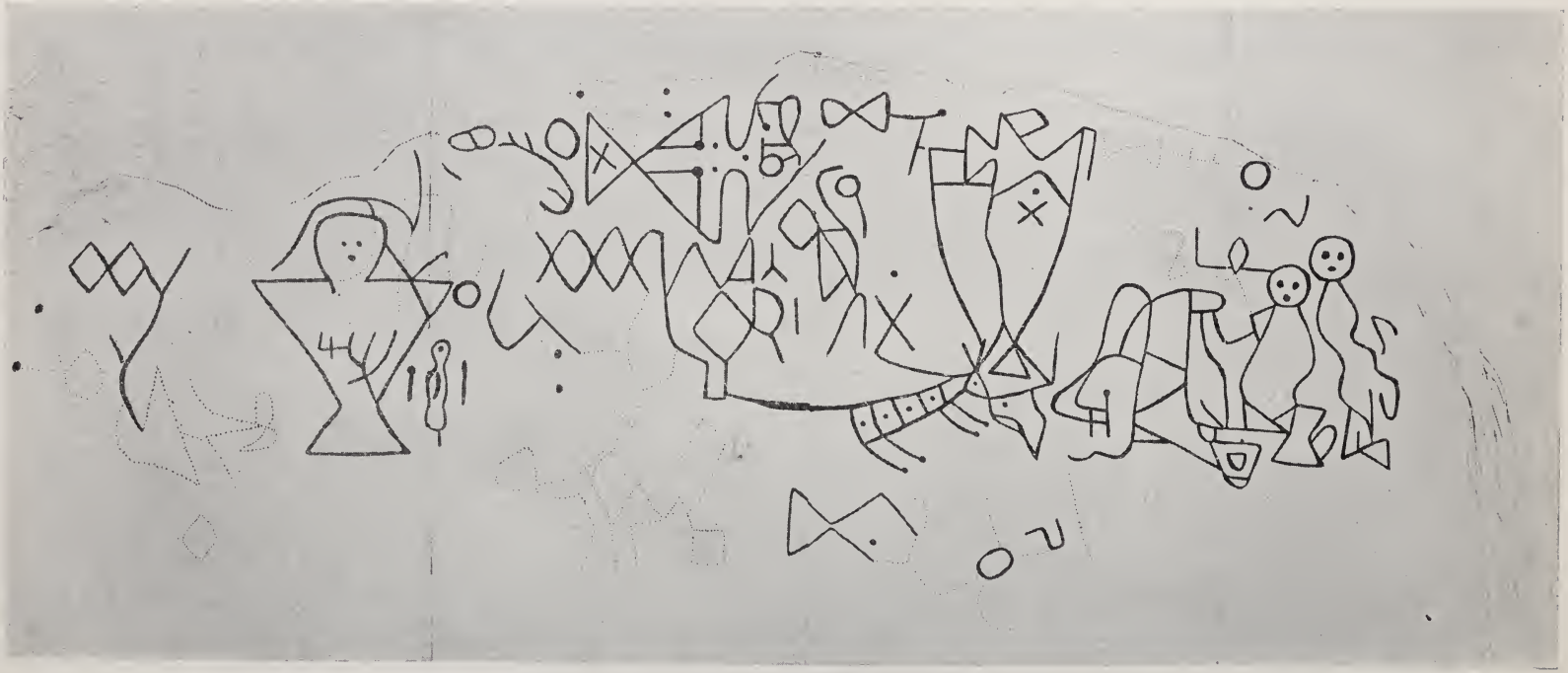
[1] All the implements of war here enumerated can be sufficiently well made out by an active imagination between the shield and the Skrellings. Numerous bows can be imagined, as to the right of 26 at his feet, to the left of 26 above 31, above the head of 26, and at 32. 34 is an arrow. Other lines leftward of 26, also 28, 29, 30, 35 must be the clubs and branches, and the stones with ropes attached. The huge ball resting in the ballista is probably number 31.

[2] No. 16, pp. 378–382. Here translated with some condensation from the original Latin.

[3] Pp. 355–396.

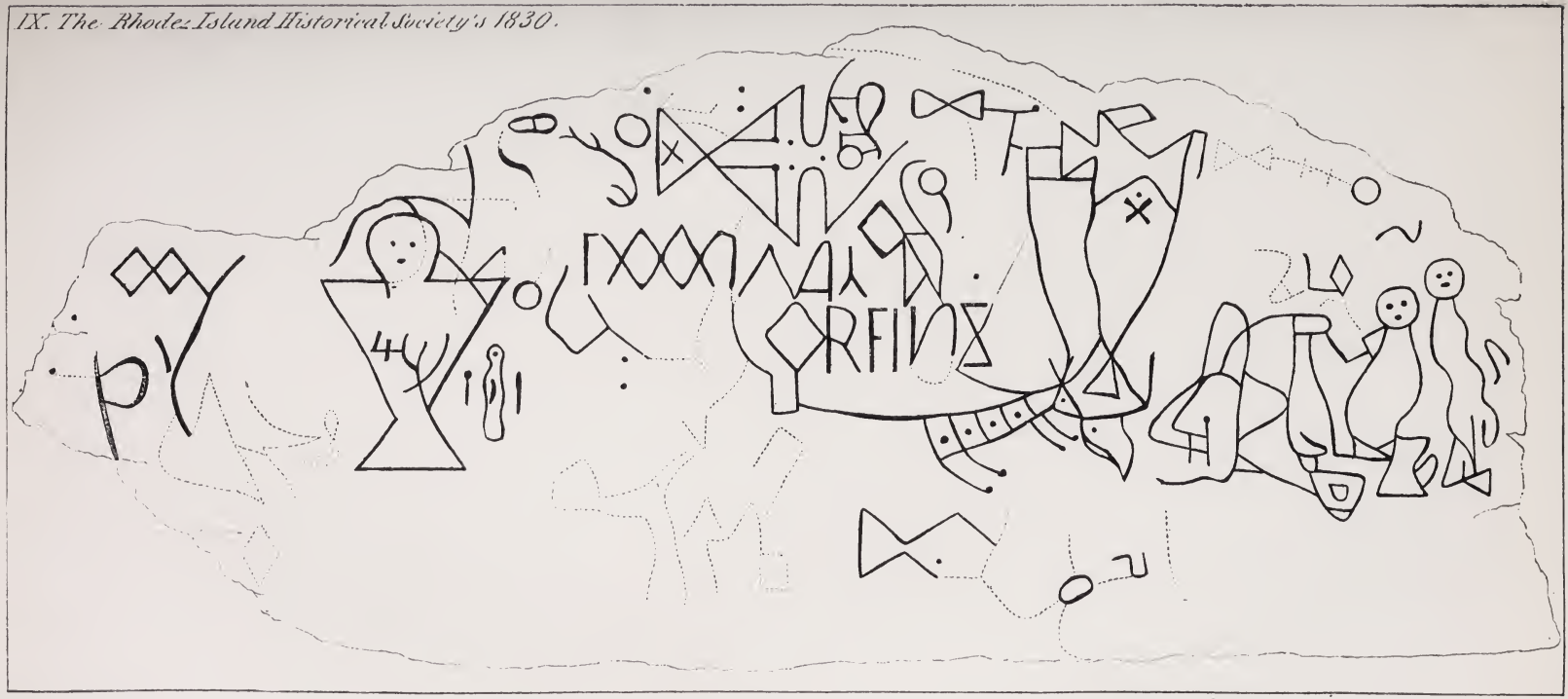
[4] In a footnote on p. 390 he also mentions Gebelin's interpretation.

[5] P. 378.



RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S DRAWING, 1834

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN



RAFN'S SO-CALLED "RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S 1830" DRAWING, 1837

FROM ANTIQUITATES AMERICANAE, 1837, TAB. XII, PLATE IX. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

in so well with the numerals, that their real existence at least formerly is of the highest degree of probability. Under II the NAM is accepted. But instead of OR Rafn finds in the Rhode Island drawing, supported in part by Kendall, as we have already seen, the fuller ORFINS.

In front of these six letters Greenwood's picture places a curved line, which is seen also, among others, even in Mather's earlier drawing. We are not very rash in suspecting this stroke to belong to the letter þ with its first upright line now exceedingly worn or even wholly invisible. If therefore we accept this letter as having been expressed in this place, or even recognize as a þ that letter which, though not a little distant [1] from the succeeding letters, is yet visible in the Rhode Island Society's drawing and is plainly and accurately delineated in the Baylies drawing at the first of the representations of a ship, then there results, according to the greatest probabilities, this reading for the two lines of the inscription, disregarding the numeral characters:

NAM þORFINS.

The whole inscription, therefore, reads: "Thorfinn and his 151 companions took possession of this land."

In III, Rafn accepts the interpretation of the figure as a shield, and describes the ancient shields, of which this is a true representation. The figure of a heifer in IV, given in the Baylies and in some part also in the Rhode Island drawing, is very different in Winthrop. Its interpretation is subject to doubt, but yet sufficiently probable. Rafn continues:

V. The principal scenes of this representation correspond so perfectly with the accounts in the old Icelandic writings that this historical interpretation of their meaning is hardly to be regarded as rash or erroneous. The arrival of the Scandinavians in Vinland, their occupation of the land and even their encounter with the Skrellings, are here easily recognized. The figure of a man standing in the middle is given in the Baylies but is lacking in the more recent drawings, and hence is somewhat doubtful. Unless this figure was once there and has since been destroyed by erosion, then the human figure next to the ship [2] ought to represent the leader of the expedition. At his side the best drawings show the figure of a child, which probably indicates Snorre. . . . In

[1] The actual distance is nearly five feet on the rock.

[2] The one that Magnusen called Gudrida.

my opinion this assumption is proven by the fact that at his right side the Rhode Island drawing places the Runic letter S,[1] initial of his name. The animal, placed under the upright shield in most drawings, is represented as having horns. We take it to represent the bull which is mentioned in Thorfinn's history.

The figures at the right, Rafn thinks, are very probably Eskimos with their weapons: stretched bow, ball flying through the air with rope attached, arrow-head, and finally a projected stone dashed against the upper margin of the shield. — VI. The rest is too doubtful for correct interpretation, though, as Magnusen says, there are resemblances to runic letters. — VII. Other examples of inscriptions are cited in support of the theory here advocated.

Following this account of the Assonet inscription is given a description of the inscriptions at Portsmouth and Tiverton in Rhode Island.[2] These, according to Rafn, confirm his opinion as to Dighton Rock. We can see in them certain runic letters of undoubtedly Scandinavian origin, eight of which are specifically mentioned. Finn Magnusen agrees that runic letters occur in the drawings, some of which have a genuine significance. He finds, for example, the runes standing for the letters L and T, and says of them: "We assume that Leif and Tyrker wished to indicate thus their names by their initial letters." Other composite characters occur that are to be taken as monograms. He thus discovers the names An and Aki, and assumes that men of these names accompanied Thorfinn.

No shore to which the Northmen came
But kept some token of their fame;
On the rough surface of a rock,
Unmoved by time or tempest's shock,
In Runic letters, Thorwald drew
A record of his gallant crew;
And these rude letters still are shown
Deep chiseled in the flinty stone.[3]

Inadequacy of these Views

Although not including quite all the detail given it by Rafn, yet the foregoing presents fairly the evidence offered in the Antiquitates

[1] An upright line terminating above in a dot.

[2] No. 16, pp. 396–405.

[3] P. C. Sinding, nos. 417, 418.

Americanæ for the famous Norse theory of the inscription on Dighton Rock. Reserving for a moment the question as to the presence there of the name Thorfinn, it is clearly evident that all the rest of the alleged translation is pure romancing, on an exact par with the detailed readings of Gebelin, of Hill, and of Dammartin. The reader who has followed the changing phases of depiction and interpretation of the inscription thus far must realize that it is easy to imagine as present on the rock almost any desired letter of the alphabet, especially of crude or early forms; and that, starting with almost any favored story, he can discover for it, if he looks for them eagerly enough, illustrative images to fit its various features, and initial letters or even entire words or names. Later examples will give even stronger confirmation of this fact.

Aside from an undoubted fascination in the thought of the bold Norsemen sailing without compass the stormy seas and discovering and colonizing these shores so long a time before Columbus, the one thing that has led to so confident, widespread and prolonged acceptance of Rafn's views concerning Dighton Rock has probably been the apparently clear presence of the name of Thorfinn on the rock. It is undeniably there, plainly visible to everyone, in Rafn's seemingly scholarly compilation of the different extant drawings, published in an impressive volume issued by a highly reputable learned society. It is hardly a matter for wonder that so many persons have seen no reason to doubt the reliability of the depiction. But if this one word can be shown to be doubtful, or indubitably not there, then the whole fabric of Rafn's and Magnusen's ingenious readings falls with it and their translation of the rock's inscription becomes as much a fairy tale as are its earlier and later rivals.

Is there, then, any possibility that the name Thorfinn was cut upon Dighton Rock? We can answer with entire confidence that there is not. A number of distinct arguments may be cited, each one of them wholly convincing. (1) Examination of all of the discoverable drawings and photographs shows that not one of them contains the name. To repeat a statement made in an earlier paper,[1] of thirty attempts known to me to depict this portion of the inscription, about 85 per cent exhibit the diamond shape that Rafn called an O; only 2 show an R, 3 others something similar, all the rest nothing like it;

[1] Our Publications, xix. 115.

in the position where Rafn placed FI, no one has anything like an F, 14 have an I, 10 others some other character, and 6 have nothing; next beyond, Kendall presents a misshapen N, and all the rest some shape that has no resemblance to it; in the final place, all but one give an X. Opinion is almost unanimous that there is nothing there that at all resembles ThORFINS. (2) If the name were actually there, or ever had been, later careful examinations of the rock, often by persons eager to verify Rafn's views, should have shown some confirmation of its presence. Of reproductions since 1837, there are eighteen. All of them have the diamond shape, usually with a vertical attachment below; not one has R, and only one anything resembling it; not one gives two characters in the FI position, and only about half of them draw the single character there as an I; not one finds anything like an N, unless we except the single case where a complex character occurs within which an N could be separated out; all give X, and without horizontal lines either above or below except in two cases. Thus all attempts to confirm Rafn's guess have served only to prove it incorrect. (3) Anyone may now prove the matter for himself as completely as if he were to visit the rock and examine it under favorable conditions of light and tide. Study of the Hathaway photograph [1] is for this purpose superior to direct examination of the rock, for it shows the smallest details of texture of the surface with almost ideal clearness, and can be examined at leisure and in comfort — conditions that the rock itself rarely offers. The result of such study must be the conviction that between the reputed R and N there is not room for two characters unless the R is unduly narrowed, and no trace of more than one; and that although the actual lines are often doubtful yet the conjectural additions made by Rafn are wholly imaginary, corresponding to no actual markings on the rock.[2]

[1] Plate XXXII.

[2] I do not wish to deny that the picture-completing apperceptive process may construct almost anything it seeks to find in the complex and innumerable details of texture and light reflections of the surface. In that manner I can myself see, though rather ill-proportioned, the whole name Thorfinn there, if I wish to relax into the seeing of dreamlike unrealities. And of course in like manner I can see numerous alternatives with equal ease. But critical examination does not justify the assumption of the actual existence of such subjectively originating lines.

At a later date Rafn added to his "proofs" of the location of Vinland in the region of Narragansett Bay two other objects which played a prominent part in subsequent discussions. One of these was the Stone Tower or Old Mill at Newport.[1] There are very few people now who doubt that this structure is identical with that mentioned by Governor Benedict Arnold in his will of 1677 as "my Stone built Wind Mill," and that it was erected not more than two years earlier on the model of one in England with which Arnold must have been familiar in his boyhood. The facts leading to this conclusion were first announced by Melville and Brooks, made widely known by Palfrey, and corroborated by Mason's expert examination of the architectural evidence.[2] The other apparent relic of the Northmen was the famous "Skeleton in armor" celebrated by Longfellow, discovered in Fall River in 1831.[3] The only foundation for its short-lived acceptance as evidence in favor of Rafn's views lay in the fact that there were found with it a brass breast-plate and a belt made of brass tubes. The argument lost its force when other skeletons similarly equipped were found,[4] when it became known that the Indians were abundantly provided with similar metallic articles when the white men first came into contact with them,[5] and when it was realized that the brass of this particular armor might well have been secured by Indians from early traders or colonists.[6]

In justice to the men most prominently responsible for introducing Dighton Rock and these two companions into the story of Norse discoveries, a word should be said as to their later expression of views. Already in 1838, Rafn referred to the evidence given in Antiquitates Americanæ merely as "hints," and said that the matter would continue to form a subject for accurate investigation. In a letter of January 4, 1848, to David Melville of Newport he said that these

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1836–1839, pp. 361–385. Letters of Webb (1839) to Rafn (pp. 361–368), with Rafn's remarks (pp. 369–385), reprinted in Supplement to the Antiquitates Americanæ, 1841.

[2] G. C. Mason, Jr., Old Stone Mill at Newport, in Magazine of American History, 1879, iii. 541–549.

[3] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840–1844, pp. 104–119.

[4] Ibid. pp. 110, 118. See also no. 209.

[5] See Winship's Sailors' Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524–1624 (1905), pp. 15, 43 f, 56.

[6] 20th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, 1880–1886, iii. 543 f.

monuments "unquestionably merit the attention of the investigator, but we must be cautious in regard to the inferences to be drawn from them." Yet his letters to Niels Arnzen between 1859 and 1861, in which he approves of a project to remove Dighton Rock to Denmark, show that he still regards it as of "high and pressing importance." The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, however, eventually abandoned all belief in the value of the rock as evidence, as is shown by a letter of February 22, 1877, addressed to Arnzen, signed by four officials in behalf of the government of the society, and by a letter of November 1, 1878, from the Society's vice-president, J. J. A. Worsaae, to Charles Rau. The official letter to Arnzen says: "The Society must confess that the inscribed figures on the Rock have, according to the later investigations, no connection with the Northmen's journeys of discovery or sojourn in America, but rather that it is the work of the original races of Indians." Bartlett, in 1846, expressed his belief that no alphabetic characters had been satisfactorily identified on Dighton Rock; and many years later he wrote: "I never believed that it was the work of the Northmen or of any other foreign visitors. My impression was, and is still, that it was the work of our own Indians. . . . Nor do I concur . . . in the belief that it was intended as a record of any kind." [1] Webb apparently clung persistently to the belief that the inscription was Norse, yet conceded that it might be otherwise: "If its anti-Runic character should be satisfactorily shown," and "allowing it to be an Indian Monument, it should be none the less highly prized and carefully preserved." [2]

It is now generally conceded by everyone whose opinion is of value that no material remains of the Norse visits to America have ever been discovered. The nearest indubitable one is that found in 1824 at Kingiktorsoak on the east shore of Baffin Bay. Perhaps we ought to except the so-called Kensington Stone in Minnesota, which has an inscription in characters which are undoubtedly runic, but whose authenticity is still in question.[3] It may be that this will turn out to be, so far as its connection with Northmen is concerned, in the same class as the hoax of Potomac, the fraudulent or at least dubious stone

[1] Nos. 39, 41.

[2] No. 482.

[3] See Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, 1915, xv. 221–286.

of Grave Creek, and the natural markings or Indian picture-writings of Monhegan, Yarmouth, and other places whose "inscribed stones" have been attributed from time to time to the discoverers of Vinland.[1] Other remains of old times besides inscriptions, the best known of which are those of Horsford's Norumbega near Boston, likewise lack proof of any association with these explorers from Iceland and Greenland. The whole matter is well summed up by Babcock:

> So far as investigation has gone, there is not a single known record or relic of Wineland, Markland, Helluland, or any Norse or Icelandic voyage of discovery, extant at this time on American soil, which may be relied on with any confidence. There are inscriptions, but apparently Indians made them all except the freakish work of white men in our own time; there are games, traditional stories, musical compositions, weapons, utensils, remnants of rude architecture, and residua of past engineering work, but no link necessarily connects them with the period of Icelandic exploration or with the Norse race. One and all they may perfectly well be of some other origin — Indian, Basque, Breton, Norman, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Spanish, or English. Too many natives were on the ground, and too many different European peoples, who were not Scandinavians, came here between 1497 and 1620 for us to accept anything as belonging to or left by a Norse Wineland, without unimpeachable proof.

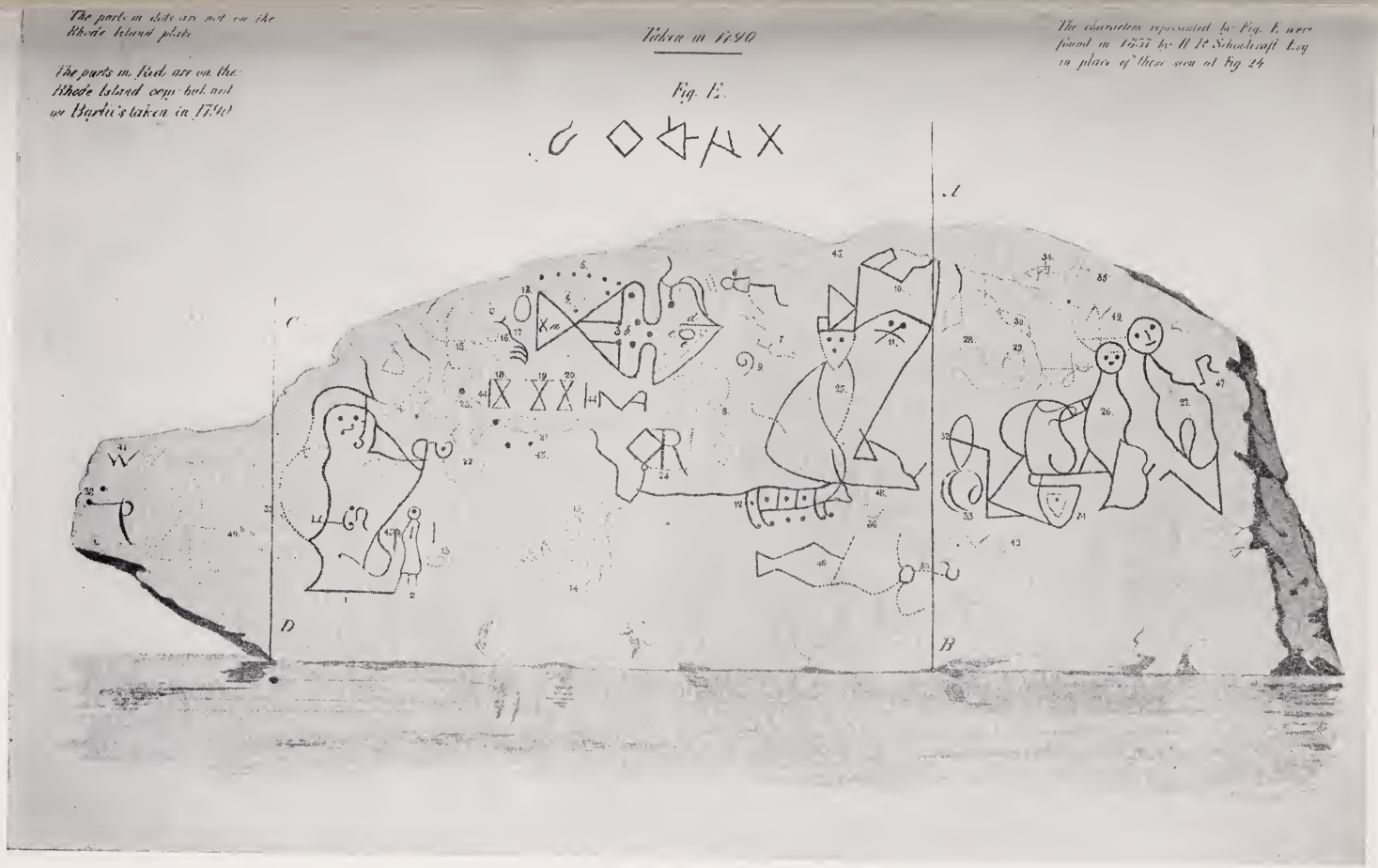
Present Status of Question as to Location of Vinland

But the absence of still existent monuments does not in the least degree invalidate the main story of the sagas. John Fiske rightly said: "The only discredit which has been thrown upon the story of the Vinland voyages, in the eyes either of scholars or of the general public has arisen from the eager credulity with which ingenious antiquarians have now and then tried to prove more than facts will warrant." We can cheerfully reject this theory about the rock whose complicated history, more remarkable than the rock itself, we are studying. But it is impossible to have searched minutely for all discoverable discussions of the rock without having read much about the voyages to Vinland and Hop, and wondering where after all these places may have been. Our researches, centered on an entirely dif-

[1] The evidence for all here mentioned is examined, apparently authoritatively, in no. 471. See also no. 496.

ferent though interweaving question, have not rendered us competent to utter an expert opinion in this matter; but they have made it possible to say a brief word concerning the opinions expressed by others. For fifty years after the appearance of Antiquitates Americanæ, opinion was almost equally divided between the followers and the opponents of Rafn's views. Out of more than a hundred persons who wrote on the subject, and whom I have consulted in order to obtain a well-founded idea as to how the Dighton Rock story was greeted, about 46 per cent were confident that he had solved the problem correctly, while 11 per cent more accepted his localities without sharing his deductions concerning Dighton Rock. Among them all, however, there was hardly another one who supported the opinion so long defended by Bancroft, that the sagas gave no assurance that the Northmen ever discovered the continent of America. If we accept the almost unquestioned belief that they did land somewhere on American shores, the most helpful indications as to how far south they penetrated are furnished by vague sailing directions, a crude observation as to the length of day, and statements concerning useful plants that they found. As to the latter, so long as it was believed that their *vinber* were grapes, their self-sown *hveiti* Indian corn, and their *mösur* wood, maple or the like, the probabilities seemed to most critical students strongly in favor of New England. But in 1887 there appeared two books which ultimately were strongly influential in altering the reading of the evidence. Gustav Storm [1] showed that neither the distribution of the grape, nor the identification of the other plants, nor calculations as to length of day, nor any other observations made in the sagas, compel a belief that Vinland lay farther south than about 49° north latitude, and that it certainly could not be farther north. Nova Scotia seemed to him its most probable location. In the same year Garrick Mallery, by publication of his Pictographs of the North American Indians, greatly extended an already considerable knowledge of the extent to which the Indians, throughout widely separated areas, had made pictures and markings upon rocks, in many cases not unsimilar to the "hieroglyphs" on Dighton Rock, and thus furnished stronger foundation than had before existed for the contention that the latter need be ascribed to no

[1] Studien over Vinlandsreiserne, published in English in Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1888, pp. 307–370.



DRAWING OF ALLEGED ROMAN LETTERS (FIG. E), 1847; AND COMBINATION OF THE DRAWINGS OF 1789 AND 1837 BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, 1851

FROM SCHOOLCRAFT'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES, 1851, I, PLATE 36. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

other source. Doubtless also Justin Winsor's critical study of the literature of pre-Columbian explorations contributed largely to the decisive rejection of a New England Vinland. The influence of these writings, naturally, only slowly became evident in the literature of the Norse voyages. Of about thirty discussions in my list between 1887 and 1900, we find that between forty and fifty per cent are still expounding Rafn's views. But since 1900 there has been a marked change. Of thirty references to the subject that we find recorded in our notes, only four very minor and negligible ones admit the possibility that Dighton Rock may have been a Norse record; only three others, without accepting the rock, believe that Vinland lay so far south. The remainder, nearly eighty per cent of all, either place Vinland farther north or make no attempt to determine its exact location. The most important recent contributions may well receive a moment's notice. In 1910, Fernald contended that *vinber* was probably mountain cranberry (*Vaccinium Vitis-Idaea*), *hveiti* the strand wheat (*Elymus arenarius*), and *mösur* the canoe birch (*Betula alba*), and hence that Vinland was probably in Labrador or along the Lower St. Lawrence River.[1] Babcock, examining evidence that the coast of New England has steadily subsided since glacial times and deducing the changes in coastal scenery that must have occurred since the year 1000, believes that "thus far no other Hop has been suggested which seems more plausible than Mount Hope Bay," but that Leif's booths were in southeastern Massachusetts. Hovgaard, once Commander in the Royal Danish Navy, comes to the conclusion that Leif reached Cape Cod, but that Thorfinn sailed no farther south than Newfoundland. Both Babcock and Hovgaard reject Fernald's interpretation of *vinber*, believing that it means grapes. Yet comparatively few others among recent authorities locate Vinland or any part of it farther south than Nova Scotia. The latest book of all on the subject, whose argument cannot henceforward be overlooked, is by Dr. Andrew Fossum of Park Region Luther College in Minnesota. Instead of rejecting one or the other of the two partly conflicting sagas of the Vinland voyage, as most writers do, he contends that each of them in its main features is authentic, the one as correctly relating the adventures of the family of Eric, the other

[1] M. L. Fernald, Notes on the plants of Wineland the Good, in Rhodora, xii. 17–38.

those of Thorfinn. Then, making a minute study of sailing directions and descriptions of scenery, and believing that other indications are in accord with his results, he seems to establish conclusively the fact that Leif's Vinland and Thorfinn's Hop were different regions, and very plausibly locates the former on the Lower St. Lawrence River and the latter somewhere on the east coast of Newfoundland.

Discussions of the Norse Theory of the Rock

Accustomed as we now are to accepting the fact that not only the Northmen, but perhaps voyagers on many other unprovable occasions saw the shores of America before Columbus did, it is hard to realize what a tremendous impression was made by the appearance of the Antiquitates Americanæ. Edward Everett wrote, immediately on receiving it: "This is a work of great interest. It has long been expected with impatience."[1] Higginson tells us: "I can well remember, as a boy, the excitement produced among the Harvard professors when the ponderous volume made its appearance upon the library table. . . . To tell the tale in its present form gives very little impression of the startling surprise with which it came before the community of scholars nearly half a century ago."[2] Wilson says: "The year 1837 may be regarded as marking an epoch in the history of Ante-Columbian research. The issue in that year of the Antiquitates Americanæ produced a revolution, alike in the form and the reception of illustrations of ante-Columbian American history."[3] The diary of Edward Everett Hale[4] interestingly revives for us the daily atmosphere and setting of the time when it appeared.

The book immediately, and for long after, was discussed in numerous reviews and magazines. Rafn's historical account in English was republished at least twenty times in eleven different languages. Lectures on the subject were delivered by men of prominence like Governor Edward Everett, A. H. Everett, and George Folsom, as well as by others less well known. Leading scholars and historians took account of it, and only Irving and Bancroft were wholly hostile to Rafn's conclusions, of whom Irving later somewhat modified his opinion and Bancroft eventually withdrew opposition by omitting

[1] No. 158.
[2] No. 246.
[3] No. 494.
[4] Nos. 214, 215, 216.

from his History any reference to the subject. The story of the sagas was retold in a more compact form by several writers.[1]

Such was the immediate effect of the book. With the content of the many discussions and controversies which it has inspired since then, we cannot further concern ourselves, except in so far as they involve new features in the unfolding of opinion about Dighton Rock. It is with regret that we accept the necessity of making this portion of our survey incomplete. We must restrict ourselves to mention of such as were especially influential, or made genuine contributions, or, through their inadequacy and unscholarly character, presented features of psychological interest or were responsible for the spread of erroneous ideas.

One of the best of early opinions was that expressed by Edward Everett in a review of Antiquitates and in a lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society. He said that the copies of the inscription were too unlike to command entire confidence, declared that he remained wholly unconvinced of the truth of the Norse interpretation, and continued:

> The representations of the human figures and animals appear to us too rude for civilized artists in any age, erecting a public monument. They greatly resemble the figures which the Indians paint on the smooth side of their buffalo skins. The characters supposed to be numerals certainly resemble the Roman signs for unity and for ten; but every straight mark resembles I, and every cross resembles X. In the characters supposed to be Runes, we behold no resemblance to the only specimens of Runes we have ever seen; [2] there is certainly none to those found in Baffin's Bay and at Iggalikoi, and described in this volume. No one would hesitate in pronouncing the inscription to be an Indian work, we think, but for the circumstance that it is wrought on stone and seems to require the use of iron. This region was a metropolitan seat of the Indians, — the residence of the greatest chieftain known to the settlers of New England, — for half a century after the landing at

[1] The statements in this paragraph are condensed from nos. 150, 483.

[2] Considerable confusion in discussion has arisen from the habit, much indulged in, of calling the characters on Dighton Rock runes. The only runic characters claimed for this rock were the Sol, initial of Snorre, the doubtful Th, and the trident-like M, initial of madr. The letters forming the numerals, words and name most discussed were regarded by Magnusen and Rafn as Roman, or modified Roman forms. Hence the many criticisms founded on their lack of resemblance to runes were irrelevant.

Plymouth. In this time, the Indians were supplied with implements of iron from the colonists; why may it not have been wrought by Indians between 1620 and 1675? Or why may it not have been the work of some Anglo-American in that period? There are two or three other cases of curious inscriptions on rocks in New England, supposed to be of ancient and foreign origin, but afterwards found to be the work of whim, mischief or insanity. We do not, however, undertake to decide positively against the antiquity and civilized origin of the delineation on Dighton Rock.[1]

Alexander H. Everett believed that the Norse settlement on Mount Hope Bay was "beyond controversy," even though "throwing out of view all the evidence that may be regarded as in any way doubtful, such as . . . the inscription on Dighton Rock." [2] The Rev. A. B. Chapin declared that it was plain that the Indians did not inscribe the letters. Either, then, the Norse view is correct, or they are a forgery; and the latter view is altogether unlikely and improbable. Schoolcraft well expressed one of the early opinions adverse to Rafn's conclusions:

The event recorded is manifestly one of importance in Indian history. We consider the characters hieroglyphics of the Algic stamp. They are not Runic characters. Some of the principal resemblances to Runes, which appear in the latest copy of this inscription, are wholly unnoticed, in this shape, in the previous drawings. The letters R, I, N reversed, and X appear first on Kendall's drawing in 1807, when the country had been settled and cultivated, and the inscription gazed at for more than a hundred years. And we think it would be hazarding little to suppose that some idle boy, or more idle man, had superadded these English, or Roman characters, in sport. The mode of explanation adopted by Mr. Magnusen appears to be far-fetched, in some respects cabalistic, and throughout overstrained. . . . There could have been but little difficulty in making the impressions with sharp pieces of hornstone or common quartz. . . . Similar hieroglyphics [on the Housatonic and

[1] No. 158.

[2] No. 156. In 1864, E. E. Hale presented to the American Antiquarian Society the two representations of Dighton Rock which A. H. Everett used in his lectures. They are greatly enlarged copies, with some slight differences, of the Rhode Island version in Antiquitates. Each measures nearly 4 x 6 feet. The View is based on Bartlett's, but is an oil painting, executed for Mr. Everett by a certain "Bower" of Providence — doubtless the sign-painter, Samuel J. Bower, mentioned in the 1838 directory. See no. 211.

Allegheny] seem to indicate that the Indians had the means of accomplishing this species of inscription.[1]

How strongly the new theories appealed to the popular fancy is evidenced by the success of two uncritical books that appeared within a short time after the publication of the Antiquitates. In 1839 Joshua T. Smith published the Northmen in New England. It shows no originality aside from putting its exposition and defence of Rafn's views in a rather prolix and uninteresting dialogue form, of no present value except as a curiosity of the literature of the subject. A much more striking comment on popular taste is afforded by the long continued demand for a small treatise by the Rev. Asahel Davis, "Chaplain of the Senate of New York," as he is styled in some editions. Its first edition appeared apparently in 1838; the second edition, of 1839, is a small pamphlet of sixteen pages; its size gradually increased in successive editions to somewhat more than double that number. It is exceedingly ill-written, frequently ungrammatical, made up of choppy paragraphs of poorly selected and ill-balanced material taken with uncritical faith from the Bible, from reports such as that of an extinct race of men nine feet in height whose remains have been found in various states, and from Rafn. Yet ten editions had been called for by 1842, ten more within the next six years, and a thirtieth thousand is reported to have been issued in 1854.

Three utterances of the years 1840–1841, by men whose opinions carried weight, were perhaps as representative as any of the early arguments that were possible on either side, before wider and conclusive evidence had been assembled. In 1840 George Bancroft wrote:

> By unwarranted interpolations and bold distortions, in defiance of countless improbabilities, the plastic power of fancy transforms the rude etching into a Runic monument. . . . Calm observers, in the vicinity of the sculptured rock, see nothing in the design beyond the capacity of the red man of New England; and to one intimately acquainted with the skill and manners of the barbarians, the character of the drawing suggests its Algonquin origin. Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador; the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence.[2]

[1] No. 398.

[2] No. 31.

Irving, in a review of Bancroft's History, wrote in 1841:

As for the far-famed Dighton Rock, he sets it down as so much moonshine, pronouncing the characters Algonquin. . . . We give up the Dighton Rock, that rock of offence to so many antiquaries, who may read in it the handwriting of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, or Scandinavians, quite as well as anything else. Indeed, the various *fac-similes* of it, made for the benefit of the learned, are so different from one another that, like Sir Hudibras, we may find in it "A leash of languages at once." We are agreed with our author that it is very good Algonquin.

On the opposing side, Beamish says all that could be said for a Norse Dighton Rock by referring to the "unanswerable arguments" of Professor Rafn, which, he claims, leave "no reasonable doubt as to its being the work of the Northmen." His work as a whole may have been worthy of the republication which it received, but the part wherein he comments on the rock shows a careless and inaccurate reading of his sources such as has often characterized the advocates of startling theories about this inscription. It was he who made the misquotation about the "Western parts of our Country" that has been already mentioned; and he also made the erroneous statement that "the combined letters which follow the numerals may be decyphered N.M. the initials of norronir menn (Northmen)." It will be remembered that the combined letters referred to, M, were actually read NAM by Magnusen and Rafn, and that it was in the next line below that they found the N-ship-M standing for seafaring Northmen.

Samuel Laing, some of whose remarks have already been quoted, devoted a dozen pages of sharp and for the most part justifiable criticism to the subject of Dighton Rock and the Newport windmill in his Heimskringla of 1844. Besides suggesting natural veining of the rock and deliberate fraud as possibilities, he justly says that the marks resembling letters may not be letters at all, but merely scratches, marks or initials, made at various times by various hands; and that interpretation may assign them to any people or period one may please to fancy. In the same year appeared the first German book, so far as I have observed, devoted to the Norse discoveries — by Karl H. Hermes. He gives a survey, based on Rafn, of copies and theories of Dighton Rock, accepts Rafn's reading of "Thorfinn," thinks the Portsmouth and Tiverton rocks may be Norse, rejects

the skeleton and the mill, and rejects also Rafn's reading of the numerals CXXXI. What the X's mean he is not sure. But he suggests that they may be the mystic X of the ancient church, the Greek sign of the cross, long used in Europe as a protection against evil influences; or possibly even Thor's hammer, used in dedicating anything to the gods. He concludes that the rock testifies indubitably and unambiguously to the presence of the Northmen. Paul Guillot's translation into French of Wheaton's History of the Northmen also appeared in 1844, and the translator in his notes accepted the inscription as having been proved to be Norse.

I. A. Blackwell, writing in 1847, thinks that Rafn "might have spared us a great deal of learned trifling" by omitting his dissertation on the inscribed rocks. "The Dighton Rock is covered with tortuous lines which may be made to mean any thing or nothing, and which after all the noise that has been made about them may probably be the handiwork of one of old Sachem Philip's Wampanoag Indians." Herein, we have seen, he was expressing the opinion of a great many of his predecessors. Thus far, however, there was but little more knowledge of Indian handiwork in the making of petroglyphs, that might serve as a sound basis for such opinions, than had been expressed by Kendall in 1807, depending largely on the observations of Dr. Stiles. The publication of the Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley by E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis in 1847 gave new arguments to the anti-Norse faction; and in 1848 Squier minutely examined "the alleged monumental evidence of the discovery of America by the Northmen," and said that on comparing Dighton Rock with many known Indian petroglyphs, "the conclusion will be irresistible that this particular rock is a true Indian monument, and has no extraordinary significance." As to the Norse discoveries, "there is nothing which has tended so much to weaken the force of the arguments which have been advanced in support of that claim in the minds of those acquainted with the antiquities of our country, as the stress which has been laid on this rude inscription."

Argument by ridicule is often more effective than more direct attacks. This method found expression in the "Antiquarian hoax" of 1847 and in James Russell Lowell's caricature, which was not developed until 1862, but of which we find the first hint in 1848. The former appeared in the course of a newspaper controversy concern-

ing the Newport Stone Mill, the contributions to which were later assembled by C. T. Brooks.[1] With the utmost solemnity, and no indication that his statements were not to be taken seriously except the veiled one implied in his use of high-sounding and meaningless names and descriptions of non-existent incidents, a writer who signed himself "Antiquarian, Brown University" claimed that the characters were Furdo Argyto Dnostick, were made by an ancient race supposed to be Ægypto-Drosticks, and were discovered and described by the Northmen. His pompously worded absurdities were so mingled with statements of fact that they were at first sight not easy completely to expose. David Melville of Newport attempted the task, in language that was perhaps more intemperate and abusive than convincing, but finally settled the matter by writing to Rafn, who replied that the statements by Antiquarian were a downright fabrication, intended to mystify the public, and that the persons mentioned by him as supporting his claims were fictitious characters. Lowell's caricature of the Norse theory is amusing and should be read in full if one would follow exhaustively the fortunes of our rock. In his first series he mentions the rock by name, saying of it only that every fresh decipherer is enabled to educe a different meaning. In the second series he represents the Rev. Homer Wilbur as deeply interested in the apparently Runick characters on a relic recently discovered in North Jaalam. He solves its mystery by a complex process. First he writes down a hypothetical inscription based upon

[1] Nos. 15, 83, 310, 366. The hoax is said by C. E. Hammett, Jr. (Bibliography and Literature of Newport, 1887, p. 28) to have been due to two well known Newport wags. Their names, not given by Hammett, are disclosed in a letter written November 10, 1875, by Dr. David King (1812–1882) of Newport to Justin Winsor, then librarian of the Boston Public Library. In this letter, which is pasted into a copy of Brooks's pamphlet owned by the Library, Dr. King said:

"The above mentioned pamphlet was compiled for Mr Hammett by the Rev. Charles T. Brooks, late Pastor of the Unitarian Church of Newport. The remarks, introductory and conclusive, were written by Mr. Brooks.

"The letters from Brown University were written by Wm H. Cranston, and by Henry Tisdale of Newport. Wm H. Cranston was a Lawyer, and became, subsequently, Editor of the Daily News of Newport. He was, also, for several years Mayor of Newport. Henry Tisdale was a very bright intelligent man, a silversmith, and for several years a member of the City Council of Newport. The letters signed, one the Oldest Inhabitant of Newport were written by David Melville, at one time Surveyor of the Customs of Newport. The lines by a Lady at p. 55, were composed by Mrs Wm L. Littlefield of this City."

EASTMAN DAGUERREOTYPE, 1853

FROM SCHOOLCRAFT'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES, 1854, IV, PLATE 14. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

antecedent probabilities, and then proceeds to extract from the characters on the stone a meaning as nearly as possible conformed to this *a priori* product of his own ingenuity. He then reads the letters diagonally, and finally upside down, each time confirming his interpretation. This convinces him that he has read it correctly as a record of the fact that a certain Bjarna here first drew smoke through a reed stem, and that this was a proof of the ante-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen. Lowell meant it, of course, only as pure fun and good natured satire; but by a curious dispensation of Providence that has decreed that Dighton Rock's dim tracings should incite every variety and method of interpretation that can be devised by human ingenuity, — whether scientifically calm and sound, or the product of seriously taken imaginings, or even such as may be due to positively paranoiac mental processes, — the satire was also an unintended prophecy. We shall find one of the characters in our drama in very recent times, extracting from the inscription in all seriousness a number of readings, all of them different yet all of them true, and arriving at one of them by turning the inscription upside down!

We have assembled now practically all of the typical arguments on either side. For the Norse hypothesis there has really never been anything to say except to express a faith that Rafn was right. On the other side, apart from presentation of a rival theory, or from constantly growing knowledge of the details of Indian customs and workmanship, to examination of which we shall turn shortly, there was little to do except to point out the inadequacies of the evidence in favor of Scandinavian artists. In order to put this constantly recurring and wholly sound argument once more in new words, we will make a final quotation, this time from Bowen's review of Schoolcraft:

> Detached portions of it may now seem meaningless — or alphabetic, which amounts to the same thing; and these portions may naturally seem Runic to an imaginative northern antiquary, or Sanscrit to an Oriental one. A little group of these unmeaning and half-effaced scrawls, which can be construed, at most, into half a dozen alphabetic characters, is a very narrow basis to erect a theory upon.

Though we must now take leave of Thorfinn and his 151 companions, his Skrellings and his terror-inspiring bull, yet the debate for and against him does not historically cease at this last date from

which we choose to quote. Numerous champions possessed of well-known names have arisen since then, and numerous equally well-known opponents. There is constant interest and occasional humor awaiting anyone who may wish to follow the controversy in all of its successive phases. For the aid and comfort of such as may be tempted to the performance of this task, a few discussions not yet referred to may be mentioned here in a footnote, out of the large number that have taken place. These, at least, should not be overlooked.[1]

As a final word, we may recall how strongly this theory of the rock has appealed to the imagination, and how many instances we have taken notice of wherein the exercise of this faculty has tempted to an expression of opinion many who were utterly unequipped in knowledge or judgment to say anything about it worth printing, and has led astray others better equipped into the adoption of an unscientific attitude on the subject. It is not surprising to realize, therefore, that the romance and fascination of this theme have stirred the ardor of a number of poets. Longfellow felt the inspiration. Sinding has already been quoted. John Hay made a humorous allusion to the difficulty of the "Dighton runes" in his class-day poem, Erato, in 1858. Sidney Lanier accepted the truth of Rafn's story in his Psalm of the West:

> Then Leif, bold son of Eric the Red,
> To the South of the West doth flee —
> Past slaty Helluland is sped,
> Past Markland's woody lea,
> Till round about fair Vinland's head,
> Where Taunton helps the sea, . . .
> They lift the Leifsbooth's hasty walls
> They stride about the land.

[1] (A) Favorable to Norse origin of inscription: Lossing (in 1850–52 suggested that the inscription was the record of a battle with Indians made by Scandinavians acquainted with and using Phœnician letters, but in 1876 stated that the Norsemen left no traces, except the tower at Newport), Hosmer, Anderson (1874, but in 1907 was "hospitably disposed" to Horsford's location of Vinland), Goodrich, Bodfish, Gagnon, Henrici, Neukomm.

(B) Favorable to Rafn's localities at least approximately, but reject Norse character of inscription: De Costa, Horsford, Goodwin, De Roo.

(C) Unfavorable to Rafn's localities and Norse inscription: Cabot, Haven, Wilson, C. R. Hale, Gaffarel, Lodge, Slafter, Higginson, McLean, Reeves, Power, Fiske, Baxter (1893), Ruge, Fischer, Avery, Vignaud.

(D) Bibliographical and critical: Watson, Winsor, Hermannsson.

And another of America's well-loved singers made allusion to a rival "Northman's Written Rock" in his Double-headed Snake of Newbury, and devoted an entire poem to The Norsemen and their supposed visit to New England, a few of whose appreciative lines may well close this portion of our history:

> My spirit bows in gratitude
> Before the Giver of all good,
> Who fashioned so the human mind
> That, from the waste of Time behind,
> A simple stone, or mound of earth,
> Can summon the departed forth;
> Quicken the Past to life again,
> The Present lose in what hath been,
> And in their primal freshness show
> The buried forms of long ago.[1]

Gravier's Variant of the Norse Theory, 1874

Although preserving many of the essential features of Rafn's treatment, the translation offered by Gabriel Gravier in 1874 possesses enough of novelty to need separate mention. The author gives a fairly good survey of earlier opinions, and reproduces Rafn's version of the Rhode Island Historical Society's drawing. His originality consists largely in asserting that when Thorfinn sailed from Straumfjord he left there twenty men and consequently, since nine others had gone off with Thorhall, had but 131 with him at Hop. The inscription is so read as to give evidence of this. At the extreme left of the drawing is seen the number XX, followed by a long wavy descending line which he regards as the rune *kaun*, and below these a P-like character, which he interprets as the Icelandic *thau*, signifying a ship. The *kaun* means "enflure," a dwelling at the foot of a hill; and its irregular prolongation indicates the path that was followed between the ship and the dwelling. Thus are indicated the conditions at Straumfjord. The CXXXI has its usual significance, instead of the forced meaning of 151 which Rafn assigned to it. The next following character, ᛗ, is accepted, in accordance with its interpretation by Magnusen and Rafn, as being a monogrammatic NAM, meaning "occupation of a country." Gravier naturally fails to dis-

[1] Whittier, Complete Poetical Works (1894), pp. 9–11.

cover Magnusen's "Norse seamen," since that occurs only on the Baylies drawing. In its place, he takes the inverted Y which follows the ᛗ as the rune *madr*, meaning men. The *thau* of the name Thorfinn he thinks has been effaced by rain and tide, and for the rest of the name he accepts Rafn's version. The human figures toward the left are Gudrida and Snorre, the latter confirmed by the neighboring rune *sol*, in accordance with Rafn's belief. The animal is the famous bull. The two personages at the right, however, are not Skrellings, but Thorfinn Karlsefne and his friend Snorre Thorbrandson.

Instead of one Norse reading, therefore, there have been three more or less differing ones suggested. Their general purport is very similar. Although Magnusen's and Rafn's differ markedly only in the interpretation of the OR, yet all three wholly agree only in the meaning assigned to the monogrammatic ᛗ, and to the figures of Gudrida and her son. Gravier's version made little impression, having been noticed by only a few reviewers and other writers.[1]

Indian Theory

Side by side with this Norse theory there developed, with increasing detail and growing confidence, the opinion that the inscription was wrought by no others than the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It may seem strange that this, the most natural view of all, should not have prevailed from the first. In fact, it had a few supporters[2] as well as many opponents in the periods surveyed in our earlier papers; and some of the reasons advanced on either side have been there summarized.[3] But, as Higginson remarked in 1882, "so long as men believed with Dr. Webb that 'nowhere throughout our widespread domain is a single instance of their having recorded their deeds or history on stone,' it was quite natural to look to some unknown race for the origin of this single inscription."

This, however, was not the only reason advanced by Dr. Webb for his disbelief in the responsibility of the Indians. In his letter of

[1] One of these quotes M. Madier de Montjau as author of the paper; whereas this gentleman did nothing more than "analyze" the paper by Gravier at the Congress.

[2] Washington, Kendall, Davis: see our Publications, xix. 81, 104, 115.

[3] xviii. 235, 238, 239, xix. 105, 109, 111, 147.

September 22, 1830, of which an abstract has already been given, we find the following statement of his opinion:

In the Western parts of our Country may still be seen numerous and extensive mounds, similar to the tumuli met with in Scandinavia, Tartary and Russia; also the remains of Fortifications, that must have required for their construction, a degree of industry, labour and skill, as well as an advancement in the Arts, that never characterized any of the Indian tribes: Various articles of Pottery are found in them, with the method of manufacturing which they were entirely unacquainted. But, above all, many rocks, inscribed with unknown characters, apparently of very ancient origin, have been discovered, scattered through different parts of the Country: Rocks, the constituent parts of which are such as to render it almost impossible to engrave on them such writings, without the aid of Iron, or other hard metallic instruments. The Indians were ignorant of the existence of these rocks, and the manner of working with Iron they learned of the Europeans after the settlement of the Country by the English. . . . No one, who examines attentively the workmanship [of Dighton Rock], will believe it to have been done by the Indians. Moreover, it is a well attested fact, that no where, throughout our widespread domain, is a single instance of their recording or having recorded their deeds or history, on Stone.[1]

Webb still held to this belief nearly twenty-five years later, although in the meantime he had himself seen many "marked rocks" on the Mexican border.[2] "A popular error, once started on its career, is as hard to kill as a cat," is the way in which John Fiske expressed his view of the situation. How the error has been killed, and the Indians proved entirely capable of having made the Dighton petroglyph, we have now to trace.

George Catlin made one of the earliest definite contributions. Somewhat simplified and condensed, this is his statement:

I have been unable to find anything like a system of hieroglyphic writing amongst them; yet their picture-writings on the rocks and their robes approach somewhat toward it. Of the former, I have seen a vast many in the course of my travels; and I have satisfied myself that they are generally merely the totems or symbolic names, such as birds, beasts, or reptiles, of Indians who have visited these places and, from a feeling of vanity, recorded their names as white men are in the habit of do-

[1] No. 476.

[2] No. 482.

ing at watering places. Many of these have recently been ascribed to the Northmen. I might have subscribed to such a theory, had I not seen the Indians at work recording their totems amongst those of more ancient dates; which convinced me that they had been progressively made, at different ages, and without any system that could be called hieroglyphic writing.

In the same year Alexander W. Bradford discussed ancient remains in the United States, including many rock inscriptions. With corroborative quotations from Lafitau and Charlevoix, he explains how Indians often paint on bark or blazed trees marks or pictures which, like heraldic devices, are symbolic of themselves personally, of their tribe and nation, of their actions and achievements; and that these are often identical with the designs painted on their own faces and bodies. They also use mnemonic symbols to aid in remembering their songs. Bradford did not mention Dighton Rock, even as indirectly as Catlin did; but we need to have his suggestions in mind.

An important extension of knowledge in regard to Indian petroglyphs was due to the work of Squier between 1846 and 1860. The earliest evidence of his interest in Dighton Rock is furnished by his unpublished letters to Bartlett.[1] In the course of one of them he mentions it, and says of other sculptured rocks that he is investigating: "There will be no difficulty in making German or Runic, or Latin, or Choctaw out of them." His first publication, made in collaboration with E. H. Davis, was on the ancient monuments of the Mississippi Valley. In it he describes many pictographs, and remarks that those at Dighton, Tiverton, and Portsmouth "do not seem to differ materially in character" from these.[2] Shortly afterward, he devoted an entire paper to the refutation of the Norse claim to Dighton Rock.[3] He omitted any reference to the rock, but discussed the Fall River skeleton, in his Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York, in 1849. He returned to the subject briefly and finally in a paper of 1860, wherein, speaking of the Runic, Hebrew, and Phœnician theories, he remarks: "Of late years, however, reveries of this kind have been generally discarded, and the investigations of our monuments conducted on more rational and scientific principles."[4]

[1] Nos. 433, 434.
[2] No. 435.
[3] No. 436.
[4] No. 437.

Squier's Ethnological Journal paper[1] is worthy of extended notice. After a minute description of Dighton Rock and the "fanciful speculations" which have been based upon it, he remarks that if it should be found that the rock —

coincides in position with a large number of similar monuments in various parts of the country, which bear inscriptions, not only similar, but identical in style and workmanship; that some of these are known to have been inscribed by the existing Indian tribes, since the period of the commencement of European intercourse, and that it was and still is a common practice among the Indians to delineate on trees and rocks rude outline pictures commemorative of the dead, or of some extraordinary event, as the conclusion of a treaty, or the termination of a successful hunting or martial expedition; then the conclusion will be irresistible that this particular rock is a true Indian monument, and has no extraordinary significance.

Numerous examples are mentioned, occurring usually, if not always, in positions where they would be most likely to attract the attention of individuals passing in canoes, or in the vicinity of old Indian trails or war-paths. Compared with Dighton Rock, —

A careful personal examination enables us to say that in style and workmanship they are indistinguishable. . . . The rocks bear outline figures of men and women, of animals of various kinds, tracks of birds and beasts, besides a multitude of lines and dots, which might easily be converted into inscriptions in any alphabet and language desired. . . . That the Indian nations of North America possessed no true hieroglyphical system seems very well established. They had, however, a method of representation closely allied to it, which has with great propriety been denominated "picture-writing." By grouping figures of men and animals, and other natural objects, in connexion with certain conventional signs, they were able to convey to each other simple ideas, record events, and transmit intelligence. The scope of this representation was, of course, extremely limited.

He mentions the totems of tribes and individuals, and quotes supporting testimony from Heckewelder, Loskiel, Hunter, Catlin and others. All of the sculptured rocks, he continues, —

are clearly within the capabilities of the Indian tribes, by whom they were doubtless inscribed. Their tools, though rude, are, nevertheless,

[1] No. 436.

adequate to the chipping of nearly every variety of rock to the slight depth required in these rude memorials. The tough syenite hatchets which they used previous to European intercourse with them, and for some time thereafter, cut sandstone readily, and with little injury to the instruments themselves; and it is very likely that the graywacke of the Dighton Rock would yield more readily than is generally supposed to their continued application. Besides, a personal examination of these rocks enables us to say that the amount of labor expended upon the largest rock of the Guyandotte group, making proper allowance for the difference of material, is five-fold greater than that expended on the rock at Dighton. . . . The time, however, expended upon these rocks, in the process of inscribing them, is a matter of no consequence among a people who had so great an abundance to spare as the Indian. The labor expended in reducing to shape and polishing some of their hatchets and other implements of hornblende, greenstone, and kindred materials, was probably little less than that bestowed upon the most elaborate of the sculptured rocks.

There is, therefore, nothing in the position of the Dighton rock, or the markings which it bears, to distinguish it from numerous others in different localities. It exhibits a correspondence with them in all essential respects, not excepting the apparently arbitrary marks to which so much significance has been assigned. With slight additions and erasures here and there, and with small drafts on the fancy, it would be very easy to transform the unintelligible symbols upon the rocks of the Guyandotte into palpable records of European adventure, especially if tending to support an hypothesis in behalf of which something like national pride had been enlisted.

Although Schoolcraft expressed four differing opinions within the space of fifteen years, yet on the whole he helped materially toward progress in clearing the mystery of the rock. We are probably justified in accepting Mallery's judgment that Schoolcraft told the truth in substance, although with much exaggeration and coloring. It certainly applies well to his final attitude toward this inscription; for although the detailed translation that he advocated has no claim to acceptance, yet he exerted a wholesome influence in attributing it to Indian sources. Schoolcraft also has the distinction of being responsible for the production of the first published photographic representation of the rock.

In 1839, in a paper already quoted, Schoolcraft expressed opinions

SHOVE LITHOGRAPH, 1864

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

entirely hostile to the Norse theory, asserting that the characters on the rock are Indian hieroglyphics of the Algic stamp. At about the same time he sent to Rafn an account of a "Runic inscription," that of the stone found in the Grave Creek mound, now regarded as probably fraudulent.[1] On November 17, 1846, he delivered an address before the New York Historical Society, showing a then wavering opinion. Regarding Massachusetts and Rhode Island as plausible localities of the Norse discoveries, he deplored the insistence on "localities and monuments, which we are by no means sure ever had any connection with the early Scandinavian adventurers."[2] At a meeting of the same society on November 3, at his suggestion, a committee was appointed "to investigate the character and purport of the ancient pictorial inscription or symbolic figures of the (so called) Dighton Rock, with instructions to visit the same and report thereon to the Society," but there is no record that a report was ever submitted.[3] But Schoolcraft visited the rock in August, 1847, and made a drawing of such of its characters as were in the position where Rafn had imagined the name Thorfinn. His version differs considerably from any others, and to the writer seems to have no better claim to accuracy than they. It can be seen as Figure E of our Plate XXXV.

Meanwhile, in 1839, Schoolcraft had submitted to Chingwauk, a well-known Algonquin priest and chief and an expert in the reading of Indian picture-writings, the drawings of Baylies and of Rafn. Selecting the former only, Chingwauk had furnished him with a detailed translation of all of its parts, except the central characters. In 1851, Schoolcraft published the first volume of his History of the Indian Tribes, in which he devoted over a dozen pages to a description of Dighton Rock and a presentation of this new reading.[4] It was accompanied by a plate reproducing the Baylies drawing of 1789, to which a few characters from Rafn's version of the 1834 drawing had been added;[5] and by a second plate, which he called a synopsis of the Assonet Inscription, displaying the several figures and characters detached from one another and arranged in separate compart-

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840–1844, 119–127. For a cautious verdict on this tablet, see Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, i. 506.

[2] No. 399.

[3] No. 336.

[4] No. 401.

[5] Plate XXXV.

ments of a square. On each plate he includes a separate figure, showing his own rendering of the central characters. We shall postpone for separate treatment the interpretation by Chingwauk, and present here only a much condensed account of Schoolcraft's own conclusions:

That America was visited early in the tenth century by the adventurous Northmen is generally admitted. Their Vinland has been shown, with much probability, to have comprised the present area of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. But the Assonet monument has been misinterpreted. Two distinct and separate inscriptions appear on it, of which it is evident that the Icelandic is the most ancient. The central space which it occupies could not have been left, if the face of the rock had previously been occupied by the Indian or pictographic part. The want of European symbols — such as hats, swords, etc. — connected with the figures representing the defeated enemy makes it hardly probable that this is a record of the defeat of the Northmen by the Algonquins; yet it is possible. The inscription was more likely, as is shown by Chingwauk, a triumph of native against native.

More importance has been attached to the Dighton Rock inscription, perhaps, than its value in our local antiquities merits. There is no object of admitted antiquity, purporting to bear antique testimony from an unknown period, which has elicited the same amount of historical interest, foreign and domestic, as the apparently mixed, and, to some extent, unread inscription of the Dighton Rock.

The rock was visited in August, 1847, in execution of the instructions of the New York Historical Society. Observation was rendered somewhat unsatisfactory, because of a light marine scum deposited by the water on the rock's surface. It was evident, under all the difficulties of tidal deposit and obscure figures, that there were two diverse and wholly distinct characters employed, namely, an Algonquin and an Icelandic inscription. No copy of it, answering the highest requisites of exactitude, has, in my opinion, appeared. The principles of lithological inscription, as they have been developed in ancient Iceland, appear to me to sanction the reference of the upper line of the foreign inscription to the hardy adventurous Northmen. Thus read, the interpretation of this part of the inscription furnished by Mr. Magnusen, appears to be fully sustained. Put in modern characters, it is this: CXXXI men. The inscription below is manifestly either the name of the person or the nation that accomplished this enterprise.

And here it must be confessed, my observation did not enable me to find the expected name of "Thorfinn." The figure assumed to stand

for the letters Th. is some feet distant from its point of construed connection, and several other pictographic figures intervene. The figures succeeding the ancient O cannot, by any ingenuity, be construed to stand for an F, I, or N. The terminal letter is clearly an X, or the figure ten. The intervening lines are all angular, and in this respect have a Runic or Celtic aspect. So far as they could, by great care, be drawn, they are exhibited in the Plates. With respect to the characters which should be inserted after the letters OR, as they appear in the drawings [of Baylies and Rafn], we have felt much hesitancy. There is doubtless something to be allowed for tidal deposit, for the obscuration of time, and for the want of a proper incidence of light. But with every allowance of this kind, and with a persuasion that this part of the inscription is due to the Northmen, it did not appear that the characters usually inserted could be assigned to fill this space. Nor did it appear that the letter R could be recognized. It is certain that the penultimate character is an X, or less probably the cardinal number 10. Of the intermediate characters, no positive determination can be made of the alphabetic value. Without doubt, the archæologist is here to look for the NAME of either the leader of the party, or of the nation, or tribe, to which the adventurers belonged. A careful and scientific examination of the subject, with full means and ample time, is invited. . . . Nothing is more demonstrable than that whatever has emanated in the graphic or inscriptive art, on this continent, from the Red race, does not aspire above the simple art of pictography; and that wherever an alphabet of any kind is veritably discovered, it must have had a foreign origin.

This confidence that the central inscription was of Scandinavian, though unreadable, character, was of brief duration. In 1853, Captain Seth Eastman, of the United States Army, in pursuance of his task of supplying illustrations for Schoolcraft's volumes, secured a daguerreotype of the rock, probably not the first that was ever taken,[1] but nevertheless the earliest photographic reproduction of the inscription that has been preserved. The circumstances of its production will be described in a later connection. After seeing it, Schoolcraft, who reproduced it in the fourth volume of his work on the Indian Tribes,[2] came to his final conclusion concerning the inscription: "It is entirely Indian, and is executed in the symbolic

[1] See p. 379, below.

[2] No. 402. See our Plate XXXVI.

character which the Algonquins call Kekeewin, i. e., teachings. The fancied resemblances to old forms of the Roman letters or figures wholly disappear." This opinion he repeated in greater detail in 1860;[1] but his comments at that time can be presented better in connection with our later examination of Chingwauk's interpretation.

That the practice of picture-writing was of extremely wide extent among the Indians is repeatedly emphasized by Schoolcraft. Thomas Ewbank contributed to a spread of knowledge of this fact, and strongly cautioned "against an hypothesis, not more untenable than absurd — that of seeking to explain Indian characters by phonetic symbols they are fancied to resemble. . . . Why, there is hardly a tribal mark painted on the face of a savage," he exclaims, "or tattooed on his person, but the germ of some European or Oriental letter might be imagined in it. As well derive Indian totems from books of natural history, and insist that mocassins were imitations of our shoes and leggings of our stockings." Daniel G. Brinton also insisted that Dighton Rock presented only a specimen of a kind of writing that was common throughout the continent. "They are the rude and meaningless epitaphs of vanished generations."[2] And again:

> Some antiquarians regard all these pictographs as merely the amusement of idle hours, the meaningless products of the fancy of illiterate savages. But the great labor expended upon them and the care with which many of them are executed testify to a higher origin. They are undoubtedly the records of transactions deemed important, and were intended to perpetuate by enduring signs the memory of events or beliefs. . . . Archæologists are of the opinion that their differences [in different areas] are related to the various methods of sign-language or gesture-speech which prevailed among the early tribes.[3]

A life-long resident near the rock, an artist who often made paintings picturing its surface and surroundings, wrote well of it in 1883, and attributed it to the Indians. We need to quote only a few of his words, since they give us no new facts, but merely testify to the growth of this opinion in a neighborhood where proof of a foreign and ancient origin would naturally have been more welcome because of its seemingly greater importance:

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[1] No. 403.
[2] No. 75.
[3] No. 76.

In considering the diverse theories that have been advanced as to the genesis of the sculptured characters on this famous rock and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of proving or disproving either of them, it would seem as if the genius of mystery were brooding over the spot, hiding with an impenetrable curtain the meaning of the semi-obliterated characters, and one recalls the inscription before the mysterious temple of Isis, "yesterday, today, forever, and no mortal hath lifted my veil." . . . Those who think the inscription merely an example of the rude pictographs of the Indians now meet with little opposition to their views.[1]

The adoption by a German writer [2] of influence of the "most natural and simple view, that we have here only a very ordinary Indian petroglyph," was a further step in the advance of this opinion. As to the figures resembling runes, — it would have been far simpler to regard the resemblance as due merely to accident; such "runes" can be seen on a great number of rock-markings all over the world.

The conclusion thus definitely established by this time was well expressed by J. W. Powell in 1890, though without reference by him to its application to Dighton Rock: "One of the safest conclusions reached in the study of North American Archaeology, is that graphic art on bark, bone, shell or stone never reached a higher stage than simple picture-making, in which no attempt was made to delineate form in three dimensions, and in which hieroglyphics never appear."[3] Shortly after this the memorable study by Mallery of the pictographs of the American Indians appeared in its final form.[4] In his preliminary paper he had already said of Dighton Rock: "It is merely a type of Algonkin rock-carving, not so interesting as many others." In the later discussion he notes its resemblance in character to many other Indian glyphs in various parts of the country — a resemblance which cannot fail to impress any one who impartially compares it with the many examples pictured in the book. His entire treatment of petroglyphs is of sufficient importance and interest to justify the presentation of some condensed extracts here, which may help in a final judgment concerning the one which is the object of our study:

Picture-writing is found in sustained vigor on the same continent where sign language has prevailed and has continued in active operation

[1] No. 414. [2] No. 12.
[3] Prehistoric Man in America, in Forum, 1890, viii. 502.
[4] Nos. 297, 298.

to an extent unknown in other parts of the world. These modes of expression are so correlated in their origin and development that neither can be studied to the best advantage without including the other. No doubt should exist that the picture-writings of the North American Indians were not made for mere pastime but have purpose and meaning. Their relegation to a trivial origin will be abandoned after a thorough knowledge of the labor and thought which frequently were necessary for their production. The old devices are substantially the same as the modern; and when Indians now make pictographs, it is with intention and care, seldom for mere amusement. They are not idle scrawls. The ideography and symbolism displayed in these devices present suggestive studies in psychology more interesting than the mere information or text contained in the pictures. It must be admitted that no hermeneutic key has been discovered applicable to American pictographs, whether ancient on stone or modern on bark, skins, linen or paper. Nor has any such key been found which unlocks the petroglyphs of any other people. The fanciful hypotheses which have been formed without corroboration, wholly from such works as remain, are now generally discarded. Drawings or paintings on rocks are distributed generally over the greater part of the territory of the United States. They are found wherever smooth surfaces of rock appear; often at waterfalls and other points on rivers and lakes favorable for fishing. Pictographs of the Algonquian type are frequent, extending from Nova Scotia to Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, and in isolated localities on the Mississippi river. Upon close study and comparison they show many features in common, and all present typical characters, sometimes undefined and complicated. The ordinary Indian stone implements were fully capable of producing them, as has been demonstrated by recent trial.

Some Indian writings serve a mnemonic purpose — as a pictorial reminder of words and songs known by heart. Their employment to designate tribes, groups within tribes, and individual persons has been the most frequent use to which they have been applied. No attempt should be made at symbolic interpretation, unless the symbolic nature of the particular characters is known. With certain exceptions, they were intended to be understood by all observers either as rude objective representations or as ideograms, often so imperfect as to require elucidation. They are often related to religious ceremonies or myths. Some of the characters were mere records of the visits of individuals. The personal equation affects drawings and paintings intended to be copies of them. The more ancient petroglyphs also require the aid of the

imagination to supply eroded lines. Travellers and explorers are seldom so conscientious as to publish an obscure copy of the obscure original. It is either made to appear distinct or is not furnished at all. Thorough knowledge of the historic tribes, especially of their sign language, will probably result in the interpretation of many petroglyphs. But this will not give much primary information about customs and concepts, though it may and does corroborate what has been obtained by other modes of investigation. It is not believed that much information of historical value will be obtained directly from their interpretation. The greater part of them are connected with their myths or with their everyday lives. It is however probable that others were intended to commemorate events, but the events, which to their authors were of moment, would be of little importance as history. Modern ones refer generally to some insignificant event.

If we accept the essential identity in character and origin of our Assonet inscription and those on numerous other rocks, then the remarks of W. J. Holland on certain petroglyphs in Pennsylvania are pertinent, and emphasize an estimate of their significance different from that of most of the authorities thus far quoted. These are on the Ohio river, and are submerged except at low water. "I wish to say that I have no idea that they embody historic records. I picture to myself a tribe of lazy Indians camping on the edge of the river, engaged in fishing and hunting, and amusing themselves in their rough way by depicting things on the smooth surface of the stone with a harder stone. They speak of an idle hour and the outgoing of the pictorial instinct which exists in all men. I cannot see anything more important than that."

Among the latest expressions of opinion by students of the Indians, now shared by all authorities of this class,[1] is the following by William H. Holmes: "The concensus of opinion among students of aboriginal art today is that the inscription is purely Indian, not differing in any essential respect from thousands of petroglyphic records (undecipherable save in so far as the pictures tell the story) scattered over the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific." Similarly Cyrus Thomas said in 1907: "The general conclusion of students in later years, especially after Mallery's discussion, is that the inscription is the work of Indians and belongs to a type found in Pennsylvania

[1] See letter of Bushnell, 1915, in our Publications, xviii. 235.

and at points in the west." Thomas and other writers, in the same Handbook of the American Indians in which these remarks occur, discuss also other related topics which should be consulted.[1] A few extracts from these sources, stating facts to which we have not yet called attention, or emphasizing others of importance, will furnish our final quotations on this subject:

Petroglyphs give little aid to the study of aboriginal history, since they cannot be interpreted, save in rare cases where tradition has kept the significance alive (i. 75; by W. H. Holmes).

With the tribes north of Mexico the arts that may be comprehended under the term graphic are practically identical with the pictorial arts; that is to say, such as represent persons and things in a manner so realistic that the semblance of the original is not entirely lost. Graphic delineations may be (1) simply pictorial; that is, made to gratify the pictorial or esthetic impulse or fancy; (2) trivial, intended to excite mirth, as in caricature and the grotesque; (3) simply decorative, serving to embellish the person or object to which they are applied; (4) simply ideographic, standing for ideas to be expressed, recorded or conveyed; (5) denotive, including personal names and marks of ownership, distinction, direction, enumeration, etc.; and (6) symbolic, representing some religious, totemic, heraldic, or other occult concept. It is manifest, however, that in very many cases there must be uncertainty as to the motives prompting these graphic representations; and the significance attached to them, even where the tribes using them come directly under observation, is often difficult to determine (i. 504; by W. H. Holmes).

While it would perhaps be too much to say that there exists north of Mexico no tablet or other ancient article that contains other than a pictorial or pictographic record, it is safe to assert that no authentic specimen has yet been brought to public notice. Any object claimed to be of pre-Columbian age and showing hieroglyphic or other characters that denote a degree of culture higher than that of the known tribes, is to be viewed with suspicion (i. 610; by Gerard Fowke).

Significance is an essential element of pictographs, which are alike in that they all express thought, register a fact, or convey a message. They are closely connected with sign language. For carving upon hard substances, including cutting, pecking, scratching, and rubbing, a piece

[1] See especially articles on Archæology, Engraving, Graphic Art, Inscribed Tablets, Pictographs, Popular Fallacies, Sign Language, Tattooing, Totem.

of hard pointed stone, frequently perhaps an arrow-point, was an effective tool. From the earliest form of picture-writing, the imitative, the Indian had progressed so far as to frame his concepts ideographically, and even to express abstract ideas. Later, as skill was acquired, his figures became more and more conventionalized till in many cases all semblance of the original was lost, and the ideograph became a mere symbol. While the great body of Indian glyphs remained pure ideographs, symbols were by no means uncommonly employed, especially to express religious subjects. The form of picture-writing known as the petroglyph is of world-wide distribution and is common over most of North America. Our present knowledge of Indian petroglyphs does not justify the belief that they record events of great importance, and it would seem that the oft-expressed belief that a mine of information respecting the customs, origin, and migrations of ancient peoples is locked up in these generally indecipherable symbols must be abandoned. When interrogated, modern Indians often disclaim knowledge of or interest in the origin and significance of the petroglyphs. Beyond the fact that by habits of thought and training the Indian may be presumed to be in closer touch with the glyph maker than the more civilized investigator, the Indian is no better qualified to interpret petroglyphs than the latter, and in many respects, indeed, is far less qualified, even though the rock pictures may have been made by his forbears.

That, as a rule, petroglyphs are not mere idle scrawls made to gratify a fleeting whim, or pass an idle moment, is probably true, although sometimes they are made by children in play or as a pastime. Nevertheless their significance is more often local than general; they pertain to the individual rather than to the nation, and they record personal achievements and happenings more frequently than tribal histories; petroglyphs, too, are known often to be the records of the visits of individuals to certain places, sign-posts to indicate the presence of water or the direction of a trail, to give warning or to convey a message. However important such records may have seemed at the time, viewed historically they are of trivial import and, for the greater part, their interest perished with their originators. Many of them, however, especially in the southwestern United States, are known on the authority of their makers to possess a deeper significance, and to be connected with myths, rituals, and religious practices. Whatever the subjects recorded by Indian glyphs, whether more or less important, the picture signs and their symbolism were rarely part of a general system, unless perhaps among the Aztec and the Maya, but are of individual origin, are obscured by conventionalism, and require for their interpretation a

knowledge of their makers and of the customs and events of the times, which usually are wanting. In most cases only the writer and his intimate compeers possessed the key (ii. 242–245; by Henry W. Henshaw).

The great and indisputable result of research along these lines, the only ones which have yielded definite and lasting results in contributing to the interpretation of Dighton Rock, has been to establish clearly the Indian origin of most if not all of the lines and characters marked upon it. No other rock, of course, exactly duplicates its designs. But those now known, of unquestionably Indian workmanship, that are like it in character are exceedingly numerous. In some cases, even resemblance to particular figures has been noted. Thus, Catlin gives plates showing pictures of an animal very like that prominent on Dighton Rock. Similar human figures are found on plates in Schoolcraft, Squier, and Mallery. Characters resembling the square O, the M, X, I, and R may be found in the same sources. Without such approaches to exact duplication, however, a general resemblance is repeatedly evident, and these authorities point out such resemblances in connection with an impressive array of localities: New Mexico, the Mississippi valley, on the rivers Allegheny, Monongahela, Kanawha, Ohio, Guyandotte, Muskingum, Cumberland, Tennessee, Missouri, Susquehanna, on Lake Erie. Particularly close resemblance is evident in the case of the rocks at Smith's Ferry, Pennsylvania, pictured by Holland, and is claimed by Mallery for others in the same State, one near Millsboro, the Indian God rock near Franklin, the Big Indian rock and one at McCall's Ferry on the Susquehanna.

It clearly follows that the numerous objections urged from time to time against the possibility that the aborigines of the region were the carvers of the rock have been completely disposed of. Against the early view that no similar Indian monuments exist, that the occupation and the designs were incompatible with their customs or their powers, we now have a complete and convincing answer. To the plea that the Indians were ignorant of the existence or origin of this and other inscriptions, and hence could not possibly be its authors, we may call attention to the pertinent statement made in our last quotation, and may say with Tylor: "There is seldom a key to be had to the reading of rock-sculptures, which the natives generally

SEAGER'S DRAWING, 1864

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

say were done by the people long ago;"[1] and with Goodwin: "The Indians of New England had no traditions and legendary songs. Even the intelligent Massasoit knew nothing of his immediate predecessors." If it be urged that the Indians were too idle and lazy for such work, Mallery will tell us what patient and laborious tasks they executed, and Holland and others express the belief that it was by very reason of their idleness that the picture-making amusement was engaged in. And when the attempt is made, as usual, to clinch the unfavorable argument by claiming that they had no adequate tools, we learn on the authority of those who have personally tested it that the ordinary stone implements of the Indians sufficed;[2] and moreover, if metal instruments had to be conceded, there is no evidence that the work was done until after metal tools had been supplied to the native tribes.

This realization that without any doubt most of the characters, at least, are Indian pictographs, does not help materially toward discovering what information, if any, they were intended to record. Chingwauk made a translation, but no modern authorities regard it as worthy of credence. Many opinions have been advanced, not as to their exact translation, but as to their general significance. We have seen some of our authorities, early and recent, believing that they are meaningless scrawls and pictures, executed purely for amusement, or even accidental marks made in the process of sharpening arrow-heads. Others strongly urge that they were meant to record definite and important facts or events; though even so, there is no expectation that their translation would yield material of any historical importance. If they possess meaning, then we have suggestions that the event recorded may have been some important transaction, treaty, battle, or other event; or the depiction of hunting scenes. Some of the characters may be mnemonic reminders of events or of songs or formulæ, or symbols of myth and religion. Some may be totem-marks of tribe or individual, closely connected with similar designs painted on the face or body. Some may be English letters, initials of the names of Indians who had become familiar with the act of thus affixing signatures or marks to deeds. Some may be tally marks, and some may even represent a map of

[1] Early History of Mankind, 1878, chap. v, on Picture-Writing.

[2] See especially American Anthropologist, 1892, v. 165.

some locality. These are the most important suggestions that have been offered, and it is evident that in no such case would it ever be possible to translate genuinely any of them. Only if it were known that a particular formula was there mnemonically indicated, or a particular myth symbolized, or a particular event illustrated, or a particular individual's initial or totem or face-device inscribed, could we be sure that that was among the features of the record. Such procedure is manifestly not translation, but recognition of something already known as at least probably there. Whatever may be possible in the future, thus far not even a single item of such recognition has been established. The differing hypotheses as to the general nature of the characters need not be taken as mutually exclusive rivals. It is probable that instead of one connected record, the rock-surface preserves marks made on many different occasions and for different purposes. Most, if not all, of the suggestions offered may be equally applicable.

We have said that it is certain that most of the characters were made by Indians. Even the established presence of detached letters of the English alphabet would not necessarily indicate anything other than initials of Indians of colonial times. It is fair, however, to make one reservation. The many translations that we are assembling for their historical and psychological interest, are all of them, we may be sure, mere pleasing flights of imagination, grown-ups' fairy-tales, without foundation in reality. No genuine word or message has ever yet been deciphered on the rock. Yet we must concede that the characters engraved there have been always so faint and obscure, even in the earliest days in which white men began to observe them, that no one can be sure of more than a small portion of the original lines. It is not impossible that sometime, through improvements in photography, or through the development of yet unknown methods of bringing to light old and invisible pressure-marks on the surface, much as careful manipulation may bring out successively the separate writings of a palimpsest, the now hidden tracings, if there be any, may be known. In such case, there might be found dates, names, words, or messages that would prove that other records were inscribed there besides those of the Indians. That is by no means a wholly remote possibility; for we shall mention in the end a very recent and wholly new suggestion along these lines. Yet unless and until some-

thing of that sort becomes conclusively established, we must not only reject all rival theories that have thus far been advocated, but concede that there is no reason yet presented for a belief that any part of the inscription is of other than Indian workmanship.

Indian Translation by Chingwauk, 1839

It is time now for us to return from these general considerations to the examination of particular translations and theories. We have traced the development of the two continuing and chief rivals, most seriously and widely held, — the Norse view and the Indian; and have found one of them continuously losing ground and the other growing and strengthening to complete certainty. They have not been, however, the only theories in the field, and the rest of them must now be described. First among them we will consider the reading by Chingwauk, which, although Indian in content, yet forms no part in the development of sound ideas in Indian interpretation but belongs rather in the class of purely fanciful speculations. The account of it will be abbreviated from Schoolcraft;[1] and reference to the numbers which he attached to his drawing will aid in identifying the portions of the inscription under discussion.

I will introduce an interpretation which was made by Chingwauk, a well-known Algonquin priest or Meda, at Michillimackinac, in 1839. He is well versed in the *Ke-keé-win*, or pictographic method of communicating ideas. He is the principal chief on the British side of the river at Sault St. Marie. He is quite intelligent in the history and traditions of the northern Indians, and particularly so of his own tribe. Naturally a man of a strong and sound, but uncultivated mind, he possesses powers of reflection beyond most of his people. He has also a good memory, and may be considered a learned man, in a tribe where learning is the result of memory, in retaining the accumulated stores of forest arts and forest lore, as derived from oral sources. He was one of the war-chiefs of his tribe, in the perilous era of 1812. He speaks his own language fluently, and is still regarded as one of the best orators of his tribe.

To him Schoolcraft submitted the plate in Antiquitates Americanæ containing the drawings of Baylies and of Rafn. Chingwauk

[1] Nos. 401, 403. Compare with Plate XXXV.

selected the former exclusively, and excluded from it the central characters, which he did not regard as belonging with the rest. It will be remembered that Schoolcraft himself at first considered them Scandinavian, but later changed his opinion. After scrutinizing the engraving, Chingwauk remarked: "It is Indian; it appears to me and my friend to be a *muz-zin-na-bik* (i. e., rock-writing). It relates to two nations." He then took the volume to his lodge in order to study it further, and on the following day gave the following interpretation:

All the figures to the left of the line AB relate to the acts and exploits of the chief represented by the key figure, Number 1, and all the devices to the right of it have reference to his enemies and their acts. The inscription relates to two nations. Both were Indian people. No. 1 represents an ancient prophet and war-captain. He records his exploits and prophetic arts. The lines or plumes from his head denote his power and character. No. 2 represents his sister. She has been his assistant and confidant in some of his prophetical arts. She is also the Boon of Success in the contemplated enterprise, and she is held out, as a gift, to the first man who shall strike, or touch a dead body in battle. No. 3 depicts the prophet's or seer's lodge. It has several divisions, appropriated to separate uses. Part *a* denotes the vapor-bath, or secret sweating lodge, marked by crossed war-clubs. The three dots, in the center of the apartment *b*, denote three large stones used for heating water to make steam, and are supposed to be endowed with magical virtues. The sacred apartment, *c*, from which oracular responses are made, contains a consecrated war-club, *d*, of ancient make, and a consecrated pole or balista, *e*.

No. 4 represents a ponderous war-club, consecrated for battle. No. 5, the semicircle of six dots, signifies so many moons, marking the time he devoted to perfect himself for the exploit, or actually consumed in its accomplishment. 6 is the symbol of a warrior's heart; 7, a dart; 8, the figure of an anomalous animal which probably appeared in his fasts to befriend him. 9 and 10 are unexplained. 11 represents the number 40. The dot above denotes skulls. 12 is the symbol of the principal war-chief of the expedition against the enemy. He led the attack. He bears the totemic device of the Pighoo, or northern lynx. 13 is the symbol of the sun. It is repeated three times in the inscription; once for the prophet's lodge, again for his sister, and again for the prophet himself, as his totem, or the heraldic device of his clan. 14 represents a

sea bird called MONG, or the loon. It is the prophet's name. 15 is a war-camp, the place of rendezvous, where the war-dance was celebrated before battle, and also the spot of reassembly on their triumphant return. 16 is an ensign, or skin flag, and 17 an instrument used in war ceremonies in honor of a victory, as in ceremoniously raising the flag, and placing it in rest after victory, to be left as a memento. 18, 19, and 20 are dead bodies, the number of men lost in the attack. 21 is a pipe of ancient construction ornamented with feathers; 22 a stone of prophecy; 23 unexplained; 24 without significance; and 25 a wooden idol, set up in the direction of the enemy's country, and within sight of the prophet's lodge.

The devices to the right of the line AB have relation, exclusively or chiefly, to warlike and prophetical incidents on the part of the enemy, represented by 26, 27. They are drawn without arms, to depict their fear and cowardice on the onset. They were paralyzed by the shock, and acted like men without hands. 28, 29 are decapitated men, probably chiefs or leaders. 30 is a belt of peace, denoting a negotiation or treaty. 31 is the enemy's prophet's lodge; 32, a bow bent, and pointed against the tribe of Mong, as a symbol of preparation for war and of proud boasting; 33, a symbol of doubt, or want of confidence in the enemy's prophet; 34, a lance pointing to the enemy, a symbol of boasting and preparation; 35, an ancient war-club.

The purport of the section to the left of the line CD appears doubtful. Most of the marks appear without meaning. It appears to be the territory of the Mong tribe. 39, 40 are villages and paths of this people or their confederates; 41 is Mong's village, or the chief location of the Assonets, being on the banks of a river. It may also represent a skin flag used in the war, and the dance of triumph.

Schoolcraft himself attempts to interpret a few of the figures left unexplained by Chingwauk: 43 denotes war-like implements; 47, a banner; 45, a headless enemy, the drawing of which from the 1837 version, he forgot to introduce on his combination plate. The number 23 he attached to one figure on this plate, but to another on his "synopsis," where it applies to the character M just to the right of the CXXXI, 44. The M-like part of this, and of figure 42, he wrongly says has been interpreted by Mr. Magnusen as an ancient anaglyph, standing for the word men. In reality, Magnusen considered it a monogram for NAM, while the runic letter that he interpreted as men was the right half of Schoolcraft's 21. We have

already made acquaintance with the latter's Scandinavian interpretations of a few remaining characters.

In 1860, Schoolcraft connected this interpretation by Chingwauk, made by him "with priestly skill in necromancy," with the battles and triumphs of the local Wampanoag Indians. He says there, in part:

The Pokanokets were descended from an ancient stock, and, it is believed, they established themselves on the peninsula, with the aid of their friends and allies, the Narragansetts and Pequots, after conquering the tribes which then held possession. Evidences of their ancient triumphs have, it is believed, been found in the rude and simple pictographs of the country. These simple historical memorials were more common among the hills and valleys of the country, when it was first occupied, than they are at the present day. On the Dighton rock, the amazement of the vanquished at the sudden assault of the victors, is symbolically depicted by their being deprived of both hands and arms, or the power of making any resistance. The name of the reigning chief of the tribe, is likewise described by a symbol to have been Mong, or the Loon, and his totem, the Sun. The name of Wampanoag, by which the Pokanokets were also designated, appears to denote the fact, that they were, from early times, the custodians of the imperial shell, or medal.

It is hardly to be wondered at, after this, that Mallery, though speaking in the main appreciatively of Schoolcraft, remarked that he was "tinctured with a fondness for the mysterious," and that interpretation by Indians must be received with caution; or that Cyrus Thomas says that "this Indian's explanation is considered doubtful." Acquainted as we now are with the fact that any one may with equal justification interpret any of the pictographic figures on the rock in whatever manner pleases his own prejudice and fancy, we can naturally allow no more weight to the priestly fancies and habits of thought of Chingwauk than to those of a Gebelin, a Hill, or a Magnusen. All of them are picturesque and of historical value, all of them illustrate instructive phases of psychology, but all of them are snares and delusions if taken as possible truths.

Libyan Theory of Jomard, 1839

An entirely new theory was advanced soon after the publication of the Antiquitates Americanæ, by Edme François Jomard, "prési-

dent de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut." It was first expressed in a letter written in August, 1839, to Eugène A. Vail, "citoyen des États-Unis," and published by the latter, "without permission," in the following year. In 1845, Jomard related the circumstances and cited his earlier letter. He had been engaged for a long time, he said, in seeking traces of a dialect which he called the ancient Libyan, represented by the modern Berber, once universally spoken along the 80-day caravan route from Egypt to the Gates of Hercules. This was the common language of the caravans which, from before the time of Herodotus, engaged in the commerce of salt along the entire northern coast of Africa.

When I began to study the monument of Taunton, my surprise was great to recognize the analogy of its forms with the inscriptions of Fezzan and of the Atlas. I have never admitted the pretended derivation of American, Mexican or Peruvian monuments from India or from Egypt. What appears to me most probable is that the Africans of the Canaries, or even the Carthaginians, have been in contact with the Americans. Not only would the trade winds have carried them a thousand times to America, but they would also have been likely to have sought in this direction for riches such as the commerce of India and of China procured for the Asiatics. The inscription on the Taunton rock, although of a barbaric design, presents forms which are unmistakably like the Libyan characters. . . . The monument is evidently ancient.

Revivals of the Phœnician Theory: Onffroy de Thoron, 1889

Next after the Norse and the Indian theories, that of ancient Phœnician origin has possessed an appeal that has gained the largest number of adherents. We met with a number of them in the periods dealt with in our earlier papers. Among them we should have included Francis Baylies, born near the rock, son of one who had had a life-long interest in it, and himself devoted to historical research. He was among those who held that "the absence of any similar monument in North America, and the total ignorance of the natives as to its origin and design would seem to indicate in a manner too clear to admit of doubt, that we must look elsewhere for its authors." He does not definitely espouse the Phœnician view, but nevertheless he admits the possibility of its being true.

An article appeared in the Taunton Whig in 1839, strongly sup-

porting the responsibility of the Phœnicians. The editor of the paper remarked that it consisted of "extracts from a letter written by a gentleman in our vicinity." If this gentleman was not actually Joseph W. Moulton at least he used almost the exact arguments of the latter.[1] Besides presenting the reasons for his own belief, he is authority for the fact of the visit to the rock in "1798" of "M. Adel," which we have interpreted as meaning probably 1796 and M. Adet; and he claims to have seen the celebrated and elusive "bird" — which Moulton had not seen in 1824 — and also on the south end of the rock a number of marks, observed by none before, including three triangles resembling the Greek Delta, and "the rude outlines of the head and body of a man.[2] To find these figures much depends on the position of the sun; I think the afternoon is the most favorable time for an examination."

Another anonymous writer of 1841 was attracted by the same possibilities:

This mass of traditions convinces us that the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks, were acquainted from the remotest times with Atlantic islands, peopled by Atlantians or Cimbrians, and that these islands comprehended the Americas. . . . It would be too bold to draw an inference from the monument, apparently Punic, which was found some years ago in the forests behind Boston. It is possible that some Tyrians or Carthaginians, thrown by storms on these unknown coasts, uncertain if ever the same tracts might be again discovered, chose to leave this monument of their adventures. Of their further expeditions there is no trace. Nor do we know whether these adventurers returned, or what attraction the marshy feet of the American mountains held out to the avarice of the Phœnicians.[3]

Lossing expounded a sort of combination view about 1850:

When we remember that the Phœnicians were for many ages in the undisputed possession of the traffic of the Baltic, around which clus-

[1] See our Publications, xix. 122. I have found no indication that Moulton ever lived nearer to Taunton than Roslyn, Long Island.

[2] I doubt very much whether any marks exist on the south, or down-stream end of the rock. There are some, however, on the up-stream end, ordinarily wholly invisible, but on rare occasions in unusually favorable light appearing with great clearness; see below, p. 406. If these are the ones here meant, then this person is the third previous observer who has seen them. His description differs much from that of Dr. Stiles, but is reconcilable with the actual characters.

[3] No. 143.

tered the Scandinavian nations, and that Runic, or ancient German inscriptions, in Phœnician characters, have been discovered in abundance in all the countries formerly occupied by these nations, the inference is plainly correct, that the Scandinavians received their alphabet from the Phœnicians. . . . Is it not reasonable to infer that these Scandinavians, acquainted with the Phœnician alphabet, made a record of the battle upon the rock [at Dighton], by a mingling of alphabetical characters and pictorial hieroglyphics?

William Pidgeon believed that the rock at Dighton offered strong evidence of the presence of Phœnicians or their descendants on this continent. He also had faith in the presence in this country of authentic relics of Romans, Greeks, Persians, Egyptians, Danes and Hindoos. He is perhaps a rather late survival of a type of person so delightfully described by a reviewer of about the same time that it may relieve the monotony of our pages somewhat to quote him:

The learned have occupied themselves in tracing the physical migrations of particular races of men; . . . how our Punic friends, the Irish, quitting Asia, strayed to the green isle and thence, finally, shilelah in hand, to "the land of the free and the home of the brave"; how our uncles the Welsh peopled the upper Missouri and turned into Kickapoo Indians; in what manner our cousins the Norwegians settled New England and were the original Yankees; and how the pyramid-builders of Mexico and Yucatan, the Aztecs, were nothing in the world but the lineal progeny of the Lost Tribes of Israel, who, to our thinking, were no great loss anyhow, judged either by their previous behavior or by their manners when found again.[1]

The next advocate in order of time, Onffroy de Thoron, presented such an elaborate and sparkling gem that we shall reserve consideration of him to the last among this group. A paper written in 1890 by George M. Young of Boston shows that this gentleman, who claimed to be "compiling all material obtainable" but who derived his information apparently solely from Barber, possibly Schoolcraft, and Arnzen, inclined to the Phœnician theory. Rufus K. Sewall, vice-president of the Maine Historical Society, held that "Deighton Rock and Monhegan . . . are possible footprints not of Northern visits alone but of Phœnician adventure here." Herbert M. Sylvester

[1] "Notes on New Books," in National Intelligencer, September 13, 1848.

seems to concede the possibility of a Phœnician origin when, after describing this and the Norse theory and denying that it could have been due to the Indians, he remarks: "Its antiquity is more remote, possibly, than as yet has been accorded it." Finally, in a local newspaper of 1915,[1] there is given almost in its entirety the old exposition by Gebelin with a remark by the editor that the extract describes "a probable visit by the Phœnicians" to Dighton, that many now-a-days believe the inscription to be the work of Indians, and that the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

As a fitting conclusion to our survey of these believers in the American commerce of the Phœnicians, we will now return to Onffroy de Thoron, Ancien Émir du Libau (1840). His book,[2] mentioned apparently by only one writer on our subject[3] and thus discovered only by rare good fortune, is of the extravagant type which is so refreshing when it is taken, not with the seriousness intended by the author, but in the spirit in which we read Gulliver's Travels. At the outset he tells us that he has discovered the fact of the triennial voyages of the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram to the river Amazon, where were the regions of Ophir, Tarschich and Parvaim, and whence the Phœnicians derived great wealth; and further, the primitive language, still living and spoken within the limits of the terrestrial Paradise — the Kichua language of Peru. Now he announces his third great discovery, to the effect that the Phœnicians made voyages to Haiti and also, taking a northerly route past Iceland and Greenland, marched southward by land, followed by other fragments of maritime and commercial people; and, as the centuries went by, their families were mingled with the autochthonous populations, which absorbed them, though their language still survives in Mexico under the name of Tsendal, and likewise their story of Votan, mysterious founder of the colonies and of the cult of the Serpent. Dighton Rock supplies a proof of these migrations.

He follows the Rafn version of the inscription, reproduced from Gravier. Its characters are not Norse, but Phœnician and Campanian. He displays apparently deep philological learning in tracing the local usage of each letter and the derivation and significance of each word that he recognizes. Into these ramifications we shall not follow him. Beginning with the marks on the breast of the bust at

[1] No. 261. [2] No. 342. [3] No. 183.

DAVIS-GARDNER STEREOSCOPIC VIEW, 1873

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

the left, — from which Gravier had omitted the horizontal line, thus leaving three separate characters — he identifies them, reading right to left, as the Phœnician letters *m, l, n*: *mâlôn*, equivalent to the sepulchral phrase "here lies." This *n* and this *m*, he says, are the characters which Magnusen accepted as meaning Northmen — a new error in placing the actual characters thus read by the much misunderstood runologist. The allegorical image at the right of the bust — the little Snorre of the Rafnites — represents a buried person, upon whom and by whose side tears are seen.

To follow the rest of his translation by aid of the drawing,[1] we must begin with the familiar CXXXIM line and continue it, trending upward, to the O equipped with a descending tail; and below, beginning with the hour-glass arrangement of the shoulder of the bust, proceed through the intervening characters to the end of Rafn's ORFINS. Reading from right to left, the tailed O is a *q*, the long curve an *n*, the square an *o*, and the triangle an *a*: *qanoa*. The inverted Y is *g*, the A, *d*: *gâd*. The rest of the M, an inverted V, is *g*, and the I is *l*: *gal*. Two X's form the word *theth*. The next X is again *th*, the gamma is *p*: *thop*. Passing to the rightward end of the line below, the S part of the terminal X is *sh*, the stroke that crosses it is *l*, and the rightward half of the N is again *l*: *shâlal*. The other half of the N is *l*, the I is *n*, the F is *g*, the R is *r*: *le-nâgar*. The diamond-shaped O is *o*, the curving line to the left of it is *n*, the dotted line descending from the latter is *g*: *oneg*. Then the dotted curve with its opening to the right is *l*, the diagonal stroke leftward from it is *g*, the curved line attached to the latter is *l*: *le-gâl*. The upper part of the last-named curve is *l*, the O beyond it is *o*, the hour-glass is *q*, and the stroke meeting its inner angle is *l*: *qal-lo*. The entire message is translated by its gifted decipherer into both Latin and French: "Invidiosus fortunae, ruinas dare feriendo spoliabat: Effusa est vita delicata sicut unda rapida" — "Envieux de la fortune, pour causer les ruines, il pillait en frappant: Sa vie voluptueuse s'est écoulée comme l'onde rapide." Since this turns out to be apparently the most puerile announcement that the old rock ever has been compelled to yield, the reader may study both of these versions in order to make out of them as much as he can. Taken in connection with the word on the bust, the buried person, and the tears, the whole

[1] Rafn's drawing, Plate XXXIV.

may be freely rendered: "Here lies one whom we mourn. Seeking to enrich himself, he fought, pillaged and laid waste. His luxurious life passed by like a rapid wave."

Judging from the transitional character of some of the letters used, the author concludes that the emigration from which this inscription is derived took place approximately at the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great, — which would assign to it a date not far from 330 B.C. He demands for his results a just and reasoned criticism, without distortion of his meanings; and the verdict may well be rendered in words which he himself used in passing judgment on the "inventions" of Rafn: "They are on a level with the fantastic translations which, every Friday, Messieurs Michael Bréal, Ernest Renan, Jules Oppert and Gaston Paris, professors in the College de France and members of the Institute (Inscriptions), gravely read before their silent auditors." In thus employing his own words to express judgment of himself, we are concerned only with the fact that he believed that the translations referred to were fantastic, and not at all with the question as to whether his opinion of them was a sound one.

A Roman Catholic Invocation

Buckingham Smith, who was an eager student of Mexican history and antiquities, suggested in 1863 a new type of interpretation of a portion of the inscription. In the midst of the emblems of the aborigines by which they are surrounded he finds a series of letters which he believes to be initials or cyphers used in the Catholic church for words of sacred significance. We are not told what characters of the rock were so taken; but there is practically no doubt that they were, as read by him from a single line of the Rafn drawing: I. XXX. I.M.I. This he interprets as meaning: Jesu Christo Santisimo Jesus Maria Josef. "Mr. Smith suggests that these inscriptions may possibly have been derived from Spanish missionaries who penetrated the country at a very early period, of whom no account has been transmitted; and refers to the stone found in Onondaga county, New York, which has upon it the figures 1520,[1] as perhaps determining the period of these memorials."

[1] For a cut of this stone see Squier's Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York, 1849, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, ii. 172, art. ix.

If the reader will examine the Hathaway photograph, Plate XXXII, he will discover that the line underneath the one used by Smith can easily be read: CORMX. Following Smith's method of procedure, he can readily expand this into (Sanctum) Cor Matris Christi, and claim that our missionary-inscriber was a member of a Congregation of the Sacred Heart earlier than the one now engaged in missionary labors under that name. Moreover, if he will search carefully, he may discover a date, closely approximating the one fixed by Smith. There is such a date clearly distinguishable in the photograph mentioned. The discovery of where and what it is may perhaps best be left for the present to the reader's own ingenuity, reserving its more serious consideration for a later purpose. Though we may not feel inclined to regard Buckingham Smith's suggestion as being any more entitled to acceptance than its many equally fanciful rivals, yet it seems worth while to realize that it can be more or less consistently amplified by these two further items, overlooked by him.

A Chinese Version: Lundy, 1883

Among the persons and peoples who have fallen under suspicion of having fabricated the stone document that we are examining, the Chinese, though vaguely hinted at, were never given serious consideration. At last, however, a keen modern detective followed out the clues to the final establishment of their guilt—at least to his own satisfaction. We are unable in his case to compare his translations with the characters transliterated and translated, as we have attempted to do in all previous cases when the author furnished the necessary information. In this case, we shall have to content ourselves with the results, without understanding how they were reached.

On March 1, 1883, the "Rev. John P. Lundy [1] made a communication" to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia "upon a remarkable fact which he had just discovered after long study, viz., that the Mongolian symbolism of writing was to be found

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Squier accepts the stone as probably "a genuine remnant of antiquity;" so also apparently does Schoolcraft (no. 401, p. 109).

[1] John Patterson Lundy, Princeton, 1846; D.D. Andalusia College, 1869. Rector of Church of the Holy Apostles (Presbyterian) in New York, 1869 to 1875. Author of Monumental Christianity. Born 1823, died 1892.

on the rock-sculptures of Mexico and Central America, and that by the aid of the former the latter could be readily and easily deciphered; that these latter were evidently of Mongolian origin, and that he had interpreted some of the symbols in Stephen's *Yucatan* by means of Mongolian symbols." On April 5, he read an essay upon the Dighton Rock inscription, which he claimed to have translated by means of Chinese radicals, to the following effect:

A chain or band of folk from the Sunrising (or East), after a long and stormy voyage, found the harbor of a great island. It was wild, uninhabited, green and fruitful. On landing and tying up our boats, we first gave thanks and adoration to God, Shang-Ti, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. We then sacrificed a human head to the moon, burning it and the body on a round sun-altar. The next morning a bright sun shone auspiciously on all things below; the heavenly omens and prognostics, duly consulted, were all favorable. We then struck across the tangled forest-land westward. Our mouths hankered after something to eat and drink. We found the blue-black maize of our native land and wild fruit. We filled our rice-kettles. We dug a pit under the rocks of a hill-side, put in our corn and fruit, and cooked them. We sat down under the shady trees, covered with wild grapes, and ate our fill. When the moon rose, we retired to our hut or bough-house, and slept. The next day we pushed on westward through the tangle, guided by the sun. The chief gave the orders and led the way. We all followed in close march. We crossed some low hills and came to green meadows, filled with wild rice or oats. A stream of water came down from the hills. We stopped; we made a great feast; we sang and danced around our big kettle; its sweet odors curled up high to Shang-Ti, our God and Father in heaven. This memorial-stone or altar is dedicated to Shang-Ti, our Ruler and Guide to this newly-found island.

Minor Suggestions

We are certainly now nearly sated with theories. Yet the theory mongers are ever at work, and give themselves and us no rest. We can deal rapidly with a number of their suggestions, in support of which they have discovered no evidence. For instance, Samuel A. Drake [1] concedes that it is generally admitted that the inscription is Indian; but adds that if the work of white men, it would strengthen the theory of Verrazano's presence in these waters. Laing, whom we have

[1] No. 139.

quoted, asked what there is to prove that these marks are not the work of early European settlers, or the scratches of some idle sailor boy. Edward Everett also, it will be remembered, thought that there was a possibility that they were made by some Anglo-American between 1620 and 1675. Schoolcraft, in his review of 1839, suggested that the English or Roman characters might have been added to the Indian marks by some idle boy or more idle man, in sport. Baxter informs us that some writings on the Maine coast, claimed to be Norse, are known to have been made by boys, for sport.[1] Squier also, in his paper of 1848, was of the opinion that some of the lines were preserved from disappearance, or even brought into existence, by the constant rubbing to which they are exposed from the sticks and canes of visitors. In an earlier paper, we examined two traditions related by Kendall, attributing the sculptures to English sailors.

We have the authority of Kendall also for a vague tale of pirates who made the inscription. Such rumors are not yet dead in the neighborhood. A resident of the town tells me that when he was a boy he knew an old man who claimed that he could read the inscription on the rock. Its purport was to the effect that "I, so-and-so, have buried treasure in such-and-such a position, measured thus-and-so from this rock." In connection with such tales, we have already noticed James Winthrop's story of much digging for treasure in the vicinity. Again, similar stories persist. A correspondent who lived near the rock years ago knew an elderly lady, who, when she was a girl, knew of a treasure-hunter whose enterprise terminated when he slipped and broke his leg. The most circumstantial tale that I hear in the neighborhood is the following, related by a man who knew the hero of the tale when he was a boy. The said hero dreamed for three nights running that he had found treasure near Dighton Rock. Consequently he went to it at low tide and began digging. He quickly noticed that the tide began to rise almost immediately, although it was long before the time for it to do so. Thus interrupted in his digging, he turned toward the river. In the mist before him he saw the devil, equipped with all his paraphernalia of tail and horns and cloven hoof, mocking and laughing at him. Convinced that the treasure was effectually guarded he fled in terror.

In the earliest period of this history, we found a few who believed

[1] No. 43, p. 27.

that nature alone, with its weather-cracks and veins and stains, was the sole designer of the figures on the rock. Besides the other suggestions referred to above, Laing, after relating the instance of the Runamo stone, hints that the "Deighton Written Rock would perhaps be the better of a certificate from the mineralogist, as well as the antiquary." Webb tells us of one person who was positively sure that there is no inscription on the rock. In a letter of February 4, 1838, he complains to Bartlett: "John Whipple laughs at the whole affair, denies that there are any such figures as we represent on the Tiverton Rocks, having visited them many times, that there are hundreds of just such rocks in our Bay all of which were marked by the action of water, stones, &c, and that these markings have by the conjurings of our imaginations been fashioned into the shapes delineated on our plates. He considers the Inscription Rocks, Animal Magnetism, & Phrenology, among the humbugs of the day." Apparently he refers to the same person in his letter of sixteen years later to John Ordronaux, in which he says: "One denied that any kind of Inscription was on the Assonet Rock; declaring that the markings were mere lusus Naturae; or at most, simply the results of combined action of wind, water, ice and kindred influences." [1]

These miscellaneous theories would be incomplete without mention of one which I believe to be a complete fabrication. A boy of fourteen or fifteen years residing temporarily in Dighton told me that he could read the inscription on the rock. The characters, he said, are all Indian names. He knew a dozen or so of them, but a friend of his once knew them all, about fifty in number. He could remember only the names Leo, Viola, Varcana — the first being the name of the infant pictured there. He could not describe the characters that spelled these names, except as different kinds and groups of X's; nor could he draw them. He would have to show me on the rock itself, — and we never found opportunity to go to the rock together. He claimed to have studied the Indian language and writing at a high school in Vermont. Among the neighbors he had the reputation of telling big stories; one said he was "just a plain liar;" and a report from the school where he gained his unusual ability to read Indian writings naturally disclosed the fact that nothing of the sort had ever been taught there. But it is worth while to have a "plain lie,"

[1] Nos. 481, 482.

especially when so picturesquely developed, to add to our collection. We have already had hoaxes and parodies. To make the collection complete and well-rounded we have yet in store first a fascinating possibility that proves a pricked bubble in the end, and then finally such a wild flight of genuinely disordered confusion and fancy as seemingly to pass the bounds of sanity.

The pricked bubble presented the appearance of a thrilling romance at first, with possibilities of proving a precious source of information concerning our rock. The story originated in a communication from General Guy M. Fessenden to the Warren Telegraph on June 2, 1860, and was repeated in 1904 by Virginia Baker. It relates that after King Philip's War the remnants of the Wampanoags fled to Maine and there merged with the Penobscot tribe. Up to half a century ago, parties of Penobscot Indians were in the habit of making periodical visits to Warren. Among them was Francis Loring, known also as Chief Big Thunder, custodian of the tribe. He informed General Fessenden "that the tribe had in their possession, and which they carefully preserved among their national archives, an ancient book made of skins [or of birch-bark], containing many descriptions of important historical localities, some of which are in this vicinity, all of them in the ancient Indian style of signs and picture writing." [1] By its aid Mr. Loring had no difficulty in locating the ancient Wampanoag national grinding mill, and an Indian cemetery. Unfortunately the ancient book was later accidentally destroyed by fire.

This story seemed worth probing further; for if Assonet Neck was, as some assert, a favorite hunting ground and national possession of the Wampanoags; if they were the carvers of Dighton Rock; and if their ancient book accurately described their chief historic localities and monuments, — then might there not be some hope that it contained a description, perhaps a reproduction, possibly even an interpretation, of the Assonet inscription? And even though the book itself was no longer in existence, might not some present Indians, especially the successor to Big Thunder as custodian of the records, still have vivid memories of its former contents? It would be strange if true, yet not to be discarded as utterly impossible. I was fortunate in being directed eventually to the right source for settling the question convincingly. Dr. Frank G. Speck of the University of

[1] V. Baker, Massasoit's Town Sowams in Pokanoket, pp. 36–37.

Pennsylvania, who has made intimate studies among the Penobscots, gives me the following information:

It is very doubtful whether any of the Wampanoags ever merged with the Penobscot. Francis Loring or Big Thunder was a Penobscot mixed blood who died some years ago. It is enough to say of him that he was a "show-man" in every sense of the term. He was a most unreserved liar and no secret was made of it among the Penobscot. His business was the deception of the public. He had a little relic shop on Indian Island where he sold "ancient relics" which he manufactured, and I have encountered many stories and traditions which were his own invention. Among them must be included the "ancient Book" hoax. In short, Big Thunder was a joke among all who knew the Indians.

Diabolism

We have seen in the treasure hunting stories evidence of a sort that Dighton Rock is under the particular care and protection of his Satanic Majesty; and that he has been at work also in his more familiar role as Father of Liars. We might have suspected it from the confusion of tongues and of opinions that have attended it throughout its eventful history. Back in the dim beginnings of things Cotton Mather taught that it was probable that the Devil seduced the first inhabitants of America into that continent, and —

> therein aimed at the having of them and their Posterity out of the sound of the *Silver Trumpets* of the *Gospel*, then to be heard through the *Roman Empire*; if the *Devil* had any Expectation, that by the Peopling of *America*, he should utterly deprive any *Europeans* of the Two Benefits, *Literature* and *Religion*, which dawned upon the miserable World, one just *before*, t'other just *after*, the first famed *Navigation* hither, 'tis to be hop'd he will be disappointed of that Expectation.[1]

One writer on the Rock expresses wonder that Mather, believing that the Devil led out a colony of miserable savages to America for the reasons stated, "had not also suggested the idea that this rock probably recorded some event connected with that expedition of his Satanic Majesty and that the strange characters were the work of Tartarian chisels." [2] Another, reflecting on the fact that no two

[1] Magnalia, bk. i. ch. i. p. 2.
[2] No. 27, p. 82.

careful and faithful copies of the inscription can appear intended for the same design, says that "the stone itself seems to be endowed with a magic power of deception." [1]

Psychopathology and the Reductio ad Absurdum

We have plentiful indications, it would seem, of diabolic influences centering about the ancient relic. Yet if the King of Evil has thus exhibited a special liking for this boulder of sandstone, his right to it has not been undisputed. According to our next authority, his most redoubtable adversary has also claimed it for his own; and thus there has raged over it a genuine Zoroastrian conflict between the powers of Good and Evil. Still, it is the Prince of Darkness himself who must be held accountable for this new and greatest masterpiece in Dighton Rock literature, if it be true that extravagant mental delusions, beyond anything we have yet examined, are an indication of possession by the devil. The reader will understand that I am expressing no opinion as to whether or not the production now to be reviewed is an offspring of actual paranoia. He will readily arrive at his own conclusions. My function will be simply to lay before him certain facts of intense psychological interest, in a form more systematic than that in which the author presents them.

In 1910 there was published a beautifully printed and illustrated folio volume of 432 pages under the title: "Fernald Genealogy. Universal International Genealogy and of the Ancient Fernald Families. . . . By Charles Augustus Fernald, M.D. . . . Principal of G.U.S. & F.A." [2] This extraordinary book purports to trace the genealogy of the Fernald family back to Ava and Adam, our first parents, who were created 4376 B.C. Its long line includes the royal houses of China, Persia, Egypt, and France, and all of its members from the first have such titles as FNR, FNA, PHRA, FERNEL, etc., as part of their names, which seem to be regarded as the equiva-

[1] No. 128, p. 308.

[2] Fernald received his M.D. at the Harvard Medical School in 1872, and afterwards practised in Boston. The initials of his self-conferred title stand for "God's United States and Foreign Alliance." He was born December 5, 1847, at Wolfborough Centre, N. H.; died March 15, 1916. Besides this book, he published also: The Downfall of Rome; or, History Repeating Itself, 1896; and in 1899 issued two editions of a large folded sheet printed on both sides, entitled: Genealogy of the Ancient Fernald Family, From Adam to Date.

lent of the modern FERNALD. The author claims to have discovered the primitive language (which was Ægyptian) and the primitive alphabet, and his method seems to be first to translate his ancient documents into these, and thence into English in a manner peculiar to himself. As evidential documents, there seems to be nothing mysterious and unreadable that does not serve him. China, Japan, Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome, the ancient Hebrews and the American Indians, all contribute to his material. He pictures and translates inscriptions on pyramids, obelisks, papyrus, rocks, ivories, shells, coins, medals, implements, rings, seals, grave-stones, coats of arms, manuscripts. His favorite sources seem to be Egyptian records, Roman coins, Hebrew scriptures, the Moabite Stone, the Tablet of Abydus, an "ancient Chart Log," the American Indian mounds, the Newport Tower, Dighton Rock, and the Peter Faneuil Tomb in Boston — all of them translated by his own peculiar method.

Incidentally, he claims that George Washington was a Fernald, and that he so signs himself in his well-known signature; that William Shakespeare was the nom-de-plume of Samuel Washington, who also was a Fernel; that the Phœnicians driven by Joshua founded Ireland, whose real name was Furna; that the Dalai Lamas of Thibet were named Fa, equivalent to Fernald; and even that God's name in the primitive language was O, which means Fa. He intersperses his narrative with moral platitudes, pious maxims, epigrammatic sayings of eminent men, — all of them utterly irrelevant. "Do nothing today that you will repent of tomorrow. Use temporal things, but desire eternal;" "Historical Truth Doth Accurately Repeateth Itself;" "Right is true equity and impartial justice;" — these are examples, and his pages are abundantly adorned with the like. There are many other irrelevant materials. Prominent among them is the fact that the author is "Principal of God's United States and Foreign Alliance," whose chief purpose seems to be the advocacy of three laws against alcoholism and sexual immorality. Because Popes Leo XIII and Pius X refused to support these measures as advocated by him, he claimed that the Roman Catholic Church had poisoned his ancestors, including Dr. Jean Fernel, legitimate son of Charles VIII of France, and had profited by the twenty million dollars stolen from them. Consequently he sent to the Popes a bill for this sum and interest on it, against which he drew checks to individuals and nations amount-

HARRISON-GARDNER PHOTOGRAPH, 1875

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

ing in all, according to his statement (page 136), to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ quadrillion dollars. In other ways he exhibits a strong anti-Catholicism; and he is quite as strongly anti-grammatical, anti-coherent, and anti-systematic.[1] As a typical example of his accuracy and coherence, the following is illuminating: "In South America, the Mississippi Valley, North and South through the interior of the Continent, 1200 miles in width: flows its River more than 4000 miles from head to outlet of its longest branch."

The lack of an index and the almost utter lack of system in the arrangement of his rambling material, make it difficult to give an impartial and reliable account of his claims and of their basis. For most assertions, no evidential basis is even suggested. I have gleaned enough, I think, to represent him fairly. To add criticism of my own to the attempt that I shall make to present his method, so far as I have been able to understand it, and the results that he obtains will be entirely unnecessary.

Scattered here and there can be found a few examples that show his method of interpretation. They will be entirely convincing as to the value of all of his translations. Usually he gives no indications whereby the reader can at all follow and test his readings; but these selected instances are probably typical of them all. (1) On page 6 he gives the "Mound History of Creation from one of five translations all true." His method permits as many different translations from one source as one may wish to make. (2) On pages 29 to 32 he gives "six all true translations from a grave tablet in Ægypt." They differ utterly. For one of them, he reverses the plate "to show one mode of reading;" and in an adjoining plate he shows "the inscription on Dighton Rock . . . reversed to show one of six readings."[2] So far as the reader can judge from text and plates, the six readings from the Egyptian tablet are identical with the six from the entirely dissimilar inscription on the rock. (3) A single curved line (⌒) on a "Babylonish design" (page 82) he calls a large C, and tells us that it "declareth that Christ shall cut his line on Dighton Rock." (4) A proclamation of Cyrus King of Persia, given in II Chronicles xxxvi. 22, 23, and in Ezra i. 1–6, is re-read as giving almost

[1] For evidences of what appear to be delusions of persecution, including thirty-nine attempts upon his life, see pp. 136, 137, 182, 191, 211 f, 256, etc.

[2] P. 33, Plates 64, 69. Cf. the Biglow Papers.

the complete Fernald genealogy down to about forty generations beyond the present time (pages 113–116). (5) On page 218, single letters selected at random from different lines of a long poem are taken to indicate: U.S.A. = United States of America; A.S.W. = America's Samuel Washington, etc. (6) On page 266, the following is quoted from Milton's L'Allegro:

> Then to the well-trod stage anon:
> If Jonson's learned sock be on,
> Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
> Warble his native wood-notes wild;

and this is given as its "true translation:"

2nd line, I.F. = J.F., the initials of John Firnel, Jon. Son 1st line, — trod = Dr. (& to Hen.): (2nd 1, 3 words find) Jean Fernel and son Jon = John Fernel or Firnel, who took name of Shakspere. 2 & 3 lines hatn: — "Jon, son of Jean Fernel, s. Anne and Charles VIII = count of eight words to "learned" truth, in "sweetest" the initials of "S.W." is "Shakespeare Fernel's child." All four lines as ancient Ægyptian is read: WA (from warble" "Sh" from Shakespeare "i" from "child" n from "on" g from "stage" t from "native" on from "notes" and woo from "wood" and General George Washington kept his Fernald O seal in writing his autograph "Go Washington.") It may interest the student to know that in all Skakespeare's works he kept the family history, that posterity, as in this may and will profit by if wisely read in verity.

Here is clear proof that William Shakespeare was identical with Samuel Washington and was descended from Dr. Jean Fernel, son of Charles VIII! (7) A final instance, among the few where it is possible to follow the author's method, will help to convince that the simple procedure thus far indicated is really the one used throughout in obtaining the author's extraordinary results. On page 79 is figured "a coin of Alexander." We are told that thirteen dots that appear on a sword-blade there represented, as also on a well-known Egyptian drawing that he calls the "Ham Map" (best shown on page 278), "represent Stars that foretells U.S.A." Eleven o's are "a prophecy that child of line shall write the lines as declared above." An A is the pyramid in a lake in Oregon, the garden of Eden; the white spot in it "is name pure God." An insignificant curved black line "is the so-called serpent Line Mound at Adam's County, Ohio."

A long thing that looks more like a knobby club than anything else is "a line of waters that represents Dighton Rock and River Taunton." A short pointed mark or wedge is "a fallen pike point carved on said Rock prophesying fall of killed Alexander and Sassan." A T is a "monogrammic spelling of Noah and Lamar, Ham, Araat, and turn the coin upside down and T symb. declares Lamar Noah and Hm. went from Araat and next symb. 'to pyramid Lake, Oma'." He thus concludes this interesting study of a single coin:

To be complete some of capital point mentioned would enlarge this work, far beyond the intent to more than bring before all, especially expert linguists, positive evidence to glean, for the granary store house of history, crude sheafs of TRUE unwinnowed perfect grains that if well received — is to be put into 2nd Edition: the opponents will be, are those, set forth in past Encycliæ who profit by ignorance and sin.

We have now enough data to enable us to evaluate the entire work. But we must not dismiss it without gathering together and exhibiting in a manner more systematic than that of the author the many references to Dighton Rock. If any should regard them as unworthy of further consideration, I wish to urge a study of them as furnishing a marvelously perfect *reductio ad absurdum* of all those methods of interpretation that find in the rock's inscriptions evidence of ancient Phœnician voyages or Icelandic discoveries of America. We have found a full score of rival translations of the inscription. In trying to show how baseless they all were, in spite of the plausibility and poetic appeal of some of them, I had no hope of discovering so perfect a refutation of them all as we are providentially given here. So far as I can see, this one is worthy of acceptance as being fully as well supported, fully as complete in detail, fully as attractive in its appeal, as any of the others. It is beautifully illustrative of the method of all of them carried to its logical and patently unsound extreme. It has no rival except the sober and simple belief, consonant with all genuine evidence, that the characters were inscribed by American Indians and possess no significance that has yet been discovered or that would be of any very great interest if known.

In the entire work, without an exhaustively minute study, I find forty-four cases of mention of Dighton Rock.[1] The author claims to

[1] Pp. 5, 8, 9, 20 (7), 29, 32, 33 (2), 36, 37, 38, 44, 50, 60, 66, 67, 71, 78, 79 (2), 82, 87, 88, 108, 124, 127, 133, 135, 162, 166 (2), 241, 259, 267, 278, 369, 398, 427.

have "made 16 Photographs of Rock fast crumbling into decay," but shows none of them. Three times, however, he reproduces the Job Gardner drawing (pages 5, 20, 33), once inverted "to show one of six readings," taken, as he says, "from U. S. History 1853."[1] In addition, he gives twice what appears to be an original drawing of the shoreward slope of the rock with its markings.[2] He makes mention also of a "Sea Green Flag" erected on the Rock by Marcus Agrippa in 29 B.C., and this is said to be pictured on a coin on page 20, on a design called a "Roman Mariner Compass" on page 165,

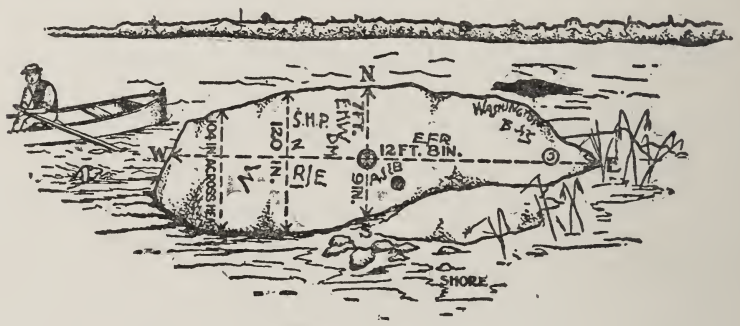

FIG. 5. SHOREWARD SIDE OF DIGHTON ROCK

Drawn by Charles A. Fernald, 1903, from Fernald's Universal International Genealogy, 1910, Plate 70

and on the Copan Statue of Central America on page 134. Page 20 presents a confused pen-drawn conglomeration of pictures and statements, difficult to decipher. So far as they can be read, the following refer to Dighton Rock: "Coin and Medal of Augustus showing part of Dighton Rock inscription;" "Inscription on Dighton Rock;" "8.9.10. show colony of August at Anon, Roman Ægle raised with flag on Dighton Rock." In one corner appear the Gardner drawing and the drawing of the shoreward slope; and near them can be made out, with much difficulty and some uncertainty: "Carefully from 15 photographs, many days of inspection for truth only I give the amply proved result of rock at Dighton, Taun-

[1] Very likely an edition of one of Lossing's pictorial histories, since Lossing is the only historian I have yet discovered who uses the Job Gardner drawing.

[2] Pp. 20, 33. See Fig. 5, on this page.

ton River, Mass. E. end with C. Furnius name written over by Marcus Agrippa Lucius Furnius. Washington's name was supremely distinct in first three or four letters by me seen. I make oath of the fact, measurements with repeated examinations of ington warranted claim of full name. . . . which with EFR and ASB are very old. EHW upper end more recent. The ⅄ are spelling of Noah and Ham." The text underneath says: "7, Sea Green Flag of Dighton Rock, Gift Emp. Augustus to M. Agrippa L. Furnius, pictured over waters on Copan Monument. . . . 23, Inscriptions on Dighton Rock."

In a number of other places there are said to be partial depictions of the inscription on the rock, or prophecies concerning it. Thus a ring found at Ghizeh in a tomb and called the Suphis ring (page 219 and plate 1087 on page 217) "gives part of inscription on Dighton Rock." A part of the "Cosmas Map" (page 60) is interpreted as "The inscription Rock at Dighton River, Mass." Plate 178 on page 87 contains "an Ægyptian symbol and record of battle at or near Dighton Rock, Taunton River, Massachusetts, United States of America. There has been found arrow heads and other evidence of a great battle." The Moabite Stone and other sources of the Fernald Genealogy contain prophecies (pages 71, 78, 88) that Christ, Marcus Agrippa, Chia and Bahman will cut their names on Dighton Rock, and that Agrippa will raise the Sea Green Flag thereon.

Of the characters on the rock, mention is made of two squares "placed cornerwise on Rock with a line showing them returned," and of three O's, "ancient names of Trinity," one of which was "added by Christ that gives the time he taught at that locality." There is no indication given of the translation of any other marks on the face, unless an XV, an XXIII, and a combination of three letters resembling O Delta Upsilon which he mentions, are supposed to occur there. On the shoreward side, we are told that there occur, in positions indicated in the drawing, (1) the name of Christ included within that of God (a C within a circle); (2) the name of Washington, "distinct in first three or four letters;" (3) the names of Chia and Bahman; (4) the name of Marcus Agrippa over that of C. Furnius, or of C. Furnius over Agrippa; (5) the names of Noah and Ham; (6) an ancient compass; (7) many initials.

These statements are scattered over many pages (8, 20, 33, 37, 128, 162, 166). Finally we are informed (page 427) that "on Dighton Rock was photographed by me characters that Marcus Aggrippa Lucius Furnius was conversant with as is found in his chiseled inscription containing primitive language that Christ used when he conversed in 'tongues.'"

This is all that we have of interpretation that can be assigned to particular characters. But, without further understanding its justification, we are given a story which may be assembled from scattered passages as follows:

Marcus Agrippa Lucius Furnius, the great Naval Commander of the Emperor Augustus, sailed with five ships from Roma in 29 B.C. to Annona (Anon, Omo, Ama, Amo, Augustii, Amarica), where God in the Garden of Adn first created woman and man, Ava and Adm, and their seed. There, in the primitive language of lines, he engraved the fact and date on Dighton Rock, and on it raised the Sea Green Flag given to him by the Emperor; and also wrote his name over that of C. Furnius (unless the latter was the later). He returned from Omo 28 B.C. with three ships, wife, son and daughter. He left behind his son Graecianus Julius Caius Furnius and daughter Isabel, who commenced the Newport Tower before he left, for defence, Temple, and Monument. The son did not complete the Tower, but returned to Rome with one ship and fifty men. His name and his father's appear not only on Dighton Rock, but also in the Monhegan Rock inscription, which dates from 1013 B.C.

In 15 A.D. Christ sailed from Rome to Anona, and wrote his name on Dighton Rock. The following is "translated from Dighton Rock inscription" (page 8):

Theos, I Christ, the son of my Heavenly Father God come up from the waters and write my name within that of God on this Rock and Engrave hereon for men and the sons of all women and men for I am sent by the Father to teach that all who believe in me shall have Eternal Light for I AM HE THAT I AM: I the son of God the Father and God the Holy One of Israel, sail from Roma XV to Anona the land of Omo, Ama where God from Air, Earth, Electricity, Radium, Water made woman and man, Ava, Adam in his glorious form and image to be children of the Light and Multiply for the glory of God. I Christ the son of God to teach you to do the works of my God who

gave to you his symbolic letters OΔΥ here shown. Returned 10 plus 10 plus III = 23 to Roma, etc.

Another translation is given, purporting to be from "an Ægyptian tomb at Eileithyias" (pictured on page 29 and again inverted on page 33), and to be also a translation of the inscription on Dighton Rock. It is one of "six all true translations" of these two records (page 32):

THE FIFTH TRANSLATION HISTORICAL CORRESPONDING WITH INSCRIPTIONS ON DIGHTON ROCK, TAUNTON RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BEAUTIFUL HIEROGLYPHICS AND LINES STRANGE

God the Eternal Mother and Father of Christ the Son to be Born from Mary and Joseph: — "XV, I, Christ the Messiah, came by Ship from Roma, to be known Dighton Rock, Taunton River, Massachusetts: and say I, the Great Spirit, Chisel My Name in the Rock in My Father Fa (O=Fa=God name) * On the Rock East of where Marcus Aggrippa Lucius Furnius, Driller of the Names of God the Holy One and God the Father, and from former raised the Sea Green Flag: by Chart and Compass * * I came bringing to the Land of Omo, Ama= Annona=Augustii=Amarica, foretold by Moses, the Serpent Mound Land, bringing the Sacred Rolls, Squares and Tablets given to Ava and Adam and Seven Laws, where Cain was born, given: I taught the Antedeluvians from the Squares to be One with Trinity, that willed all United in Brotherly Filial Love a Branch of Triune the Manitou God: I taught: 10 and 10 and 3 years returned to Roma: Thus my Father God ordered and made most perfect, His children, Female and Male, Daughters and Sons line to count by the Stars, Completed in Messiah Christ and Saviour." This and much more is read in the inscription from Dighton Rock, that the tide conceals and reveals twice in twenty-four hours; fast disappearing, without (till this hundreds of years past) correct translation lost, which, is honestly, carefully presented for Justice, verity.

In 221 A.D., Fnr Chia, daughter of the Emperor of China, a descendant of Fut, son of Ham, founder of China, and of M. Agrippa, with her husband Fna Bahman of Persia, sailed with two vessels from Fars (Persia), with Agrippa's Chart Log and Compass (the latter shown on the Rock), and finished the Tower Temple at Newport. Their names are carved on Dighton Rock. The people were fierce

and bloodthirsty, and slew Bahman and many of his people. He died June 8, 223, and was buried (as was also an infant child born here) under the Tower. Their eldest son, F. Sassan, also died on December 10, and was buried with his armor on, and with his sword and spear, near the mouth of the river TSEON or Taunton (a picture of the Fall River skeleton is shown on page 8). With another son, Chia visited the Serpent Mound, built by Ava and Adam. She died May 6, 230; and her features are sculptured on the stone at Copan in Central America. One son became ancestor of many great nations in Anona; a second went to China and was ancestor of Confucius!

Ideas are peculiar things. In many ways they resemble persons and nations. Some of them can live amicably in company with others, can give and take, grow and expand, assimilate foreign as well as sympathetic material to their own advantage and progress. But some, once formed, are fixed and unchangeable in character. They can grow only on material that flatters. They are blind to all virtues but their own, arrogant and immutable; and in presence of anything foreign they cannot compromise or assimilate, but must dominate, disregard, or die. Almost all of the detailed attempts at translation of Dighton Rock have been of this character; but we have by far the most perfect example here.

Ownership of the Rock and Projects for its Removal

We have surveyed now all of the theories, so far at least as we have been able to discover mention of them, that have been advanced to account for the inscription. This, however, does not constitute all of its significant history. The successive changes in ownership of the rock are pertinent, and of particular interest are the various attempts that have been made to reproduce the characters on it.

Until toward the close of King Philip's War, Assonet Neck, on which the Writing Rock is situated, was the property of the Indians. From an affirmation of 1673,[1] it appears that the Neck was then regarded as belonging to one Indian alone, named Piowant, and not to the tribe as a whole. The rock itself, however, if any thought was given to it at all, may have been claimed by white men; for in 1640

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xii. 242.

the Court at Plymouth granted to the proprietors of Taunton the meadow lands or salt marshes of Assonet Neck,[1] and the proprietors shortly began to give grants of them to individuals. The records of these earliest grants are lost. But before 1680—perhaps long before that — Henry Hodges owned a salt meadow lying along the edge of Assonet Neck, bordering on Taunton river. When he sold it in 1691 he defined its limits in such a manner as to show that the rock would have been included within them. This claim, however, was evidently disputed, and Hodges's actual possessions regarded as ceasing to the southward of the rock. The rock itself is on the edge of the upland, with no intervening salt meadow. Just above it, however, is a small cove of meadowish land, and in a deed of division of 1717 the parties thereto, owning the adjoining upland, "agree to be at equal charges in defending said Cove against all persons layeing any lawful claime or demand to the same." [2] From this time on, the cove and neighborhood remain in enjoyment of the owners of the upland without successful dispute. Hence, although for a time Henry Hodges laid claim to the river-border whereon the rock stands, and his predecessors, if he had any, in the ownership of this meadow may have done the same, yet in the end it was decided that the rock and surrounding land were part of the upland, and hence owned by the Indians until 1676.

As early as March 10, 1676, the Colony of New Plymouth looked upon Assonet Neck as belonging to it by right of conquest.[3] It was, therefore, the owner of Dighton Rock until the 12th of November, 1677, when the Neck passed into the possession of six proprietors.[4] These men made an agreement of division on March 23, 1680, and the portion which included the rock was set off to James Walker, a prominent proprietor of Taunton.[5] In 1690, he deeded his Assonet Neck property to two daughters, Hannah and Dorothy, who eventu-

[1] When the Court acquired or assumed the right to dispose of them is not on record. Doubtless they were conveyed by Massasoit in the original, now lost, Cohannet deed of about 1637, or soon thereafter, for Philip included them in his confirmatory deed of 1663.

[2] See our Publications, xviii. 241; Land Records at Taunton, Book 3, p. 287 (1680); Book 3, p. 174 (1691); Book 7, p. 720 (1717).

[3] Plymouth Colony Records, v. 191, 240.

[4] Plymouth Colony Records of Deeds, Book 5, p. 199.

[5] Land Records at Taunton, Book 3, p. 287.

ally divided the lot, and Hannah, together with her husband Benjamin Jones, whom she had married in 1695, became owner of the part containing the rock. In 1718 Benjamin Jones left his lands to his son Benjamin by will, and in 1720 his widow Hannah confirmed the bequest by deed.[1] The next following transfers were: 1768, Benjamin Jones by will to his son Abiel;[2] 1792, Abiel Jones to David Dean;[3] 1818, David Dean to his son David;[4] 1837, David Dean to his five sons,[5] all the rest of whom by sale or division transferred their rights in the part in which we are interested to their brother Thomas F. Dean.[6]

The events of the next few years have often been related authoritatively and in detail,[7] and it will be necessary to give only a brief outline here. In 1857, the violinist, Ole Bull, visited the rock in company with Niels Arnzen of Fall River, and expressed a wish to secure possession of it for the purpose of presenting it to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Arnzen accordingly purchased the rock and a few rods of adjoining land from Thomas F. Dean, and obtained a deed in his own name on July 25, 1857.[8] Subsequently Ole Bull neglected to refund the purchase money, and Arnzen, after some correspondence with Rafn, made a gift of the property to the Royal Society at Copenhagen by deed bearing date of June 23, 1860.[9] The acknowledgment of the donation, signed on May 27, 1861, by King Frederick VII, President of the Society, is on record.[10] It was at first proposed to remove the rock to Denmark, but the project was

[1] Our Publications, xviii. 286; also Probate Records at Taunton, Book 3, p. 469.

[2] Bristol County Probate Records, Book 20, p. 396.

[3] Land Records, Book 71, p. 13.

[4] Probate Records, Book 54, p. 506.

[5] Book 78, p. 117.

[6] Land Records, Book 166, p. 107; Book 170, pp. 25, 161; Book 220, p. 300.

[7] Nos. 10, 17, 18, 20, 218. See also J. E. Olsen, in Nation (1887), xlv. 395.

[8] Land Records, Book 253, p. 92. The boundaries of the land conveyed with the rock in this and subsequent deeds are thus described: "Beginning at a point where an east and west line drawn 17½ feet south of the Rock known as the Writing or Dighton Rock intersects a line drawn north and south 35 feet east of said Rock, thence by said north and south line north 35 feet, thence west to Taunton River channel, thence south by said river 35 feet, thence east to the first mentioned bound."

[9] Land Records, Book 253, p. 93.

[10] Book 259, p. 49.

BLAKE'S PLASTER CAST, 1876

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE OF THE GILBERT MUSEUM, AMHERST COLLEGE
ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

abandoned because of war and the death soon afterward of King Frederick in 1863 and of Rafn in 1864.

On December 8, 1876, a complimentary reception and dinner were held in Boston in honor of Ole Bull. On this occasion a committee was elected whose objects, as announced in a leaflet issued by it on January 12, 1877, were: "to take measures to erect a monument in honor of the Norsemen. Second, For the protection of the Dighton Rock, now in Taunton River." "This committee regard the Dighton Rock," the leaflet continues, "whatever its origin, as a valuable historical relic of American Antiquity and have taken measures to obtain the title to it, in order to protect and remove it to Boston. They invite the deductions of all historic researchers as to the authenticity of these inscriptions." The committee became known as the Boston, or Norse, or Scandinavian Memorial Club; and at its request in February, 1877, the Royal Society in Denmark transferred to it the title to the rock, on condition that it be properly cared for. In a letter of August 17, 1888, to the secretary of the Old Colony Historical Society, Arnzen gives assurance that the transfer actually took place and passed through his hands; but "the Boston Memorial Club was not a legal organization and therefore could not hold the property in a suit at law." It is well known how the activities of the committee resulted in the erection of the Leif Erikson statue in Boston, unveiled on October 29, 1887. Its project to remove the rock to Boston, however, was abandoned. Whether this was due to the conviction, officially expressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in 1877, that the rock was not a Norse monument, or to an erroneous belief that arose about that time that the rock was not a boulder but a part of the bed-rock, and hence would be difficult to remove, we are not informed. The only definite statement that I have seen implies the latter. On the back of a stereoscopic view taken in 1873 is printed, among other things, the following: "As the cleavage was found to run horizontally, the inscription could not be split off for removal."

A curious and unintentionally amusing version of the events narrated above is given by the Rev. J. P. McLean. It would be difficult to crowd into small compass a larger number of errors than occur throughout his discussion of Dighton Rock. The portion dealing with these events is as follows: "Magnusen's interpretation inspired

the Royal Society of Antiquarians with so much confidence that it purchased the Rock, and made arrangements to remove it to Copenhagen. When this movement was discovered, a public meeting was held in Boston to frustrate the attempt.[1] The citizens of that city should not feel themselves called upon to express alarm, for the inscription is of Indian origin."[2] Poor ignorant and hysterical Boston!

The transfer of the title to the Memorial Club never having taken effect legally, and the deed never having been recorded, arrangements were made, shortly after the main objects of the committee had been attained, for placing the rock in the care of a local organization which could most effectually take charge of it. Accordingly, on January 30, 1889, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries very fittingly deeded it to the Old Colony Historical Society of Taunton.[3] There may it rest! and may some one, with interest in its venerable and instructive history, sometime provide means for its effective protection against the initial-carving vandals who are intermittently at work marring its still insufficiently studied record!

Drawings and Photographs of the Inscription

As an important feature of our task, we have examined the circumstances of production and described the appearance of every discoverable drawing that aimed to portray the inscription, down to those of 1834 and their reproductions by Rafn. It may be well to review the main facts concerning each, and then to continue the task in full detail for all traceable depictions of the rock's appearance and the characters of human origin upon it, that have not yet been described. We shall count as separate drawings or as separate photographs only those made on separate occasions or from different chalkings, directly from the rock. Variants and copies of these will be mentioned whenever they possess any importance. First we list those that have already been described, with mention of the Plate in this series of papers in which each has been reproduced and where it will be found.

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[1] A footnote adds: "It appears that the people of Massachusetts took no particular interest in the rock prior to this time."

[2] No. 293.

[3] Land Records, Book 470, p. 211.

1. John Danforth Drawing, October, 1680.
   a. Original, probably that of Greenwood's Letter B, in British Museum. About 3 x 8. Plate XV, xviii. 288–289.
   b. Cotton Mather's copy of *a*, in Wonderful Works, 1690. ½ x 3. Reproduced by Mather in his later amplified drawings. Plates III, VI, xviii. 242, 254–255.
   c. Greenwood's copy of *a*, 1730, in British Museum. Reproduced by Bushnell, 1908. Plate XI, xviii. 274–275.
   d. Copy of *c*, in Society of Antiquaries of London, 1732. Reproduced by Lort, 1787, and thence by Rafn, 1837; Winsor, 1889; Mallery, 1893. Plates II, III, xviii. 238–239, 242.
2. Cotton Mather's Drawing, 1712. Only the lower part new, by an unknown draughtsman. This part is always inserted upside-down.
   a. Original unknown. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{4}$. Reproduced in Philosophical Transactions 1714, in Philosophical Transactions Abridged, 1721, Lort, Rafn, Winsor, Mallery. Plates II, IV, VI, xviii. 238–239, 246, 254–255.
   b. Mather Broadside, possibly about 1714. Originals in Massachusetts Historical Society and Yale University Library. Plates V, VI, xviii. 250, 254–255.
3. John Smibert's Drawing, about 1729. Lost.
4. George Berkeley's Drawing, about 1730. Lost.
5. Isaac Greenwood's Drawing, 1730.
   a. Probable original, in Greenwood's Letter B, in British Museum. $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $9\frac{1}{2}$. Plate XIV, xviii. 284.
   b. Greenwood's copy of *a*, in British Museum. Reproduced by Bushnell, 1908. Plate XI, xviii. 274–275.
   c. Copy of *b*, in Society of Antiquaries of London, 1732. Reproduced by Lort, 1787, and thence by Rafn, Winsor, Mallery. Plate VII, xviii. 258.
6. John Winthrop's Drawing, before 1744. Not preserved.
7. Drawing by Ezra Stiles, June 6, 1767, in Yale University Library. $7\frac{5}{8}$ x $24\frac{1}{2}$. Plate XIX, xix. 50–51.
   Some further drawings of particular figures, of same date, in Itinerary in Yale University Library.
8. Drawing by Ezra Stiles, July 15, 1767, in Yale University Library. $7\frac{5}{8}$ x $12\frac{1}{4}$. Plate XX, xix. 58–59.
   Some further drawings of particular figures, of same date, in American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

9. Drawing by Ezra Stiles, July 16, 1767, in Massachusetts Historical Society. 9 x 23. Plate XXI, xix. 66–67.
10. Ink-impression by Elisha Paddack, August 1767, in American Academy of Arts and Sciences, never reproduced; incomplete. 26 x 41. Another small fragment in Stiles's Itinerary, in Yale University Library.
11. Stephen Sewall's Drawing, September 13, 1768.
    a. Original, in Peabody Museum. 36 x 120. Plate XXII, xix. 74–75.
    b. John Winthrop's copy of *a*. Reproduced by Lort, 1787, and thence (unless from *e*) by Rafn, Winsor, Mallery. Plates II, XXII, XXXI, xviii. 238–239, xix. 74–75, 146–147.
    c. Gebelin's copy, 1781. Reproduced in L'Independent of Fall River, July 14, 1915. Plate XXIII, xix. 82–83.
    d. Dammartin's copy of *c*. Plates XXIII, XXXI, xix. 82–83, 146–147.
    e. Hale's copy of *a*, 1834: see no. 217. Copy of this, sent by Webb to Rafn, may have been latter's source.
12. Ink-Impression by James Winthrop, August 4, 1788.
    a. Original not discoverable. About 48 x 120 probably.
    b. Pantographic copy of *a* by Winthrop, published in Memoirs of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1804. Reproduced by Warden 1825, Rafn, Roux de Rochelle 1853, Winsor, Mallery. Plate XXIV, xix. 90–91.
    c. Copy of alphabetical characters of *b*, by Samuel Harris, about 1807. Plate XXVII, xix. 114.
13. Drawing by Ezra Stiles, October 3, 1788. Incomplete; not discoverable.
14. Baylies Drawing, by William Baylies, John Smith, Samuel West, Joseph Gooding, and possibly William Baylies Jr., about July 15, 1789.
    a. Dr. Baylies's copy, sent to American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Not discoverable.
    b. Smith-Stiles copy, in Massachusetts Historical Society. 12 x 22. Plate XXV, xix. 98–99.
    c. Smith-Upham copy, in Massachusetts Historical Society. 7½ x 19. Plate XXV, xix. 98–99.
    d. Joseph Gooding copy, in possession of heirs of Sophia F. Brown. 7¼ x 20¾. Plate XXVI, xix. 106–107.
    e. Webb copy, made probably from *d* in February, 1830, known as "Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin's 1790," published by

Rafn, 1837. Reproduced by Aall, 1838; Schoolcraft, 1851 (combined with 1837 drawing); Winsor, Mallery. Plates II, XXVI, xviii. 238–239, xix. 106–107.

15. Edward A. Kendall's Painting and Engraving, 1807.
    - *a.* Oil Painting, in Peabody Museum. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{1}{4}$. Plate XXVIII, xix. 122–123.
    - *b.* Engraving after *a*. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 23$. Published in Memoirs of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809. Plate XXIX, xix. 130–131.
    - *c.* Misleading copy of *b*, published by Rafn, 1837, and thence in Dansk Kunstblad, 1837; Winsor, Mallery. Plate II, xviii. 238–239.
16. Lithograph by Job Gardner, 1812.
    - *a.* Original not discoverable.
    - *b.* Dissected copy by Ira Hill, 1831. Plate XXX (with modifications), xix. 138–139.
    - *c.* Copy published by Rafn, 1837, thence by Lossing, 1850 (thence by Fernald, 1910); S. A. Drake, 1875; Winsor, Mallery. Plate XXX, xix. 138–139.
17. Rhode Island Historical Society View or Sketch, by J. R. Bartlett, December, 1834.
    - *a.* Original, in Royal Library, Copenhagen. $9 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$. Plate XXXIII, xx. 298–299.
    - *b.* Rafn's amended and amplified copy, published by Rafn 1837. For reproductions, see above, page 302. Plate XXXIII, xx. 298–299.
18. Rhode Island Historical Society's Drawing, by a committee of the society, about September 4 (retouched December 11), 1834.
    - *a.* Original, in Royal Library, Copenhagen. 15×35. Plate XXXIV, xx. 308–309.
    - *b.* Rafn's copy with additions, published by Rafn 1837. For reproductions see above, page 302. Plate XXXIV, xx. 308.

We shall now proceed to gather together the facts concerning later productions, so far as they have come to my notice. Most of them are of some public importance, through having been published or placed on sale; but a few are included which have never become thus known. One is the best photograph ever secured, taken without preliminary chalking. Aside from this one, however, no attempt has been made to assemble photographs that throw no light on the question as to what are the artificial lines that exist, or are interpreted to

exist, on the rock. It is not improbable that some published drawings have been overlooked. This must certainly be true of some illustrations that are merely copies of those that we have found. And there is no question that many times the rock has been sketched, or its characters chalked and photographed, and the result not come to our attention. One correspondent who lived within sight of the rock for sixteen years writes of often having taken inquirers to see it, who chalked the markings and photographed them.

19. Drawing by Edward E. Hale, July 31, 1839. Not preserved.

In his Diary, Dr. Hale gives a detailed and interesting account of his visit to Dighton Rock on the date above mentioned.[1] Two years earlier, as an undergraduate at Harvard, he was engaged in assembling materials for an intended lecture on American antiquities, "dilating principally on Dighton rock, on which I consider myself *au fait*;" and although I have discovered no indication that he delivered the proposed lecture, or ever wrote any extended paper on the rock, yet there are numerous evidences that his interest in it continued throughout his life. In the manuscript Diary there is a small crudely drawn picture of the "animal" of the rock, with the letters OX above it, which he remarks is the nearest he could see to the pretended Norse inscription; and he expresses as his own view the probability that the Indians cut the marks after the introduction of metal tools, obtained possibly from the Northmen. He says further, however, that he "took a copy" of the inscription; but in a letter to S. F. Haven on October 18, 1864, he remarks that this drawing "has long since disappeared."[2] Hale's mention of the "inscription on the North end of the rock," which is so rarely visible, should again be noted.[3]

20. Drawing by John W. Barber, 1839. Figure 6, xx. 379.

This drawing was published in Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts, page 117. In his preface he says that "the drawings for the numerous engravings interspersed throughout the book were, with few exceptions, taken on the spot by the author of this work." The dotted line in the drawing indicates, according to the author, the level to which the rock is generally covered at high water. As a

[1] Nos. 210, 214–216.
[2] No. 211.
[3] See p. 406, below.

matter of fact, the high-water level is "generally" much higher. On the same page is another cut, showing the rock as seen from the opposite side of the river, with a wide stretch of shore visible on either side of it.

This drawing of the inscription has hitherto been reproduced, apparently, only by Nason.[1]

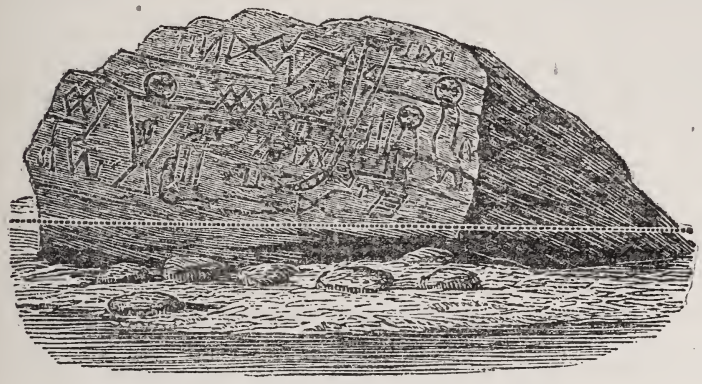

FIG. 6. DIGHTON ROCK
Drawn by John W. Barber, 1839, from Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts, p. 117

21. Daguerreotype of 1840. Not discoverable.

In 1854 Dr. Webb claimed [2] that he had in his possession a daguerreotype of Dighton Rock taken in 1840. No trace of it can now be discovered. The date assigned, though early, is perfectly possible.[3]

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[1] No. 324, evidently adapted from Barber.

[2] No. 482.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Matthews for the following note:

A letter from S. F. B. Morse dated Paris, March 19, 1839, was printed in Niles' Register of April 27th (lvi. 134). The issue of September 21 stated that the secret of the Daguerre "will be known here when the British Queen arrives," the arrival of that vessel at New York being announced in the same issue; and the issue of September 28 contained an extract disclosing the secret from the London Globe of August 23 (lvi. 52, 64, 73). What is described as "the first attempt" was "a photographic plate of the central high school, taken by Joseph Sexton" in Philadelphia (lvii. 172). In the issue of January 11, 1840, appeared this item:

"*The Daguerreotype.* The New York Observer has been favored with the sight of a large number of pictures from a collection of the exquisitely beautiful

There is no other evidence for it or description of it than the brief statement noted.

22. Drawing by the Chevalier Friedrichsthal, 1840. Not discoverable.

Evidence for this drawing is contained in a manuscript letter,[1] the writer saying that he made a sketch of the rock, and calling attention to the animal and the joining characters XV. He also made a second sketch, which "represents the almost extinguished remainders of probably as large an inscription as that on the Dydonrock, obliterated however by a much greater reaction of the salt water, being on a rock of nearly horizontal position, on the lowest part of the beach."

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results of this wonderful discovery, just arrived from Paris. . . . The collection is in the hand of M. Gourraud, a gentleman of taste, who arrived in the steam packet British Queen" (lvii. 312).

The issue of May 9 announced that "likenesses from the human face have been successfully taken by it" in Philadelphia; and the issue of May 30 stated that Robert Cornelius of Philadelphia "is now engaged, most successfully in making miniature liknesses, by means of the process designed by Mons. Daguerre" (lviii. 160, 208).

In March, 1840, M. Gouraud visited Boston, where his "collection of photogenic drawings" was exhibited privately on March 6, and publicly from March 11 to April 8. He also delivered lectures at the Masonic Temple on March 27, April 3 and 4, at the first of which he took "a beautiful view of Park Street, with the intervening trees, and part of the Common, covered with snow," and at the second "a fine view of the State House, from a front window of the Temple" (Boston Advertiser, March 7, p. 2/2; March 28, p. 2/4; April 4, p. 2/4). A communication from him was printed in the issue of March 26 (p. 2/2–3), and reprinted at the end of a 16-page pamphlet published in Boston the same year entitled "Description of the Daguerreotype Process, or a Summary of M. Gouraud's Public Lectures, according to the Principles of M. Daguerre. With a Description of a provisory Method for taking Human Portraits." This concludes with the words, "I will now say . . . that by adopting a confidential communication which I have received from M. D. G., the French Professor at Cambridge, since I arrived in Boston, I think it is very probable that we shall succeed in obtaining a Daguerreotype portrait in much less time than by the process above described." "M. D. G., the French Professor at Cambridge," was Anatole de Goy, Instructor (not Professor) in French in 1840–1841.

Finally, in the Boston Advertiser of April 6, 1840 (p. 3/2), appeared an advertisement of G. W. Prosch of 140 Nassau Street, New York, beginning: "The Daguerreotype apparatus of improved construction warranted to be correct, and better adapted to the purpose than the French, of which any reasonable person can be satisfied upon inspection. It is more portable and less expensive manufactured and for sale by the subscriber."

[1] No. 178.

This last mentioned rock is the well-known "slab." The sketches have not been preserved with the letter.

Friedrichsthal was attached to the Austrian legation at Washington. His visit to "Dydonrock" was made, he says, in company with Dr. Howe — possibly Samuel Gridley Howe, who in July, 1840, "made a journey to the Middle West . . . in the interests of the blind."[1]

23. Drawing of the alleged Roman or English letters in the central part of the inscription, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, August, 1847. Plate XXXV, xx. 316.

The circumstances of the making of this drawing have already been described, on page 334 above. The plate on which we present it shows also the combination of the 1789 and 1837 drawings which Schoolcraft published in 1851, and to both of which he naturally assigned slightly erroneous dates.

24. Daguerreotype by Captain Seth Eastman and a "professed daguerreotypist of Taunton," 1853. Plate XXXVI, xx. 324.

The circumstances under which this, the first photographic representation of the rock that has been preserved, were made, and the conclusions to which he was led, are related by Schoolcraft:

Having visited the locality of the Dighton Rock and examined the inscription, in 1847, its true character, as an example of the ideographic system of the Indians, was clearly revealed to my mind. I had no hesitation in adopting an interpretation of it made in 1837 [1839] by an Algonquin pictographist, called Chingwauk, in which he determined it to be their memorial of an ancient Indian battle. It was perceived that no exact representation of it had ever been made, and no new attempt to make one was attempted, being without proper apparatus; certain discrepancies were pointed out in Part I., Plate 36, of this work. These, after a lapse of six years, are indicated in a daguerreotyped view of the inscription, taken during the summer of the present year (1853). By this process of transferring the original inscription from the rock, it is shown to be a uniform piece of Indian pictography. A professed daguerreotypist from Taunton attended the artist (Capt. E.) on this occasion. . . . The lines were traced with chalk, with great care and labor, preserving their original width. On applying the instrument to

[1] L. E. Richards, Letters and Journals of S. G. Howe, ii. 102.

the surface, the impression herewith presented was given. [Previously depicted resemblances to Roman letters disappear; moreover] no trace appears, or could be found by the several searchers, of the assumed Runic letter Thor, which holds a place on former copies. Rock inscriptions of a similar character have, within a few years, been found in other parts of the country, which denotes the prevalence of this system among the aboriginal tribes, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It is more peculiarly an Algonquin trait, and the inscriptions are called by them Muzzinábiks, or rock-teachings.[1]

At least two daguerreotypes were made on this occasion. One of them came into possession of the Rev. Mortimer Blake, who moved to Taunton about 1856, was later owned by his son, the late Professor Lucien I. Blake, and was recently presented by the latter's brother, Percy M. Blake, to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The picture is of course mirror-wise reversed. It shows a man, probably Captain Eastman, coatless and wearing a tall hat, reclining on the rock, and therein differs from the one reproduced in Schoolcraft's plate. The former was evidently taken first, then a few unimportant lines were added to the chalking, the camera was moved a little further upstream, Captain Eastman assumed a different position on the rock, and the second exposure was made. In utilizing the latter for Schoolcraft's illustration, it was in some manner again reversed into a correct spatial depiction. The daguerreotype itself is not sufficiently clear to show the condition of the surface of the rock at the time it was taken, — of its features of texture, of scaling, of cracks, and the like, which might be of value to us in a study of the much debated question of the rapidity with which it is wearing away. Nothing shows with any clearness except the chalked lines. Consequently our reproduction is from the much clearer and spatially correct engraving, and not from the original daguerreotype.

This Eastman depiction of the inscription has been the one chosen for purposes of illustration by Bryant and Gay, 1876; F. S. Drake, 1884; McLean, 1892; Mallery, 1893 (page 86); Andrews, 1894.

25. Lithograph by George A. Shove, 1864. $6\frac{3}{4}$ x $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Plate XXXVII, xx. 332.

George A. Shove was a resident of Dighton, a descendant of the Rev. George Shove, minister of Taunton, who in 1677 became one

[1] No. 402.

DAVIS PHOTOGRAPH, SEPTEMBER 11, 1893

DAVIS PHOTOGRAPH, JANUARY 27, 1894

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

of the six purchasers and original proprietors of Assonet Neck. He was born about 1824, and was lame from his childhood. He held many responsible positions in town offices, and for a time was local postmaster. He was ingenious with tools, possessed a fair degree of skill as an artist, and had some gift as a writer. He died in 1890.

His lithograph makes no pretence at a full and accurate representation of the inscription, being intended evidently only to give a general idea of it and of the rock in its surroundings. There is only one figure in the sketchily traced inscription that is at all unusual — the double parallelogram with parallel cross-lines to the right of the picture of the animal. Besides the lithograph, Shove made at least one other drawing of the inscription that I have seen, which shows it in an even more simple and uninstructive manner. He also produced many paintings, practically all alike except that one set exhibited spring-time foliage and the other that of autumn, and practically all of them duplicates of the lithograph, including the inscription. A painting by him of the Landing of the Norsemen hangs on the walls of the Old Colony Historical Society.

26. Drawings by Edward Seager, 1864. 47 x 72 inches. Plate XXXVIII, xx. 342.

In 1864 Commodore George S. Blake, Superintendent of the United States Naval Academy at Newport, presented to the American Antiquarian Society these two drawings, which were made by Edward Seager, Professor of Drawing and Draughting at the Academy, assisted by the Rev. Charles R. Hale, Chaplain and Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics. In March, 1865, Commodore Blake presented also to the society Mr. Hale's Essay on the Dighton Rock, bearing the date January 31st, 1865. Relative to the drawings, it speaks of two visits having been made, on the first of which the tide was unfavorable. "On a second visit, we had ample time, and every circumstance of light &c favoring us. From the careful sketches taken by us, Mr. Seager has since made the beautiful and elaborate pencil and India Ink drawings laid before you."

One of the drawings shows the rock and its surroundings, the other the rock alone, with its inscription. Winsor regards this as "the most careful drawing of late years;" and H. Cabot Lodge calls

it "probably the best drawing ever made." Its particular merit is the same as that of Kendall's painting and engraving, of endeavoring to present the actual appearance of the rock to the eye, without emphasis and interpretation of its lines, with all its actual faintness and uncertainty. Kendall's, I think, is more successful in this than Seager's. But of course a faithful photograph of the unchalked surface, better than any that had been possible up to Seager's time, would be a vast improvement over the method employed by these two men. The possessor of a drawing, however faithful, can see the inscription in only the one way, as the artist himself saw it. A perfect photograph enables its owner to engage in repeated and protracted study of the surface, to see constantly new things in it, to make his own interpretations exactly as if he were examining the rock itself. An approach toward such a photograph was the next representation of the inscription to appear.

27. Burgess-Folsom Photograph, by George C. Burgess and Augustine H. Folsom, July 1868. 9 x 13 inches, and stereoscopic. Plate I, xviii. 234–235.

The words concluding the description of number 26 are our chief comment on this valuable photograph. Several times in these papers I have called it the best, most trustworthy and most useful presentation of the inscription that we possess. This statement now has to be withdrawn because since it was written I have had the good fortune to discover a recently made one that is much better.[1] This fact, however, does not detract from the merit of the one under discussion, nor does it destroy its usefulness. In matters of dispute in regard to what characters are on the rock, all earlier depictions enable us to say only that some one did or did not see them there; but this is the first made of all depictions that makes it possible for us to study out the matter for ourselves and arrive at an independent opinion. While this purpose can be served to even better advantage by the later photograph, yet the use of the two, taken with an interval of forty years between them and in somewhat different conditions of lighting, is helpful. Comparison of the two throws light on the question as to the rapidity of erosion. In the event of the propounding of a new theory concerning the shape and the meaning of the

[1] See number 39, p. 394, below.

markings, decision based on the one may be confirmed by aid of the other, and appeal to the earlier of them alone can settle decisively any suspicion as to recent introduction or alteration of lines. No drawing possesses any of these advantages, naturally. But it is also true that the photographs based on chalking do not possess them either. The chalking not only prevents an independent judgment as to whether the lines chalked are really there, but also in most cases obscures the independent seeing of lines that have not been chalked. We are fortunate, then, in having these two unbiased photographs, and in still possessing the earlier as well as the later.

At first there was little to be learned concerning the production of this photograph. The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society mentioned the fact that on February 10, 1869, a stereoscopic photograph was presented to the Society by George C. Burgess of Dighton. The Society still possesses not only this stereoscopic view, the dedicatory writing on which shows that it was taken by Augustine H. Folsom, a photographer of Roxbury and Boston, but also a large photograph, measuring 9 by 13 inches, presented by Mr. Burgess on December 24, 1868. Duplicates of the latter I have found also in the Gilbert Museum at Amherst College and in the Rhode Island Historical Society. The latter possesses the stereoscopic form also. The two halves of the stereoscopic arrangement are identical, instead of having the typical and desirable difference necessary for production of the full stereoscopic effect.

Mr. Burgess was a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1858, after that a school-teacher in Dighton. In 1868, however, though living in Dighton, he went daily to Boston, where he was in charge of the salesrooms of the Dighton Furniture Company. He is said to have once delivered a lecture on Dighton Rock. Mr. Folsom I was fortunate enough to discover in 1916 still carrying on his photographic business. From two letters that I received from him I select the following details:

I am the same A. H. Folsom who took the photograph. I think you are right about the time being 1868. It was only a short time after going into business, and I started out in August, 1865. I took the view in summer; I think it must have been in July or thereabouts, as I remember having some fine strawberries, picked in Dighton, when I had dinner with Mr. Burgess. I remember very distinctly the circum-

stances. Mr. Burgess had the rock scrubbed off with scrubbing brush and sea water to remove the slime and seaweed that had grown on it. There was no chalking or working it up at the time that I remember. As to the original markings being cleaned out with a stone or sharp instrument, I do not know; but when I got there, the rock was all ready for me, and I don't remember of the lines looking *fresh* at all. I had to make the original pictures at low tide, and even then I stood knee deep in the water to get the proper distance. I can remember all about it as plainly as if it were yesterday, and I am now 71 years old and still in the business.

After I made the first pictures for Mr. Burgess, he ordered a thousand stereo-views, and as there were so many prints to be made and only one negative, I copied several negatives I think from the larger picture. As they were so much smaller and indistinct, my impression is that I took a large print and traced out the "inscriptions" with white ink on it, so that it would copy plainer. I really don't remember whether I took any double stereos or not at that time. I had a stereo camera in 1868 and made many views with it, but seldom carried but one size on a trip, usually the larger size.

In case of the stereo-views that I have seen, it is clear that Mr. Folsom did not emphasize the lines with white ink, and that he did not use his stereo camera. I think it is furthermore safe to assume that the lines on the rock were not even lightly chalked or otherwise freshened into more than normal visibility.

28. Davis-Gardner Stereoscopic View, by Captain Nathan S. Davis and William B. Gardner, 1873. Plate XXXIX, xx. 352.

This photograph and the next following caused me a great deal of uncertainty and confusion for a considerable period, which led to much correspondence and investigation before the facts were sifted out. Partly through positive and sometimes conflicting statements in the literature, partly through natural inference from such statements, and partly through hints and rumors and facts communicated by correspondents, I have had to entertain the possibility that photographs had been made by twelve distinct persons: Captain J. W. D. Hall, T. W. Higginson, L. I. Blake, A. M. Harrison, an unnamed "agent of the U. S. government" whose photograph of the rock was on sale by the Scandinavian Memorial Committee, George M. Young, Elisha Slade, an unknown person to whom was due a cut

published by Löffler, the Rev. George W. Penniman, Captain Nathan S. Davis, William E. C. Deane, and William B. Gardner. My first start toward a successful solution of the tangle resulted from an endeavor to discover the author of an entirely different photograph. In the end, all the facts and rumors settled down into the certainty that there were but two occasions involved, each with its own separate whitening of the lines on the rock, and that all the photographs in the tentative list were made from either the one or the other of these two interpretations of the lines, or through re-photographing one of the photographs so produced.

I have seen but two photographs, both of them stereoscopic, made on the earlier of the two occasions. One of them is in the Harvard College Library, the other in the Rhode Island Historical Society. Captain Nathan S. Davis of Somerset has furnished me with the facts concerning it:

I cannot be sure of the year when this photograph was made, but would rather place it at '73 or '74 than later. I was postmaster of Somerset and much interested in stereoscopic work. William B. Gardner was a travelling photographer, going with his covered wagon as a darkroom from town to town making local views. He drifted in to Somerset and came to see me as the one most likely to be of use to him. I mentioned the Dighton Rock, of which he knew nothing previously. We went to the rock together with the fixed purpose of making the best and most nearly perfect photograph of it that could be made; and we had plenty of time at our disposal. No one else was present. After washing the written face, I found that a small pointed stone held like a pencil in my fingers would go to the bottom of the lines cleaning them out and leaving a mark behind much resembling chalk; but not a bit of chalk was used. We made several exposures. Gardner made photographs and mounted them on cards with his name on them. As I had one or more of the original negatives, some little later I made prints and mounted them on cards bearing my name. Somewhere near the time of making this photograph Gardner moved his family here.

One of the two known copies mentioned above bears on the margin of the face Gardner's name with address given as Sherborn, Mass., and the printed legend: "Runic Inscription on Dighton Rock." The other lacks these features, but has on the back a long printed description attributing the inscription to the Norsemen. Mr. Gardner's

daughter informs me that he moved from Sherborn to Somerset sometime between April and June in 1874. Since the printed matter on the mounts indicates that he was still living in Sherborn when he took it, and since Davis confirms the fact that he had not yet moved to Somerset, it seems probable that it was in 1873 rather than in 1874 that this event occurred.

I know of no former reproductions of this photograph in the literature of the rock. It is here presented in its original form and size, in order that our plates may include one view of the rock that may be used to give the stereoscopic effect.

29. Harrison-Gardner Photograph, by Captain A. M. Harrison and William B. Gardner, about September 15, 1875. Plate XL, xx. 362.
    a. Stereoscopic View of the rock alone.
    b. Stereoscopic View including five persons.
    c. 8 x 11 Photograph.
    d. 4 x 5 copy from the original by William E. C. Deane, about 1882.
    e. 5 x 8 copy from the original by George M. Young, 1890.

This was made under direction of Captain A. M. Harrison of the United States Coast Survey, who at the time was engaged in making a survey of Taunton River. I have seen several complimentary copies signed by Harrison bearing date September 15, 1875; hence it was taken shortly before that date, unless the date indicates the time of taking instead of that of presentation. A number of persons participated in the process. One of them was Captain Harrison himself, who signed a statement that has been printed on many of the cards on which these photographs were mounted:

> Having been present when the above picture was taken, I can certify that no hieroglyphic marks were "chalked" which were not clear to the eye, (though too obscure to copy plainly upon the negative,) and that special care was taken to avoid making any line more distinct where there was the least room for doubt. I think that there can be no question that there were originally many more characters cut upon the Rock than appear in the photograph, particularly at the base, where it has been for centuries exposed to the action of the tides.

In addition to this statement, the printed matter on the mounts included a lengthy exposition by Gardner of the Norse origin and

Rafn's translation, similar to the one that he used on the Davis-Gardner version.

In a letter of December 17, 1875, from Elisha Slade of Somerset to R. B. Anderson, the assertion is again made that "no chalking was made where the cutting in the rock was not plainly visible to the eye, and many markings partly obscure were not touched."[1] Anderson is authority for the statement that Captain Harrison was preparing a History of the Northmen. Apparently this has never appeared. He did, however, report to the United States Coast Survey concerning his topographical work, and "the immediate vicinity of Dighton Rock was also mapped separately on a large scale, and such particulars concerning it as Mr. Harrison was able to gather by incidental research were embodied in a separate paper and filed in the office."[2] This separate paper cannot now be discovered, either in the files of the Survey, or in the Smithsonian Institution, or in the Library of Congress.

The date of this photograph is often given wrongly as 1876. The only copy of the plain stereoscopic view that I have seen is in the Harvard College Library. Of the other stereoscopic view I know only through a copy loaned to me by Edward F. Waldron of Dighton. This shows five men grouped about the rock, and Mr. Elisha Slade informs me that, in order from left to right, they are: "Beoni Bradbury, William B. French, A. M. Harrison, Elisha Slade, and Mr. Lockwood. All but myself were of the U. S. Coast Survey, Mr. Harrison in charge of the party. The latter died in 1880." It is clearly from this stereoscopic photograph that was derived a small cut, the source of which long puzzled me, used by Ernst Löffler in his paper on the Vineland Excursions. The large photograph has doubtless been more widely distributed than any other depiction of the inscription. It has been used as the basis of illustrations by T. W. Higginson, 1882; Old Colony Historical Society (in a leaflet on the rock, after Higginson); George A. Shove, 1883; F. S. Drake, 1885; Baxter, 1889; William A. Slade, 1898; Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History, 1901; E. Hitchcock, 1904; K. M. Abbott, 1904; Avery, 1904.

The large Harrison-Gardner photograph was itself photographed,

[1] Nos. 419, 420.

[2] No. 222.

in 4 by 5 size, probably at some time between 1882 and 1884, by William E. C. Deane, now of Taunton. I have a letter from him in which he says: "I borrowed a picture from Capt. Davis, copied it, and sold the pictures at Dighton Rock Park." The mounts bore a statement about its runic character, similar to that used by Gardner.

In his paper prepared for the Peoria Scientific Association in October, 1890, the late George M. Young[1] of Boston claimed to have photographed the rock; and he sent a copy of the photograph to the Association. The Peoria Public Library kindly loaned me the photograph for examination. It is identical, except in size, with the Harrison-Gardner production, and could have been secured only from the same chalking. I was also presented with a copy of the same photograph by Mr. Young himself in 1916. On my remarking that it looked much like the Gardner photograph of 1875, he assured me that he took it himself in 1890, and that the rock was not chalked. Evidently he was mistaken in both statements. I think it very probable that he actually visited Dighton in 1890, possibly took some amateur pictures of the rock, secured also a Harrison-Gardner photograph, copied it on a 5 by 8 plate, and used that afterwards as his own photograph, very likely forgetting the circumstances of its production. It is another illustration of the errors so many of which have been carelessly and unintentionally made concerning our rock, and another example of an alleged independent reproduction traced to its actual source.

30. Plaster Cast by Lucien I. Blake, 1876. Plate XLI, xx. 372.

In an earlier paper[2] the evidence was examined as to the existence of other alleged casts, and the conclusion was reached that, although probably at least one other had been attempted, yet otherwise the reports were mistaken. Concerning this one, which is now in the Gilbert Museum at Amherst College, the late Professor Blake wrote to me in 1916:

I took the plaster cast of the rock myself in the summer of 1876, when I was a Junior in Amherst College. The exact date I do not re-

[1] In 1890, Mr. Young was proprietor of a crockery and glassware store. Later directories list him as justice of peace and notary. On his business cards he also called himself a "Compiler and Special Writer." He died January 15, 1918.

[2] Our Publications, xix. 63. See also no. 219.

call. I was assisted by Louis B. Dean of Taunton, then a Sophomore at Harvard, since deceased. We rowed down the river from Taunton with a barrel of plaster of Paris and took the cast at four o'clock one morning, when the tide was out, after cleaning and oiling the face of the rock. We had to take seven sectional plates to get the whole surface. From these reliefs, I made afterwards the cast now at Amherst.

As a boy I had frequently visited the rock and felt that a coffer dam was impracticable on account of the ice and tides covering the rock; and I remember suggesting that the rock be taken up bodily and put in some museum. I then found that it is not a boulder, but an exposed part of a ledge, and there were no funds available for such expensive work as slicing off a ledge.

A photograph of the cast was taken in February, 1894, and is preserved in the manuscript catalogue of the Gilbert Museum. It is this which is reproduced in our plate. It shows clearly that the cast was very successful, exhibiting with much accuracy the details of texture of the rock's surface as well as the lines cut into it. If Kendall was right in his belief that some of the lines of the inscription are now observable rather through differences in coloring on the rock itself than through depression of the surface, these of course do not leave any traces on the cast. The general surface of the cast has been colored a uniform slate or drab, and on it the prominent lines have been emphasized by means of a bluish paint.

31. Photograph by Frank S. Davis, September 11, 1893. Plate XLII, xx. 382.

The date is marked on the rock. See number 33.

32. Photograph by Frank S. Davis, January 27, 1894. Plate XLII, xx. 382.

The date is marked on a wooden slab placed by the side of the rock. See number 33.

33. Photograph by Frank S. Davis, early in 1894. Plate XLIII, xx. 392.

This is another photograph whose authorship was difficult to discover. A copy of it in possession of Mr. William Carnoe of Freetown was the first representation of the rock I had ever seen, except an illustration in some history, probably Lossing's, when I was a boy.

He could not tell me who made it. Later I found it reproduced as an illustration to Cyrus Thomas's account of Dighton Rock in Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, and again accompanying a paper describing the rock by William H. Holmes in 1916. Successive letters were written to persons in Washington, in Dighton, in California and in Florida in following out the clues; and then I at last discovered that my nearest neighbor on Assonet Neck was mother of the artist and the far-flung search ended almost at my door-step.

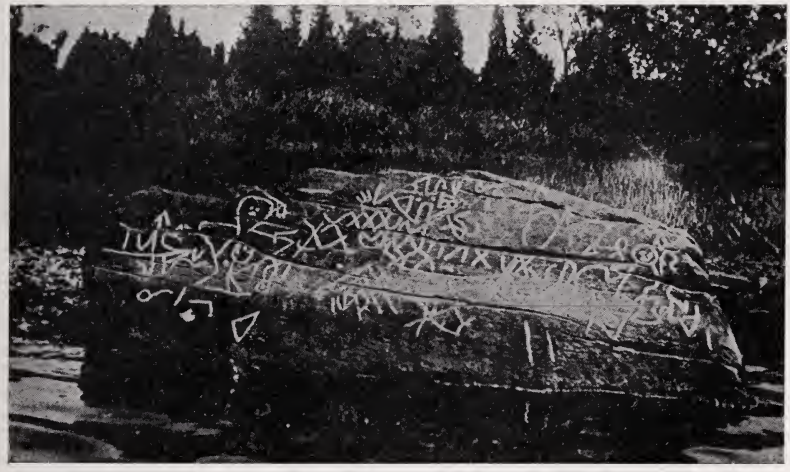
Mr. Davis, who now lives in Florida, wrote to me all that he could remember about these three photographs:

One of them is dated September 11, 1893; the other two were taken the winter following. I do not remember to have copied any previous photographs or drawings in making my markings on the rock. Going back to my school days, I can remember going to the rock and taking chalk and marking in the lines. There would be a number of us and we would all work at it and talk about what they were put there for. So you see I had seen the lines marked in a good many times. Then in after years I got a camera and got quite interested in taking pictures. One of the photographs I made for some one who was writing a book at that time, but cannot remember the name of the writer or that of the book.[1] I expect that I marked quite a few lines on the rock which were never put on by the maker; also that there were quite a few marks put on by the maker which I did not mark in. The rock was so worn away that it was very hard to trace the markings, and not knowing what the figures were one had to use his own ideas in connecting the markings. You will notice the one taken in September is not as complete as the one taken later; possibly it is nearer right than the one taken the following winter which I tried to fill in more. The marks low down on the photo I do not think amount to much.

The three photographs here listed are given separate numbers because they show separate chalkings. The first of them exists in two varieties, the one taken from a nearer point than the other. The last has three varieties: the one that has been published in the two cases mentioned above; a similar one taken from a slightly different position; and a third, the one here reproduced, taken after a few further chalk-marks had been added to the rock.

[1] It may have been C. Thomas's account of the rock in Hodge's Handbook.

DAVIS PHOTOGRAPH, 1894



CHACE POST-CARD, ABOUT 1900

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

34. Post-Card issued by Charles W. Chace, about 1900. Plate XLIII, xx. 392.

Mr. Chace, who was born in Dighton, has long had these postal cards for sale at his place of business in Taunton. Since about 1905, they have been issued in colors. Concerning the photograph from which they were made, he can tell me only that it was made "about fifteen years ago by a young man who worked in a wheelwright shop at Westville; but he left for parts unknown several years ago."

35. Old Colony Historical Society's Photograph, June, 1902. Plate XLIV, xx. 402.

The late James E. Seaver, secretary of the society, informed me that this was taken under his supervision in June, 1902. In preparation for it the rock was first carefully cleaned and chalked. The photographer was A. L. Ward of Taunton. Mr. Seaver had invited a number of men to be present and assist him in the selection of the lines to be chalked. Two photographs were taken, one of the rock alone, the other showing the persons who were present. These persons, in order from left to right, he named as Joshua E. Crane, librarian, of Taunton; John O. Babbitt of Dighton; William MacDonald, Professor of History at Brown University; James E. Seaver; Ralph Davol of Taunton; Professor Crosby of Harvard (whom I cannot identify); Mr. Negus of Dighton; C. A. Agard of New Bedford.

The photograph has been reproduced in the Providence Journal, July 15, 1912; and in the report of the Dighton Bi-Centennial Celebration, July 17, 1912.

36. Drawing of the Shoreward Side of the Rock and its Markings, by Charles A. Fernald, 1903. Figure 5, xx. 366.

This is the date of Fernald's visit to Assonet Neck, according to the person at whose house he passed the night. The drawing was published in the Fernald Genealogy.

37. Photograph by Charles R. Tucker, August 1903. Plate XLV, xx. 412.

This is a small amateur photograph, with conservative chalking, concerning which its maker, of New Dorp, New York, writes me:

"The characters were not plain and I was careful not to chalk any that I could not readily see."

38. Photograph by Carlton Grinnell, about 1907. Plate XLV, xx. 412.

This is another small amateur photograph, presented to me by Edward F. Waldron of Dighton, a cousin of the maker. I know nothing further about it.

39. Photograph by Charles A. Hathaway, Jr., July, 1907. Plate XXXII, xx. frontispiece.

The original is an 8 by 10 negative, taken under excellent conditions of lighting and expert manipulation. It is very nearly a perfect photograph, much superior to any other ever taken. It has the exceptional merit of showing the rock as it actually is, without any kind of artificial emphasis of the lines upon it. Apart from varying conditions of lighting, which do serve to some extent to make some lines more readily observable at one time and others at another, study of this photograph is more profitable than study of the rock itself. Its further advantages have been dwelt upon at greater length in discussions of the Burgess photograph, number 27.

Mr. Hathaway is a teacher of science in the Taunton High School. For his permission to reproduce this unsurpassed representation of the rock I cannot express too strong an appreciation. Concerning its production, Mr. Hathaway informs me:

I believe I made that particular negative with a Collinear anastigmatic lens of about 8 inch focus. Of course almost any good lens would give a sharp negative. The peculiar lighting is what is important. I chose the time of day and year that I thought best adapted to my attempt. It was in July, and during the late forenoon, as nearly as I can tell at the present time. I wished to show the characters without any chalk marks. The sediment in the grooves and cracks was not disturbed, and aided in bringing out the surface inequalities. I washed off and brushed off the growth of algæ on the very base of the surface.

40. Eddy Photograph, by William P. Eddy and Frank N. Ganong, August, 1908. Plate XLVI, xx. 422.

Mr. Eddy is owner of the Eddy House in Dighton, and secured this $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ photograph for use in his prospectus. The photographic work was done by Mr. Ganong, a professional photographer,

then living in Cambridge. Mr. Eddy himself did all the work of cleaning and chalking the rock.

41. Post-Card by G. K. Wilbur, 1913. Plate XLVI, xx. 422.

Mr. Wilbur is manager of Dighton Rock Park, which is not at the rock itself, but across the river, below Dighton village. The negative was made for him in the fall of 1913, by a photographer whose name he does not recall, and the lines on the rock were marked not with chalk but with plaster of Paris. The post-cards, of which there are two, differing only in size, are in colors, and were produced in Germany. The same picture, uncolored, is printed at the head of the prospectus of the Park, which endorses without qualification the Norse claim for the rock.

42. Photographs and Sketch by E. B. Delabarre, March and April, 1919.

My own recent and still incomplete studies of the inscription have suggested certain new assumptions as to some of the characters, which will be found exhibited in Figure 7 on page 416, below.

Until a new theory occurred to me during the course of last winter as to what some of the characters might be, I believed that, with the splendid photographs by Burgess and by Hathaway at our disposal, we had ample material for an exhaustive study of the rock. Now I realize that we cannot feel entirely confident that we have detected every observable feature of it until we have photographs showing it under a wide variety of conditions of illumination. The need of this is well illustrated by a number of photographs that I took on April 13, 1919, using a Protar VIIa lens. They show minute detail and are perfect photographs for the particular illumination secured, but are in no way better than the Hathaway photograph. Comparing them with the latter, it becomes evident that lines that are perfectly clear and indubitable in one condition of lighting may be indistinct or wholly invisible in another. For this reason there would be very little advantage in adding one of these new photographs to the collection illustrating this paper. What we need is a complete series of them. Study of the rock itself, with all of its inconveniences, or of any photographs

taken under ordinary conditions, will not suffice. To enable us to discover all that the rock is now capable of revealing, we must have it photographed from different angles and illuminated in turn from each of a number of different directions; sometimes with the light shining full upon it, and at other times glancing along its surface in such manner as to throw its elevations and depressions into strong relief. The sun does this latter once each day, but from one direction only. The ideal presentation of the rock's appearance, therefore, by means of such a series of photographs, can be accomplished only by aid of artificial illumination, and is a task yet to be undertaken.

In judging the appearance of any photograph, one fact should be borne in mind. A considerable portion of the rock's surface is sometimes irregularly covered with a thin greenish marine growth forming a smooth-appearing, closely adhering film or stain when the rock is dry. From a small specimen submitted to him, Professor J. F. Collins of Brown University describes it as a mixture of various species, probably not less than fifteen in all, of green and blue-green algæ and diatoms. At the date above-mentioned I found the upper part of the face relatively free from it, but much of it to the right of and below the alleged word "Thorfinx." In some cases it seems to adhere especially to lines that are apparently artificial and yet little if at all indented, and thus to render them more distinct. In many other cases, however, it probably makes faint lines more obscure. By early June of this year such growths had wholly disappeared. Later in the summer, if I remember rightly, they or growths of other character again adhere thinly to parts of the rock. Some photographers attempt to scour away this growth; others leave it untouched; and its presence or absence must considerably affect the result.

Minor Reproductions. — In searching for all the representations of the rock and of the marks inscribed upon it that help to throw light upon what is really there, or illustrate the psychology of individual perception, I have found a few instances where the rock has been pictured that are of no importance for these purposes, but deserve mention as indications of the interest taken in the relic. For instance, the Bangor Daily Commercial of May 21, 1897,

gives a cut after the Bartlett Sketch, and says that the Frances Dighton Williams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has on its badge a representation of the rock. I am told that in the early '80's there was a Dighton Rock Stove Polish made in Taunton, whose wrapper bore a picture of the rock. The envelope in use by the board of tax assessors of Dighton has on it a cut showing the rock bearing the inscription according to the Eddy version, and beyond it on the shore a group of wigwams under a tree. It is reported that a newspaper called the Dighton Rock was once published in Dighton. At least one artist besides George A. Shove has pictured the rock, — Frank T. Merrill, of whose work I have seen one example entitled "Indians chiseling Dighton Rock." The Maine Historical Society has a number of copies of the inscription, but including none that have not been listed here. The New England Historic Genealogical Society possesses a tracing cloth on which are copies of the nine drawings of the Antiquitates Americanæ and one of the Harrison-Gardner photograph. Doubtless there are numerous other cases belonging to this minor list, — these are all that have come to my notice.

Views of the Rock showing its general situation and surroundings, but not showing any of its artificial markings. — Many of these have been made. The best one of which I have knowledge was taken at about mid-tide, by Professor Charles W. Brown of Brown University on May 15, 1915, using a Zeiss Tessar lens. I have his kind permission to reproduce it in advance of his own probable use of it, and present it as Plate XLVII, xx. 432.[1]

The Writer's Own Investigations

My own interest in this research was the direct consequence of having acquired a summer home on Assonet Neck, within a mile of the rock. This led slowly to the realization that the region had other

[1] Besides the Rock, this photograph shows several other features of interest. In the middle background is Grassy Island, several times referred to in this study. To the left of the island and the rock is Taunton River, coming down from the north near the extreme left of the picture. Leftward from and beyond that point is the upper part of the village of Dighton. Rightward, the land in the background is in the town of Berkley, the water is Smith's Cove, and the foreground is Assonet Neck.

than scenic and rural charms. My first inquiries into its history began in the summer of 1914. During the following autumn and winter my reading on this subject led naturally into the development of a particular interest in the literature of Dighton Rock, and thus gradually into the discovery of its problems and of the inadequacy of existing treatments of the subject. Each summer since then, I have made some observations on the rock itself. These have included some study of the inscription. But concerning that I regard my contributions as having as yet but little value, and shall have little to say. Of the results of some other investigations, however, a brief outline may be permissible.

(*a*) Has the rock always been at its present level, between high and low water? Some authorities whom we have quoted call attention to the fact that the Indians often made inscriptions on rocks that are subject to submergence. Kendall and Squier are examples. But as long ago as Greenwood's time "some of undoubtible veracity" asserted that the river had been encroaching upon the shore, or that, as James Winthrop reported fifty years later, the inhabitants had dug around the rock, and thus let in the tide upon it.[1] The implication is that without any change in the level at which the rock stands, or to which the tide rises, these processes permitted the water to overflow the rock. This, as both Kendall and Haven have pointed out, would be absurd unless in the process the rock had been undermined and thus caused to sink to a lower level, for which there is

[1] The most extraordinary statement of this character was made by Jerome V. C. Smith, later mayor of Boston, in a letter to Rafn dated June 15, 1842:

"I am satisfied from a careful examination, that the rock once stood on the dry land, perhaps 20 rods from the water, but the river has gradually forced itself against the eastern bank, or Berkley side, and actually excavated the land, 'till the rock has nearly gained the middle of the river at high tide. A boy who went as a guide, assured me that the river gained a little every year upon the Berkley side, which convinced me that my theory in regard to the original location of the rock was right. At the present rate of washing, it is not improbable that within the next 50 years it will be entirely out of sight, in the very centre of the channel" (no. 427).

Smith's boy seems to have been cast in much the same mold as that used later in constructing the one who told me his wonder-tales. Smith's accuracy will be appreciated when the reader is informed that the furthest reach of the tide does not exceed 75 feet beyond the rock, and that, as measured on the unpublished A. M. Harrison charts of 1875, in the office of the United States Coast Survey, the river is 1500 feet wide at this point.

no claim and no evidence. The only other possibility permitting a belief that the rock was free from overflow when inscribed is that the level of the river and of its tides has changed relatively to the land. This might happen either through a rising of the river's level, for which there appear no discoverable causes, or through a subsidence of this part of the New England coast. Babcock alone, of writers on Dighton Rock, has maintained that there has been such a subsidence, due to post-glacial influences and still continuing. He attempts to give proofs of it, and to infer from it the aspect of the coast in the time of the Northmen. Professor Charles W. Brown, of Brown University, informs me that the evidence for recent submergence in this particular region is still so inconclusive that geologists do not agree in accepting it as an established fact. Charles A. Davis,[1] as a result of studying the salt-marsh formations near Boston, seems to have presented the strongest indications in favor of it.

One of my investigations has a bearing on this question. A number of years ago two residents of Dighton dug out at Grassy Island,[2] lying in Smith's Cove about fifty rods from Dighton Rock, what they described as a large pocket of Indian relics. During the summer of 1918 my own search uncovered there a number of widely distributed small Indian implements such as arrow-heads, stone knives, flakes and the like, lying at a level now buried under from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of salt-marsh peat, whose upper surface is submerged under the highest tides.[3] While the upper surface is practically at a uniform level this implement-bearing stratum slopes gradually, with a grade of perhaps one foot in 200, so that it is least deeply overlaid with peat toward the northerly end of the island. The implements are scattered here and there irregularly along at least 200 feet of the western edge of the island, and they doubtless extend beyond the limits thus far explored. From their character and distribution, it seems almost certain that the level on which they lie must have been a dry and habitable land surface at the time when they were deposited. Supposing it to have been at least two feet above the

[1] In Economic Geology, 1910, v. 623.

[2] Visible in the middle background of Plate XLVII.

[3] Since then I have found also an adze, a small broken pestle-like stone, and several holes filled with decayed organic material, reaching down nearly two feet into the former surface, some of them the remains of small trees, others of stakes driven into the ground as parts of an ancient weir, dwelling or other structure.

reach of high tides when Indians dwelt there, there must have been a subsidence of the land of at least 5½ feet since that epoch; and if Dighton Rock then stood where it now stands, it was above the reach of the water at a time when Indians were living in the close vicinity.

Can we form any estimate as to how long ago that was? Only with a great deal of uncertainty. I have found broken pieces of crockery under 15 inches of salt-marsh peat on a beach in front of a house on Assonet River that is just about 100 years old. That may indicate a rate of growth of the peat in that particular place of about 15 inches in a century. This is not far from the cautious estimate given by Mr. Davis: "The rate of growth of the peat has not yet been determined, but it is probably slow, perhaps less than a foot in a century." In a footnote he adds: "Mr. J. R. Freeman gives the rate of subsidence as determined by comparison of old bench marks as about one foot per hundred years." Accepting the latter estimate, the habitable character of the level on which these relics lie ceased about five or six hundred years before subsidence ceased. My own crude observations had led me to believe that about Assonet Neck there had been no subsidence since about 1600. I based the deductions on the estimates of acreage of the many salt meadows about Assonet Neck and Assonet Bay when they are first mentioned as compared with the present. The present widely extended mud-flats in the Bay would have been salt meadows three hundred years ago if they were then three feet higher than now, making the meadows then much more extensive than at present. Yet so far as can be judged from the early descriptions, their acreage is practically unchanged.[1] The dividing line between meadow and upland, wherever it can be inferred for former times from early descriptions or from old stone walls, appears likewise to remain as it was. It is hardly believable that the interworking of the land-reducing influences of subsidence and erosion and of the land-upbuilding influence of peat-growth can have been so evenly balanced as to leave the limits of the meadows un-

[1] I find definite early estimates ranging from 200 to 260 years ago, for about half of these meadows, involving about fifty acres in all. By measurements on the large scale A. M. Harrison charts of 1875, and by recent pacing of most of the boundaries, which in all of these cases can be identified from old descriptions with practical certainty, I am led to believe that there has been no appreciable change. But such comparisons cannot be exact enough to be decisive.

altered. This could happen under continuing submergence only if the meadows were bordered on the one side by abrupt upland banks and on the other by abrupt descent into deep water. The conditions are quite otherwise. The strongest consideration is the first one mentioned: that three feet of higher level, or even two, would have so raised the present mud-flats that it would seem that they must necessarily have been wide meadows; and instead of a broad Assonet Bay, which is mentioned by name at least as early as 1648, there would have been only a relatively narrow river. Grassy Island is an exception to the unaltered size of the meadows, having been estimated at three acres when first mentioned, and now possessing but little more than an acre. But in this case the change has been due to the crumbling of its banks through erosive influences. It was a fully formed salt-marsh island when first known to the settlers, about 1640, and seemingly at its present level. These observations have some pertinence, but are not conclusive. Possibly the subsidence still continues. If the latter supposition is true and the rate of subsidence about as suggested, then the Indians dwelt on the implement-bearing level, and Dighton Rock was entirely above water, about A.D. 1350. If my own guess is nearer the truth, the date for these conditions would go back to A. D. 1050 and earlier. If, however, the implements, including chips, may have been deposited on a tide-swept beach instead of on a level at least two feet above the reach of the water, the dates would have to be advanced some 200 to 400 years. And if, on the other hand, the subsidence ceased long before 1600, the date would have to be moved correspondingly further back. There may be other explanations for the observed phenomena, and consequently neither the fact of subsidence nor the estimates of time can be regarded as established. They are slight indications that may eventually be useful in the solution of a very interesting problem.

(*b*) Shape, weight and underground measurements.

I was led to these investigations because of a belief sometimes met with, to the effect that the rock is not a boulder, but an outcropping portion of the bed-rock. It will be remembered that Professor Blake wrote me that he had found that to be true. How he discovered it, I never learned. I am now sure that it was not through personal investigation, but as a result of hearing the tale that is the single source probably of all such impressions, and that is related by Niels

Arnzen. In a report made October 15, 1889, to the Old Colony Historical Society, he said:

> The idea entertained that the rock was a boulder has received a check. A member of your committee visited the rock, in company with a gentleman of large experience in handling such objects, whose opinion of the subject is second to none. On seeing the rock he said, "This is not a boulder, but a part of a ledge. The rest can probably be found over in the woods with a dip toward the river, and if fast thereto, no power can move it." And in less than 200 feet was found the "ledge" as he supposed. On farther examination, he said, he was sure that it rested on the ledge though it may not be inseparable from it.

As a matter of fact the rock is a boulder resting in a peculiar position on one edge in the mud and gravel of the river bed. A near-by rock [1] four feet beyond, projecting above the beach only about fifteen inches, has such a slant of its upper surface that the basal edge of Dighton Rock probably rests upon it at its upstream end only. Another small boulder, 12 by 25 by 30 inches, resting in the angle between the two under the beach-surface, prevented thorough exploration at this point.

I have dug down at numerous points all around the periphery of the rock, as far as the brief recession of the tides and the in-seeping water would permit — a maximum distance of about three feet. I found it possible, however, to extend actual measurements on account of a peculiar circumstance. At the beach level the soil is of course packed firmly against the rock. But at a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet below, the earth shrinks away from contact with the rock, forming a narrow cavity, one to two inches wide, through which a measuring stick can easily be pushed for a distance of three to four feet until it meets hard-pan, not ledge, again in contact with the rock. Since the underground surfaces run in practically straight lines, the stick can be kept in contact with the rock, and although it does not reach its extreme lower edge yet the angle of slope can be determined with a high degree of accuracy and thus the meeting point of the two underground slopes can be readily calculated.

The shoreward slope above ground is very irregular, probably being much worn and broken. If it were like the other surfaces and met

[1] Visible to the left of Dighton Rock in Plates XLII and XLIV.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PHOTOGRAPH, 1902

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

them at similar angles, the rock would be a fairly regular elongated prism with four faces meeting approximately at right angles, the faces being nearly plane surfaces. A vertical cross-section in the middle would thus be almost a perfect square, measuring 7 to 8 feet on each side, placed in a diamond-shaped position with an angle underneath. The actual shape differs, however, in that the front surface underneath is slightly and rather complexly curved and warped, and the rear upper surface irregularly convex; and in the position of the shoreward or rear face, whose average slope I calculated as forming an angle of 65° to the vertical, and as meeting the upward prolongation of the inscribed or front face at a point $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches above its actual termination. Using this average rear slope instead of its actual irregularities, the existent cross-section has measurements as follows:

Front slope above ground (inscribed face): Actual linear extent, 4 feet 10 inches; prolonged upward to meet average rear slope, 5 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Angle to vertical, 39°. Angle to average rear slope, 104°.

Front slope underground: Linear extent, 7 feet. Angle to vertical, 45°. Angle to inscribed face, 96°.

Rear slope underground: Linear extent, 8 feet. Angle to vertical, 46°. Angle to front slope underground, 91°.

Average rear slope above ground: Linear extent, 7 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Angle to vertical, 65°. Angle to rear slope underground, 69°.

I have made further measurements at the two ends and at some intermediate points, but it would be undesirably complicating to introduce them here.[1] On their basis, and assuming the average length of the prism to be 11 feet, I calculate the cubic contents of the rock at about 480 cubic feet; but this estimate must be taken as approximate only, because the irregularities of shape make accurate determination difficult. The specific gravity of the rock is 2.7, as determined for two specimens broken off from it. The total weight, therefore, must be not far from 40 tons. Previous estimates of its weight have been: by Kendall, 5 to 6 tons; by Elisha Slade, 10 tons (above ground); by the Rev. Frank E. Kittredge, 50 tons; by Jerome

[1] Some additional measurements of the above-ground portions made by previous observers and probably as reliable as any that could be given were mentioned in my second paper (xix. 53, 105 n).

V. C. Smith, 20 tons. I calculate that at least seven-tenths of the bulk of the rock lies underground.

(*c*) Composition of the rock. This has been variously given by different writers. It has been called granite, gneiss, greenstone, trap, flinty stone, silicious conglomerate, silicious sandstone, graywacke. Of these terms, only sandstone (not silicious) and graywacke are at all correct. Of graywacke, Kemp says it is "an old name of loose significance;" [1] and in this Professor C. W. Brown agrees, adding that as a single term it approximates most nearly a correct description, but is too vague to be of much value. I have asked Professor Brown to give me an accurate description, and he permits me to use the following as applying to a specimen piece broken from the rock:

A gray, medium to coarse grained feldspathic sandstone made up of abundant easily discernible particles of glassy quartz, with small, light colored grains of feldspar sometimes showing fresh cleavage surfaces. At other times the feldspar is decomposed (kaolinized) to such an extent that it can easily be dug out with a knife-point. Occasionally bits of pyrite and dark grains of other rocks and accessory minerals are found. The rock shows a small amount of shearing or foliation with development of sericite.

(*d*) The surface "incrustation;" weathering phenomena. Several writers have spoken of a "crust" of the surface. Thus Stiles: "Inscription pecked in a hard thin reddish or tawny crust $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick;" Webb (describing Portsmouth rocks, of graywacke similar to Dighton Rock): "an incrustation, appearing like a coating of cement;" Squier: "This face has a thin incrustation of a reddish color and ferruginous appearance." As a matter of fact, clear photographs show that in a very few places of slight extent, thin sections of the surface have scaled off; and on a neighboring rock of similar composition I have easily detached such thin scales. But otherwise the surface cannot be accurately described as possessing a "crust," though it is discolored to a slight depth. Professor Brown has kindly furnished me with a description of this phenomenon also:

The face is probably a joint plane, which is usually more impregnated with iron. Under the influence of the sea-water the rock weathers with a rough reddish-brown rusty surface. The surface is roughened by the

[1] Handbook of Rocks, 5th ed., 1911, p. 214.

projection of the network of resistant quartz above the pittings caused by the decomposition of the weaker feldspar and other mineral constituents of the rock. The discoloration from weathering apparently penetrates, as shown by the whitening of the feldspars, but to $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. The rusty color is due to the interaction of the salts in the sea-water and the rock minerals, which is a common occurrence on the shore line. It is a question whether scaling through weathering occurs equally in grooves and on planes; but I have noted the permanence of glacial scratches even after the exfoliation of a thin layer of the rock surface.

(*e*) Relation of the rock to the neighboring slab. A flat surfaced rock lies on the beach, behind and southward from Dighton Rock.[1] Stiles and Kendall have described it as possessing a very few inscribed markings, and Friedrichsthal thought that it once possessed an inscription as large as that on the more famous rock. This so-called slab is the sole foundation for the many rumors of there being another inscribed rock "near Dighton Rock," or "lower down on the beach," or even, as Joshua T. Smith reported, "across the river." In a previous paper I reported that I had discovered that this reputed slab is really a boulder, and that "it is a curious fact that it is of the same material as Dighton Rock, and its surface, in shape and dimensions, is closely similar to the inscribed face of the latter. It is not impossible that the two formed originally one boulder that later split apart." [2] Later observation of the relative position of the two and of their present distance apart tends to strengthen this hypothesis. Among various possibilities as to the agencies that may have caused the occurrence, a fairly plausible one is suggested by an incident of the great September gale of 1815, when a huge boulder on the bank of Assonet river is said to have rolled over. If we assume that long ago Dighton Rock and the slab were one, with the inscribed face of the former in contact with the exposed face of the latter, and that a similar occurrence happened to them; that the slab stopped in its present position, but the Rock split off and continued rolling $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarter-turns and there settled edge-down in the mud, their actual relative positions would be accounted for. It is even vaguely possible that the event is commemorated in the name

[1] Visible to the right of Dighton Rock in Plates XLII and XLIV.

[2] xix. 112 note.

Chippascutt which the Indians applied to the region about Dighton Rock. I previously suggested that the name might refer to a "Cleft of Rocks" near-by.[1] But it might equally apply to a "split-apart rock;" and if Indians were witnesses of such a striking event, there is no improbability in the supposition that they might have commemorated it in a name. Some of the regular inscribed figures on the upper part of the face might even have been designed as pictures of the catastrophe. These are purely speculative suggestions, but in forming our opinions concerning Dighton Rock they have to be recognized as possibilities.

(*f*) The inscription on the up-stream end. This end actually faces about east north east.[2] Being up-stream on a river flowing southward, it is usually referred to as the north end. Stiles saw a simple inscription there in 1767, which he drew in a manner resembling I HOWOO, with a few additional marks underneath. He heard that it had been made "30 years ago, some said 12." Edward E. Hale saw it in 1839, and remarked in his Diary that "H and W figure in it," and that it had been made "this or last year." The anonymous writer of the Taunton Whig, January 23, 1839, saw "sculptured characters on the south end," where I can detect nothing artificial. I think he meant to say north. He claims they had been "observed by none before," and describes them as including three triangles, resembling the Greek letter Delta, and "the rude outlines of the head and body of a man." Possibly also the "C. Furnius name written over by M. Agrippa," seen by Fernald at the "East end," may have been in this position.

There is some sort of an inscription there. It is very seldom visible at all, hence is rarely seen and has been mentioned only by these three or four persons. Since the statements of the first two of them had never been published until within the last two years, and that of the third was in an obscure paper, attention has never been called to these marks until my own reference to them in 1917. In some rare lights they stand out very plainly, but it is difficult to be sure exactly what they are. I have pictured them variously at different times.

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[1] xviii. 248.

[2] The line of intersection of the plane of the face with the plane of the horizon, allowing for a magnetic deviation of 13° West, is directed N 58° — 60° E, or almost exactly ENE by compass.

It is possible to see in them all the characters of Dr. Stiles. Seen otherwise, the triangles of the Whig can be detected, and one of the O's, together with some additional lines, might perhaps have been interpreted as a head and body. The surface of the rock has scaled off or broken away just to the left and also just to the right of the line of apparent letters. The last three letters seem clearly to be WOO. The I H of Stiles are certainly more complex than that. His middle O is there, but with a vertical line across it. I have thought it possible that there might have been a GR on the part broken away at the left; that EE might with difficulty and perhaps some aid of imagination be read next; that the final vertical of Stiles's H, a following oblique line that is certainly there, and the vertical crossing the O, might together form an N; and that then, following WOO, a D might have been on the other part now scaled off. The middle O, and a considerable number of irregular lines and dots crossing and underneath this line of letters might have been added later, and thus serve to make present interpretation of these very faint marks more difficult and uncertain. If this highly conjectural suggestion represents the actual facts, then Isaac Greenwood inscribed his name there in 1730 — a date sufficiently close to Stiles's estimate.

(*g*) Inscriptions on the shoreward slope. No one except Fernald has paid any attention to these. There are unquestionably many initials carved there, all of them very faint and apparently old, so obscure that very few of them can be seen except in favorable conditions of lighting, and almost all of them susceptible of being interpreted in varying ways under different conditions of lighting or different mental attitudes toward them. They all seem to be ordinary English capitals, consequently made since 1637. I have not recognized the initials of any known or likely visitor to the rock. Fernald gives two drawings, on his pages 20 and 33, nearly alike but not quite in agreement.[1] Where he found an ancient compass depicted, there is merely a natural rather circular flaw of the rock. His supposed C drawn within an O, "the name of Christ in that of God," are again nothing but natural flaws in the rock, only very remotely resembling a C and a circle. Where he found "Washington" there is a very plain small W, but no other real letters. The W, however, is followed by just enough small cracks and irregularities to permit

[1] See drawing and description on p. 366, above.

a highly imaginative reading in agreement with Fernald, if one strongly desires to see it as such. Unbiased examination is conclusively against its real presence. In the position where Fernald places C. Furnius, I can discover nothing. All his other depictions, except of a drill-hole, are of initials. He gives nine sets of them. I have found thirteen, of whose correct reading I was uncertain except in one case. On comparison of my uncertain readings with those that he gives, I decided that they agreed: fully, but with the initials in another place than where he draws them, in one case; nearly, in three cases; possibly, in one case; uncertain, one case; not at all, three cases.

There are also recently made initials on the face which bears the main inscription. One of these is accompanied by the date '87. These facts seem to me to have an important bearing on the next topic to be discussed.

(*h*) The wear of the inscribed face and the age of the inscription. The assumption has commonly been made that the inscription is very ancient. Ignorance by local Indians of its origin and meaning has been regarded by some as one proof that it is "very antique and a work of a different nature from any of theirs." Another equally inconclusive evidence of it has been derived from the faintness and uncertainty of the characters and the supposedly rapid wearing away of the surface. At least three cases are on record where an observer believes that he can detect a sensible alteration within the period of his memory. At least four have compared present appearance with past descriptions and drawn the conclusion that the wear is exceedingly rapid. A very large number of writers have deduced from present faintness alone that there must have been great wearing away since the characters were first made. The usual conclusion that is drawn from either one of the three forms of this argument from faintness and wear is that the inscription is ancient. Only Horsford, to my knowledge, has argued that rapid erosion would prove recent origin; and only Schoolcraft, so far as I have noticed, has believed that exposure to the action of the tides has exercised a preservative rather than an erosive influence.

One thing is certain, — that former descriptions of the depth of the incisions cannot be used as evidence for any change. The first who describes them calls them "deeply engraved" in 1690; but

Cotton Mather had never seen the rock, so far as we know, and this statement of his is doubtless on a par with his other statement that the characters are on "a mighty Rock." Greenwood gives the first reliable description, in 1730. He definitely says that the "indentures are not very considerable," and his drawing and his other statements prove that he had as much difficulty in making out the real characters as has ever been experienced since then. Even on the lowest part of the face, which alone does show evident signs of much wear, Mather's draughtsman, and Greenwood, and their next followers, were even less successful in making out apparent characters than have been some later observers. Sewall in 1768 and Kendall in 1807 made definite statements to the effect that the greater part of the lines were so much effaced as to make their decipherment impossible, or wholly subject to the fancy. As to their actual depth, Stiles was first to give an estimate, in 1767: "not $\frac{1}{10}$ inch deep." Kendall said in one place "not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, but sufficiently conspicuous to attract attention from the deck of a vessel sailing in the channel," and this statement, exceedingly dubious in its latter part, has led to some of the most mistaken deductions. But in another place he said more cautiously that the depth never exceeds $\frac{1}{3}$ inch, and he qualified this by the further statement quoted above. The most recent estimates that I have noted, probably as accurate as any that can be made, are by Webb in 1830: "sometimes one-third of an inch, though generally very superficial;" by Squier in 1848: "none deeper than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch;" and by Elisha Slade in 1875: "from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inches deep;" and Squier adds concerning the lines in general that they are exceedingly shallow and scarcely discernible. Certainly if there are or ever have been incisions as much as $\frac{1}{2}$ or even $\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep they are very few in number and in no provable way different to-day from former times. It is equally certain that at the time of their first discovery the greater part of the lines were as difficult of accurate determination as they are to-day. The more deeply cut ones can now be clearly and surely seen in appropriate light, and are drawn practically alike in all depictions. Drawings and descriptions, therefore, give no evidence of greater wear to-day, even on the lowest part, than 200 years ago; and they rather tend to prove, on the contrary, that the erosion is imperceptible, so far as any effect upon the inscription is concerned.

Our possession of the two photographs of 1868 and of 1907 makes a positive study of this problem possible. Both show the surface and its texture clearly enough for the purpose, and both were made without disfiguring the rock with chalk lines. So far as I can discover on careful comparison of the two, the only discoverable changes in the forty years consist in a very few additional scalings of very slight extent, especially about the larger cracks in the rock; and these do not seem to affect in any way the discernible characteristics of the inscription.[1]

Some of the modern initials on the face, and a few lines of the inscription, were cut deep and prove little. The great majority of the lines of the main inscription, those of the inscription on the up-stream end, and those of the initials on the shoreward slope, were certainly made very shallow, and were all as difficult to discern correctly when first described as they are now. I think that the correct conclusion to draw from these facts is this: that shallow marks, within a very few years, become very faint, uncertain, susceptible of being seen in many different ways; that thereafter they last indefinitely with no appreciable change in the ease of perceiving them; and that the wearing away of the face of the rock is exceedingly slow. It has very evidently been much greater on the lower third of the face than higher up; yet even there no appreciable alteration since the rock was first observed can be deduced either from the drawings, or from descriptions, or from comparison of the photographs.

These facts, especially the modern inscriptions on the up-stream end and the shoreward slope, prove conclusively that no great age earlier than 1680 need be assigned to the inscription. That is all that they do prove. Equally consistent with them would be a belief that the characters are of a considerable antiquity. Unless we can find other evidence than is presented by the appearance of the inscription itself and its observable changes we cannot know whether the inscriptions on the face, aside from recent initials, were made all at one time or at various times, nor whether any or all of them are very ancient on the one hand, or made at no long interval previous to 1680, on the other. Their appearance is consistent with the assignment of any date for which we may discover other evidence.

[1] My own photographs of 1919 support the same conclusion.

A Hitherto Unsuspected Possibility

In some ways I am rather sorry that I have a new theory to propose. With the twenty or so distinct ones already in our possession, it would seem that we had a complete abundance. Yet there is another possibility, with just about half as much evidence in its favor as would be needed to make it a certainty, and we cannot ignore it. Aside from facts that are historically established, I shall appeal to no evidence that anyone may not verify for himself by aid of the materials herewith given. Each then can be left to draw his own conclusions as to the degree of probability involved.

It may well be imagined with what astonishment, on examining the Hathaway photograph for the hundredth time on December 2, 1918, I saw in it clearly and unmistakably the date 1511. No one had ever seen it before, on rock or photograph; yet once seen, its genuine presence on the rock cannot be doubted. Still, although its lines are all really there, it may not have been meant as such, but rather as part of an entirely different design. With one small exception, all of its lines occur in nearly every drawing and chalk-marking ever made. They can be seen just to the right of the lower middle part of the large human figure near the left end of the rock.[1] Out of 27 drawings and chalkings of this part of the inscription, 21 include both the initial and the final figures 1, and only one omits them both. The lower terminal curve of the 5 has been drawn by no one except Barber. But the rest of the 5 and the 1 that follows it are given in every one of the depictions, including Mather's, the earliest of all. All of them, however, join these lines to neighboring ones, and all except three represent the combination as a small human figure. This omission of the terminal curve and seeing the rest as part of a human figure is the reason why no one previously has discovered the date. In case of a puzzle picture, one who does not suspect it to be such is most unlikely to discover the hidden object, and even one who knows it to be there has difficulty in first perceiving it, because the artist has made another interpretation of its lines more obvious, and observing it in the obvious and easier way inhibits its interpretation in any other manner. Something of this sort is the case here.

[1] See Fig. 7, p. 416, below.

If the reader will examine the Hathaway photograph, he will see that the hitherto undrawn terminal curve of the 5 shows in it clearly. It is not of recent introduction. Earlier drawings do not show it, except imperfectly the one mentioned, because none of the artists have seen it. For the same reason, none of the photographs show it chalked. Nevertheless, it appears on every one of the photographs that is clear enough, even very faintly on the Eastman, earliest of all. In most of them it is rather obscured by the chalk lines. But in the Burgess photograph, the Blake cast, and the Hathaway photograph, its presence is unmistakable. Looking now again at the latter photograph, we see above the 51 a small circle with a central dot, and below it a larger circle with central dot and three or four lines radiating out from it below. It is these that have been taken by almost every observer as head, lower body and legs of the human figure, while the 5 has been taken as its breast and the 1 as its back. But suppose we regard these circles as sun-symbols or some other device independent of the 51 and probably carved there on some later occasion by another hand and for another purpose. Such an hypothesis is entirely legitimate, and leaves us free to accept the date as a real date. Yet I repeat that we are not compelled to so accept it.

If the date was actually designed as such, however, then there ought really to be something further among the sculptures to give it significance. The most promising place to seek for it is among the characters that have been so often believed to be alphabetic. We must concede at the outset that not one of these need be accepted as necessarily alphabetic, any more than the date need necessarily be regarded as designedly a date. The only thing we can say is that they may be letters, and that, indistinct as they are, some of them may not heretofore have been read correctly. Examining the line of characters just underneath the uppermost long crack a little above and rightward from the centre of the inscribed surface, we find that, paying no attention to Rafn's conjectural interpolations, the fullest interpretation that has ever been given to it is Kendall's ORINX. But in the Hathaway photograph there is a clear C, preceding the O and angular like it; and Kendall's IN *can* be seen as an M. Accepting this tentatively, I found a possible though not probable meaning for it, in consonance with Buckingham Smith's Roman Catholic interpretation of the line above. The date also

TUCKER PHOTOGRAPH, 1903

GRINNELL PHOTOGRAPH, ABOUT 1907

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would accord well with the 1520 that he suggested as the approximate period when some missionary labored among the Indians here and wrote the pious invocation on Dighton Rock. However, his theory and my addition to it never appealed to me as worthy of serious consideration. Unless we should discover positive and credible information that some one actually did engrave a picture or an initial on the rock as expressing a particular meaning, we have no ground for accepting one rather than another of the hundred alternative meanings and origins that could equally well be devised for any of the pictures or letters taken as initials. Entire names, or words, or phrases, or dates, if we could discern them with certainty in a clear photograph, would be another matter.

The most obvious reading of this line as seen in the Hathaway photograph is CORIEIX, the C and O being angular and the E curved as in some Gothic forms of it. The I which follows it might even be part of it as a more completely Gothic E. I can find no meaning for such a collection of letters. But the I between the R and the E can just as easily be taken as a T, making the first part of the line read CORTE. It is in every way probable that different characters on the rock were made on many different occasions, and that some of the later ones were made over earlier ones. This very process is still continuing in the case of the modern initials which thoughtless people are carving there. There are known cases of petroglyphic inscriptions overlying one another in several layers.[1] Of the characters following the CORTE, therefore, the I may be the beginning of a letter the remainder of which is obscured by the X; the X itself may be an interpolation; and there may have been originally other following characters now obscured by later additions. Above the CO and the crack in the rock is a clear M followed by uncertain characters. We can read, then, without the slightest degree of forced interpretation, at least M . . . . . CORTE . . . . .[2] This, together with the date, may be a clue to the real first writer on

[1] See no. 298, pp. 37–42.

[2] On a photograph by C. W. Brown, taken May 15, 1915, and not here reproduced because in other respects not helpful to our study, the CORTEIX is even clearer and more decisive than on the Hathaway photograph; and following the M is an almost certain IC or IG. My own recent examination of the rock and photographs of it convince me that the G and a V following it are as certain as any of the other characters.

Dighton Rock. There seems to be only one historically known person who could by any possibility be held accountable for these marks, if we have interpreted them and the date correctly. One such there unquestionably is.

Henry Harrisse relates in full all that is known about the voyages of the two Portuguese brothers named Cortereal.[1] So far as I can discover from persons most likely to be informed on the subject, nothing is known now in addition to the facts that he had assembled by 1892; and his own later annotations in his personal copies of his books, now in the Library of Congress, convey no new information. On his authority, we will review briefly the pertinent facts.

"No nation in the fifteenth century exhibited so great a spirit of maritime enterprise as the Portuguese." After previous voyages, Gaspar Cortereal in 1501 explored the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Eventually he sent two of his caravels back to Portugal, whilst he continued alone his exploration toward the Northwest, from which he never returned. It is probable that he was ice-bound or shipwrecked in Hudson Bay. Combining a hope to rescue his brother Gaspar with the desire of accomplishing also transatlantic discoveries, Miguel Cortereal set sail from Lisbon on May 10, 1502, with either two or three vessels. On reaching Newfoundland, his ships separated, in order to explore more thoroughly, agreeing to meet again on the 20th of August. The Hakluyt version of what followed, dating from 1563, relates: "The two other ships did so, and they, seing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certain time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that country is called the land of Cortereal vnto this day." It was believed that he was shipwrecked.

Even so, he may well have escaped with his life. The natives of the region were reported by those who returned from the expedition of the previous year as "quite gentle." We may suppose, then, that they may have been friendly and helpful.[2] His natural desire would

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[1] Les Corte-Real, 1883; Gaspar Corte-Real, in Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir a l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu'à la fin du XVIe Siècle, 1883; Discovery of North America, 1892.

[2] The expedition of Gaspar Cortereal in 1501 had brought back to Portugal 57 natives, apparently designed for use as slaves. In a paper on The Portuguese

have been to return to Portugal. He knew of no other contemplated expeditions to Newfoundland; but he did know that somewhere to the south, how far away he probably did not realize, Spanish vessels were making constant visits to the new lands. He might very plausibly have attempted to reach the Spanish seas. His progress would necessarily have been slow, for there were not only geographical difficulties to overcome, but also hostile tribes of Indians. Harrisse gives evidence dating from 1544 that Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were then occupied by fierce tribes who were "bad people, powerful, and great archers." It is conceivable that by patience and tact Miguel Cortereal may have worked his way through these dangers after long delay. If we concede that we have reason for suspecting his presence in southern New England in 1511, it would not lack in plausibility on account of the nine years that had elasped since his shipwreck. There he would have again met with natives who in 1524 were described as "kind and gentle," and in 1602 as "exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition."[1] And there would furthermore be no lack of plausibility in the supposition that he might have engraved his name and the date and perhaps a message on a rock, in order to call attention of possible explorers to his presence. Or it may be that, being then about sixty years old, worn with hardship, perhaps ill and realizing his approaching end, he may have wished to leave a record of his fate.

There is just enough of evidence to make it necessary to entertain this hypothesis as a plausible possibility, but not enough to carry entire conviction. I can even fancy that I can faintly make out, in the lights and shades of the surface, behind and intermingled with the obscuring later additions, the dim form of all the remaining letters of his name;[2] — but I realize that it may be only fancy. Of

on the North-East Coast of America (in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1890, vol. viii. sect. ii. pp. 133 f), the Rev. George Patterson asks: "What more likely than that these navigators should have fallen victims to the vengeance of the friends or clansmen of the kidnapped, or perhaps been overpowered in an attempt to capture more." In the absence of any knowledge of the circumstances under which the kidnapping took place, whether by violence or by persuasion, and whether knowledge of it reached the particular natives with whom Miguel came in contact, such an assumption is no more probable than the one that I make.

[1] See Winship's Sailors' Narratives, pp. 21, 45.

[2] See Fig. 7 (on p. 416), and note that in two facsimile signatures reproduced by

course I do not attribute any of the picture-writings on the rock to Miguel Cortereal. They were put there, probably at later and various dates, by Indians. It may be that these Indian pictures, together with the wearing away of the lower surface, have effaced a longer message by this early explorer. No sign of it remains, and there is no likelihood that it can in any manner be restored. It is not impossible, however, that more definite evidence may be discoverable as to

FIG. 7. DETAIL OF DIGHTON ROCK
Drawn by E. B. Delabarre, 1919

whether or not the name itself is there. For one thing, if there exist in Portugal inscriptions of about 1500 which make use of the peculiar angular C and O and of the unexpectedly curved E, such a fact would have strong bearing on this question.[1] Moreover, the fact

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Harrisse in the second paper cited above, the name is spelled Miguell CorteReall. In the figure, I have drawn in heavy lines all the component parts of name and date that are unambiguously observable in the Hathaway photograph. The light and dotted lines in the name indicate how it may be dubiously completed. Neighboring and overlying lines and figures are also drawn in light lines. Of the two "deers," the one at the right, though fairly clear in the photograph, is a little uncertain and has never heretofore been observed. It is much more distinct in my own photographs. The "bird" is inserted to show the position where Baylies and his companions probably saw it and where with difficulty it may still be imagined in the Burgess and Hathaway photographs. I do not believe, however, that there ever was really any bird portrayed in that position on the rock.

[1] I have found some evidence pointing in this direction. Apparently it was a time of transition between the use of Gothic and of Roman forms in lettering, and their intermingling, as in this inscription, was customary. Our associate Mr. R. Clipston Sturgis says in a recent letter: "Letters in use in Portugal in 1500 would be just the same as those in use in other parts of Europe at that date. It was at the end of the highest period of the Renaissance in Italy, and the various beautiful forms of Gothic lettering had been gradually abandoned for those based upon Roman types." Lewis F. Day says: "Writers of old

has already been emphasized that conditions of illumination make a very great difference in the ease of observing some lines and characters that are unquestionably present on the rock. As example, one needs only to recall the usual complete invisibility of the inscription on the upstream end, that nevertheless under rare circumstances of lighting can be seen with great clearness. When we shall have secured the series of photographs taken with the rock artificially illuminated from many different directions, already mentioned as indispensable for further study, it is possible that new discoveries may be made. However, study of the rock itself and of photographs taken of it under such natural conditions of illumination as were available, since the new hypothesis occurred to me, make me little sanguine of discovering more to support the hypothesis than the Hathaway photograph already reveals.

We leave this new theory, therefore, without any settled conviction concerning its truth. By treating the X as an interpolation, we can see clearly, but without certainty that they were meant as such letters: MIGV . . . CORTER . . L. For the rest, except the date, we must imaginatively connect detached blotches of light, or use lines that are more naturally interpreted as parts of other figures, or wholly assume the former presence of lines now invisible. It is tantalizing to find so much in definite support of a theory that is consistent and plausible even though not very probable,

never seem to have been bound hard and fast to one type of letter. Even in the same phrase various forms of the same letter occur" (Lettering in Ornament, 1902, p. 34). One of his illustrations shows the use of an angular and a rounded C in the same word; another is a modern imitation of mediæval lettering, in which the curved E is used exclusively in the midst of letters otherwise of Roman type. In Antiquitates Americanæ (pp. 379, 380), Rafn discusses early and mediæval use of angular C and O. According to the Traité du Numismatique du Moyen Age by A. Engel and R. Serrure (1905, iii. 1350 ff), the coins of Portugal between 1357 and 1481 employed both forms of E in the same words and phrases, the curved form occurring much more frequently than the other, and the majority of the other letters being of the now prevalent Roman forms. Conrad Haebler's Typographie Ibérique du Quinzième Siècle (1902) gives "Reproductions en facsimile de tous les caractères typographique employés en Espagne et en Portugal jusqu'à l'année 1500." His No. 42 shows a page of a book printed in 1485, having a border of capital letters in which occur both the angular and the rounded C, both the angular and the rounded E, and an O that is intermediate. Such forms of letters as I make out in the inscription would have been appropriate for Miguel Cortereal to have employed in 1511.

and not to find any sure trace of the remainder. At any rate, we can say with entire confidence that this theory, combined with the explanation of the rest of the figures as due to the Indians, has more of sound evidence in its favor than any of its earlier rivals. But this does not justify us in regarding it as more than an interesting possibility.

PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

Throughout this investigation we have found it possessed of many different features appealing to our interest — a history full of incident and controversy, inviting to research; a succession of attempts at accurate portrayal; a searching inquiry into every possible theory that might reveal the truth as to origin and meaning; an incentive to imaginative flights that repel us if we are critical, but stimulate the sense of æsthetic enjoyment as works of art; extremes of picturesque humor and pedantic solemnity, of scientific sanity and baseless speculation, of sound truth-seeking scholarship and deliberate deception. Every phase and feature of it, however, has illustrated some principle of psychology, some variety of mental process, some type of human intellect and feeling. Our task could hardly be considered well completed without a systematic examination of some of the psychological lessons that this complicated history can reveal. There are "sermons in stones," and an especially good one in this stone. No one person can hear and retell its whole content; but some of its principal features can be outlined.

(A) As to the psychology of the producers of the petroglyph, we have as yet too little certain information. We may be sure, however, that those have read it wrongly who assume that, if Indian, later Indians would necessarily know of its origin and be able to interpret it correctly; or that Indians were too lazy and idle to have been capable of the work. Whether moved, however, by pure instinctive urge to be doing something, or by desire for amusement and for desultory picture-making, or by a feeling of self-glorification in recording personal symbols or exploits, or by a serious purpose to convey information, or by a combination of these, are still matters of controversy whose solution must be left to the progress of historical and psychological ethnology.

(B) Types of mental attitudes and types of men. A number of times during the course of this study attention has been called to the characteristics of a certain type of writer and deviser of theories in whose case "waking dreams" are taken for realities. Gebelin, Hill, Dammartin, Magnusen, Onffroy de Thoron, Fernald, — will be recalled as examples. Other and saner, though perhaps less picturesque writers, have spoken of the productions of such men by various uncomplimentary names: "air built fabrics" (Squier); "humbugs" (Bancroft); "learned trifling" (Blackwell); "enthusiastic rubbish" (Dall); "laborious trifling" (Diman); "antiquarian absurdities" (no. 172), and many longer and equally disparaging phrases. Instead of describing again their peculiarities in terms already used,[1] I shall try to contrast them briefly with writers of other types and to discover somewhat of the underlying causes of the differences.

At the other extreme from these Don Quixotes of science who have thus been singled out are the plain, matter-of-fact, unimaginative fellows who make everything dry and commonplace. When accompanied by careful and exhaustive accumulation of evidence, their attitude becomes a part of the true method of science. But through haste, ignorance, prejudice or natural narrow-mindedness, they are quite as apt to be one-idea men as the others, and accordingly no more likely to hit upon the truth. These are little attracted by mysteries. Consequently we have few of them writing upon our subject, and can mention as best examples only those who dismiss the matter briefly with the remark that the apparent inscription is the work of nature or accident only. We are thus safe in including, it would seem, at least Douglass, John Whipple, and the writer in the English Review.

Between the two extremes lie the more versatile minds. They possess imagination, but restrained and tempered by the more prosaic qualities. The combination may be an habitual one, or the two may alternate, either in different moods or as applied to different subjects. In either case, the result may be good or bad, according to the appropriateness of the distribution. Such men, as well as the preceding, may lack the painstaking industry and the breadth of mind that lead to truth, and so be as unreliable as their fellows. At their best,

[1] Our Publications, xix. 71, 125.

we find them holding fast to fact, so far as research has yet supplied it, but communicating it with grace of expression, with sympathetic understanding of opposing views, and with appreciation of its appeal to the æsthetic feelings as well as to the intellect. Strict in their acceptance of evidence and formulation of truth, they can then relax in order to enjoy its poetry and beauty, and even appreciate these qualities in the whole struggle for truth and thus in its stages of error as well as of attainment.

Professor James was fond of drawing the distinction between what he called the easy-going and the strenuous moods. The distinction is much like that between our two extreme types, if we take it as referring not to amount but to tenseness of activity. Our first type is easy-going; but it may be exceedingly industrious and in that sense strenuous, and the other very little so. Another pair of terms, soft and hard, among those used by James, comes nearer to expressing the essence of our distinction. I shall call them, however, by names that apply both to the type and to its underlying causes: first, the "lax" or "relaxed;" at opposite extreme, the "tense;" between, the "supple." For I believe that it is just these characters of muscular adjustment attending the processes of observing, remembering, reasoning, acting and feeling that determine the mental and personal differences to which attention has been called. At their greatest extremes, laxness becomes flabby and tenseness becomes rigid and cramped. When crystallized into abiding personal traits these two, whether as greater or more moderate extremes, become unchanging types of personality. But in those who are supple of mind and muscle they rarely become extreme, and are alternating attitudes of mind or merge into a permanent attitude of poise or balance. In every case, the relaxed attitude is favorable to imagination and feeling, and also, if not at the same time narrow, to sympathetic understanding of others. Tenseness, if too firm and unadaptable, like imagination and feeling unrestrained, leads to nothing admirable; but when it means perfect self-adjustment to conditions, delicately changing with their changing character, it is the foundation of accurate and exact observation and thought. The supple, balanced attitude is ready to meet either demand, and thus is best adapted to arrive at wide-visioned truth in all its forms. We have met with numerous examples of its possession by the partakers in our discussions, more

or less successful according to the range of information and degree of attention devoted to the subject. It hardly demands further description. About the extremer types much further may be said.

A few simple illustrations will assist in realizing the unescapable dependence of the mental types and attitudes on muscular tendencies. We know that mental relaxation demands bodily relaxation, and the two together favor the free play of fancy and disconnected ideas; while to observe accurately and to reason logically requires an alertness and appropriate adjustment of muscles as well as of mind. There are intoxicants and drugs that render exact observation impossible, foster illusions, stimulate wild trains of imagery and thought, diminish control in speech, expression and action; and they accomplish it largely through relaxing the muscular adjustments and controls. On the other hand, the words keen, alert, vigorous, eager, intent, virile, call attention to conditions of muscular tonus as well as of mind, that are bound to one another indissolubly. The following simple experiment is instructive. When we close the eyes, the muscles of accommodation and of convergence usually relax, but we can keep them adjusted as if we were still looking attentively at some definite object at some definite distance. Furthermore, with the eyes closed, we can still see: light penetrates through the eyelids; after effects of preceding stimulation still linger on the retina; inner stimuli of pressure and chemical change maintain the constant presence of what is called the ideo-retinal light — a fine, dancing, drifting mist that can be seen with closed eyes or by looking into dark spaces; and varying visual images may seem to occupy the field of visible light due to these different causes. We usually fail to observe these phenomena, through lack of interest and through their having no bearing on what we accept as real, practical facts. Yet we may observe them if we will, or, unobserved themselves, they may contribute much or little to the nature of our thoughts and imagery. The significant thing that I find to be true of them is this: with eyes closed and muscles relaxed, it is impossible to observe just what visual phenomena actually proceed from retinal activities, and centrally originating images are stimulated, merging with and often obscuring the actual sensations; while with muscles adjusted as for real seeing, the images vanish and the genuine retinal phenomena appear. As in seeing of real objects, so in this seeing with

closed eyes, exactly adjusted convergence and accommodation of eyes and of other muscles that assist in close attention are essential to reliable observation, and loose adjustment tends to substitute the imagined for the real.

Yet our loose-muscled and loose-minded friends are no less confident of the reality of their visions than are those whose felicitous adjustments make their observations and reasonings more trustworthy, or those who make another type of error through ill-adjustment arising from excessive and unadaptable tenseness. Confidence and sureness of being right as readily attend narrow-visioned error as wide-visioned truth. The lax and the over-tense are very liable to be narrow-minded; and the supple may be so, on some or all subjects, through ignorance, or haste, or laziness, or forgetfulness, or lack of system, or emotional appeal, or habit, or other causes. In all three types, the single unopposed idea seems right, since belief arises as inevitably from absence of anything that contradicts as from the triumph of well-reasoned ideas. The confidence, therefore, with which anyone asserts that he has observed a fact, or remembers clearly, or knows a thing to be true, cannot be accepted as having in itself any value as evidence. It may attach to any kind of an idea, theory, or supposed fact. It will have different attendant characteristics, however, in the different types. In the loose adjustment to realities of those who pin their faith to figments, it is more apt to be a genial ignoring of other possibilities; while at the opposite extreme it is an active and obstinate hostility toward them.

These considerations are now, perhaps, sufficiently well developed to enable us to see their application in this particular study. Endeavoring to avoid undue complication, we may consider the facts of chief interest in the form of two principles.

(*a*) Typical laxity or tenseness, as permanent type or temporary attitude, affects the whole range of mental processes and action. For illustrations, we must here resort exclusively to the loose type, for there are too few of the opposite kind in our history and they treat the subject too briefly to make it possible to dissect them. But this is just the kind of a mystery to appeal to the imaginative and induce them to lay bare their whole nature. Accordingly we find the advocates of startling theories consistently careless and inaccurate

EDDY PHOTOGRAPH, 1908

WILBUR POST-CARD, 1913

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in observation, uncritical and inexact in dealing with their accepted sources, unsystematic and often self-contradictory and illogical in their theories, confused and ungrammatical in their methods of expression. Of the weird and wonderful objects that they see depicted in the drawings we need not remind ourselves in detail. Such careless spellings as Deighton, Digthon, Dydon, Taunston, Jaunston, and Asson-neck may be considered examples of loose observation. So also may be the seeing of the rock near the middle of the river by J. V. C. Smith, the erroneous seeing of a cast of Dighton Rock by Wilson where none was exhibited, and many more. Even in such cases defective observation cannot be wholly separated from faulty memory, and this is even more true where plain misinformation, careless reading, distortion of memory and lack of verification inextricably intermingled lead to (1) misstatements of historical facts, such as: Smith's Creek as the name of Assonet River (on Rafn's map); no similar Indian inscriptions; rock known to earliest settlers; tradition has immemorially attributed it to the Northmen; drawings were published as early as 1680; Washington was taken to the rock; Bancroft found the stone; casts were sent to Denmark; a meeting of protest against removal was held in Boston; — or (2) the misquotation of statements of others, as: Ira Hill's omission of essential parts of the Job Gardner drawing; Beamish's reference to Bristol County instead of our country; Vallancey's statement that Greenwood's drawing was sent to Gebelin; the mistaken statements that Magnusen found the word "Northmen" in the M (Beamish, Schoolcraft), or in the inverted Y (Gravier), or on the breast of the human figure (Onffroy); that the French Academy called it Punic (Holmes, Thomas); that Danforth made claims for the accuracy of his own drawing (Webb, Wilson). It is more nearly plain memory that is at fault in case of the illusion that the marks on the rock are growing perceptibly fainter; in Webb's belief that his committee made the shaded lines; in Rafn's assigning the date 1830 to the Rhode Island drawing. Imagination is seen vigorously at work in the strange and varied interpretations of the meanings of particular figures, and in the other airy fancies characteristic of the people we are discussing. Defective weighing of evidence, illogical deductions, loose and inconsistent systems of ideas combine as foundation for a great majority of the theories advanced, and in such particular cases as: Rafn's confusion

as to the dates of Thorfinn's winters in Vinland; Mathieu's confusion of the two Ins; various inconsistencies to which attention has been called in the expositions of Ira Hill, of Dammartin, of Fernald and others. The feelings are involved with the other special causes in almost all of the above instances. They account for the acceptance as well as the origination of theories that pleasantly stimulate the imagination and possess for any one a poetic appeal. They arouse a bias that leads to such unfounded statements as that opponents tacitly admit their errors (Vallancey, Domenech, Horsford), or are influenced by unworthy motives (McLean, Webb, Melville); that there was no interest in the rock in Massachusetts before a certain date (McLean); that small vessels can hardly pass in Taunton River (Bancroft); that Indians were ignorant of the existence of the rock (Yates, Webb, Bodfish); that therefore it must be ancient and foreign (Greenwood, etc.). Inaptness, inexactness, confusion or bias in action manifest themselves in deliberate misrepresentation, of which we have few indubitable cases; but otherwise, since we deal here only with men's written utterances, mainly in their manner of expression. Misspellings such as have been cited, or inexact, careless and biased copying of drawings, involve features of action. Failure to verify statements is an action-quality, and a common one. Most prominent evidence of the effect upon expression of this all-pervading malady of laxness is the fact that its most extreme exponents are almost sure to be confused in their arrangement of data and ungrammatical in their manner of speech. Ira Hill, Asahel Davis, and Fernald are shining examples. Any one, in moments of laxity or in dealing with special topics, may make errors of any of the kinds here noted, without implication that their makers belong habitually to the lax type. But the incurably lax-minded exhibits a lax adjustment of muscles in all of his processes that renders exactness, clarity and consistency impossible in any field of mental activity, and makes him liable to errors and inadequacies of all varieties.

(*b*) When narrowness of vision, habitual or occasional, combines with these muscularly founded qualities, it produces a number of characteristic manifestations. The idea that appeals leaves no room for rivals, and its possessor when confronted with other possibilities, unless confused or vacillating, must either ignore their existence or disparage their importance. Such people are necessarily unsympa-

thetic, seeing no merit or virtue in their opponents. In argument, if driven from one defence they resort to a second, and on demolishment of that they resort again to the first as though it had never been touched. They cannot be doubters, for that attitude demands sufficient breadth to entertain various possibilities at once. They therefore have complete confidence in their own reliability and the truth of their own beliefs. These facts are well illustrated throughout the discussions that we have been following. Besides those that readily suggest themselves, we can see a good example in the conviction expressed by many of those who have drawn or photographed the inscription that their productions are faithful depictions. In twelve cases there is definite mention of the care used or merit of the result. Of these, one person only expresses doubt as to his accuracy or care, except in the two cases of Kendall and Seager, one of whom deliberately tries to leave in obscurity what is obscure on the rock and emphasizes the impossibility of making any accurate drawing, and the other of whom exhibits a minimum only of the clearest lines. As against these three, there are nine who emphasize the great care employed to trace only real indentures, and five of these add that they have omitted doubtful cases where there seemed to be indentures. We may be sure that probably as large a proportion of the undescribed cases were attended by an equal confidence. Yet the great diversity of results shows that such confidence must have been often ill founded. Kendall has told us how the drawing or chalking of a definite line in many instances must close the mind to a score of alternative possibilities. Thus, even when there is no natural disposition to narrow-mindedness, it is almost inevitably produced in the process of chalking or drawing the rock, except in the rare instances where one is content to leave his product vague and unsatisfying.

Besides these general effects, narrow vision produces differing results in our different types. Of the more balanced kind, we need only say that it makes them superficial, hence careless and inexact. In the others, entertaining no doubts as to the correctness of their views, it is apt to induce a large self-importance, but differently manifested in the two. The loose type is more genial, the tense more blustering. The former have solved deep mysteries and made great discoveries: Mathieu, of the art of reading hieroglyphics;

Onffroy de Thoron, of the primitive language; Fernald, of the same, and of the primitive alphabet of lines; Lundy, of the Mongolian symbolism of writing; Dammartin, of the origin of all alphabetic characters in the constellations. Gebelin was an expert and highly gifted reader of Phœnician characters, Samuel Harris an almost supernatural linguist, Magnusen a master of runes. These men are not often combative, and for the most part ignore alternative views, or dismiss them with the easy grace with which Onffroy disposed of the "inventions" of Rafn and the "fantastic translations" of the Friday lecturers. We are more amused than offended by their pretentious claims. But those who are over-tense as well as over-narrow, unless kept servile by authority, are the easiest victims of an offensive megalomania which makes them blind ruthless Huns, arrogant, pompous, blustering, dealing out contempt, abuse and ridicule to their enemies. Our history has furnished us with a few mild illustrations of the type, which we see at work in Douglass's attitude toward Cotton Mather, in Vallancey as described by Ledwich, and in a few other instances where abuse takes the place of argument. The best example I have found is contained in a private letter of long ago which, as it was not designed for publication, I quote without mention of its author. As so often in like cases, he appears to mirror his own egotism in the abusive terms which he applies to those whose beliefs do not agree with his:

> There are many wise-acres in this country and Europe whose zeal far outstrips their wisdom and who endeavor to make up for want of knowledge by bold assertions and wholesale statements. With these would-be wise ones the [advocates of a certain theory] have constituted a fruitful topic for gibes and jeers; in their self-conceit and gross ignorance, they have deemed themselves amply qualified to sit in judgment, and with a boldness of which "none but itself can be its parallel," they have not hesitated to act as judges, jurors and witnesses in the case at issue. And who has by them been often arraigned as a set of ignoramuses, historic falsifiers, and visionary theorists? At one time these "Know-Everythings" labored most vigorously to break the Dighton Rock to pieces.

(C) The extent to which apperception enters into all intellectual processes is one of the clearest facts to which our studies contribute evidence. We neither perceive nor believe anything on the basis of

presented data alone. By themselves they are always too meagre and too detached to possess any significance at all. They must be given meaning, distinction, relation, completer filling and objective reality by aid of our own reactions and of our organized past experience before they can become for us objects or truths. It is this process that is called apperception. There is a class of modern realists who deny or minimize its existence; but their claims are irreconcilable with sound handling of the facts, and incapable of detailed organization and explanation of them. Whenever we perceive an object, as by looking at it, it is not the object itself, complete and unchanged, that in some mysterious manner enters into the mind; nor the mind, looking out from itself, that magically knows the genuine external reality as it actually exists there outside the mind; nor an incomprehensible relation between the two that itself is the knowing. To be acceptable, a scientific hypothesis must take into account every single one of the pertinent indubitable facts, fit each into its definite place in a harmonious system, account for all distinctions and variations and conditions. These forms of realism treat all cases by the one invariable formula, make but the one undifferentiated and unsupported claim, possess plausibility only as long as they confine themselves to generalities, and have no power to enter into the minute explanation of the million details and distinctions that must be examined and assigned each to its separate definite cause. They are all mere hocus-pocus and magic. A magic power or explanation is one that, without any causally determined differences in itself, is supposed to create or account for a variety of results. A scientific cause or explanation is one within which is a causally determined difference for each difference that is to be explained. There is but one account of the facts which, while it has not solved all problems, is yet inherently capable of accomplishing the task.

The things outside us do not enter our senses. Nor do they throw off sensations which faithfully represent them and succeed in penetrating the mind. Instead, the process is a complex one. The forces of light, heat, pressure, molecular activity, and the others, themselves determined by the activities of what we call the objects outside us and the internal activities of our own bodies, excite appropriate sense-organs to a discharge of their stored neural energies.

These set cortical cells in our brains into activity, and when this happens there arise as facts of consciousness, by a law which most psychologists accept as parallelism, the phenomena that we call sensations. These are wholly mental contents and cannot by any possibility resemble in the slightest particular the physical things and qualities and forces which have aroused them. But these sensations, though in our minds, we do not yet know. By wholly unconscious but accountable processes, we select certain ones among them all at any particular moment and neglect the rest; then add to these a mass of selected "kinæsthetic" sensations arising from our own muscular adjustments to the ones first named; then incorporate these into an organized mass of earlier sense-experiences, into which they will acceptably fit; then substitute some features involved in the latter for some of the sensations that are actually presented; then, instead of realizing that we have done any of these things and that the product is wholly in the mind, we believe it to have existence outside us; and then at last — numerous as the stages are, for us they appear practically instantaneous — we become aware of the complex "externalized" fabric, and believe it to be the observed external object. Such is the process of apperception. Without it we can observe nothing, not even the plain original sensations. It enters necessarily into what we call correct perception as well as into illusion, into that of the psychologist, the physical scientist, the plain man, as well as of the visionary. It is less easy to prove it for ordinary clear perception, especially with the materials furnished us in this study, than for the perception of faint and confused objects. In the case of the latter it can be made very evident.

A few years ago there were observed, at a laboratory in Nancy, faintly visible emanations of a new kind, which were called n-rays. A whole series of definite properties was worked out for them, a considerable number of reputable scientists confirmed them, a long series of scientific papers was written concerning them — and they were proved in the end to be purely subjective phenomena. Nothing could have established more clearly the fact that it is impossible for anyone to distinguish between faint objective and vivid subjective appearances. If rejected, it is not because anyone is acute enough to make this distinction, but because their behavior is reconcilable only with subjective and not with objective existences. If they

accord with all the rest of what he knows and believes about external facts, he must class them with the latter. Something similar is true of plainly visible external things. For a simple case, take a series of parallel lines and mentally group them together in pairs. The spaces between them are all alike, but they will no longer appear so. Within a group, the space takes on the appearance of a surface bounded by the lines; between groups are mere emptinesses. Or examine a puzzle-picture, or such ambiguous pictures as the one that may be seen either as a duck or as a rabbit, or the diagrams of ambiguous perspective shown in many text-books on psychology. Apperception, aided by appropriate muscular adjustments and their resulting kinæsthetic sensations, makes each alternative real in its turn. In extreme cases, like that of the opium-stimulated brain, everything may be thus ambiguous. Again, everyone knows how easy it is to see pictures that at least almost seem real things in clouds, in flames and embers, in wall-paper patterns, in the graining of wood and veining of marble, in frost-covered window-panes. A sheet of marbled paper is inserted in Sterne's Tristram Shandy as material for the exercise of this diversion. Irregular ink-blots are excellent material. In commenting on Dammartin, we demonstrated that any desired outline figure could be found in the constellations. Any complex collection where something is to be taken as real and some parts ignored as irrelevant serves this purpose. What is seen in these instances we know to be our own fanciful creation, but only because we know that the things seen cannot possibly exist in those places. Our belief about them will be very different if nothing in our experience contradicts their objective reality. Whenever we can, we tend to find something definite in the faint and orderly in the confused and to trust what we find, if it and other things and our system of beliefs will permit it. There is a pleasure in seeing uncertainties and irregularities resolve themselves into definite form, and the forms take on connected and acceptable meaning. If the critical attitude be not aroused or find no support, if no conflicting appearances or beliefs occur to mind, if rival possibilities arouse no liking, the apperceptively constructed object must be believed to be external. In that very way we construct all objects that we actually do accept as genuinely perceived, even the most sure and familiar ones.

Some of the alleged indentures of Dighton Rock are unquestionably there, artificially carved upon it. But aside from them it offers an ideal surface for these borderland apperceptions which may or may not represent objective facts. Examination either of the rock itself or of a clear photograph of it reveals both features under discussion — an abundance of lines that are faint and doubtful, and a vast confusion of other marks that are clearly observable and may or may not be artificial. There are numberless little pittings and protrusions, irregularities of texture, almost eroded remnants of indecipherable characters, minute cracks, light-reflections varying from dark to bright forming dots and lines and blotches, small differences of color. Such materials can be woven together apperceptively into a thousand varying forms. For the purpose of comparing the different drawings, none of which can be exact enough to show the precise position on the rock where each figure belongs, I tried at one time to identify and mark on the Burgess photograph every figure that had ever been drawn or chalked, and thus to produce a composite representation of them all. I found the task almost impossible, not because I could not discover the figures in any case, but because I could see many of them in too many different places. For instance, at the extreme left of the rock some of the drawings show a P, which at different times I placed in at least four plausible positions; and as to others I was equally uncertain. My notes state that "after prolonged and close searching, I got so that I could find any given figure almost anywhere."

Those who are cautious and instructed in the dangers will know enough not to trust any but the most indubitable of the figures they see. But even they will find it difficult to know where to draw the line between the sure and the doubtful. Kendall and Seager were the most cautious draughtsmen who ever viewed the rock; yet their drawings are very different. Very few are sufficiently instructed to be cautious. To look for what has been carved there insures the seeing of something among the thousand possibilities. The very seeing of a plausible figure makes it seem to be actually present on the rock. It may dissolve and give place to another, and if not satisfying it probably will. But the situation here differs from that when we are deliberately looking for what we know will be only dream-pictures. We can adopt that attitude toward the rock or its photo-

graph; but not if we are earnestly trying to discover everything possible of what was originally carved there. Then, any plausible and consistent appearance tends to be taken as objective and to inhibit the many alternative and mutually exclusive things that might have been seen in the same place. The lines and dots have been apperceived into an object. The fact that it is one's own discovery gives it strength. If, in addition, it for any reason appeals to the feelings, or best among various possibilities fits in with a preformed hypothesis, its full acceptance is almost inevitable.

It is easy to see why the many drawings and chalkings are so definite and likewise so different. Some of the causes are external. The lighting of the rock differs greatly with the position of the sun, and is of exceedingly great importance for the relative observability and distinctness of different figures. So also is the position of the observer. Carelessness and varying skill have some influence. But the most potent cause of all lies in the apperceptive factors. For the most part these make for variety, although within rather definite limitations, for no one yields to unrestrained imagination but rejects such apperceptions as have no plausible basis in actual objective data. Yet in some cases the objective lines may be most readily apperceived in a manner that is almost uniform and that nevertheless may be mistaken, as in case of the small human figure seen by nearly all observers where I now find the date 1511 with circles above and below it. The apperceptive possibilities wherever the lines are not sure and definite are so numerous that no one has yet exhausted them. We can constantly find new and unsuspected letters and figures with more or less of confidence in their actual presence on the rock. They may come by accident, as in case of the 1511, or by definitely looking for them under the inspiration of a new theory as to what may be there, as in case of my discovery of the Cortereal. Very few if any of the draughtsmen and chalkers, I think, have been biased by definite ideas beforehand of figures they wished to find, except in so far as they have been influenced by knowledge of previous depictions. Had they been so, they would probably have found what they sought. Moreover, they would almost inevitably have been in error, for there can be but one right theory, but there may be devised a host of wrong ones. Yet we must realize that bias in the one right direction may be as essential to the correct solution of

some difficult scientific problems, as bias in the numberless wrong directions is unfavorable. In dealing with obscure and ambiguous phenomena, the genuine truth about them is more likely to be perceived after the hypothesis that later proves to be the correct one has suggested exactly what to look for.

If anyone finds it difficult to believe that apperception can create objective fact, or to see how so many different representations can have been honestly made from the same model, it may be recommended that he study for himself the Burgess or the Hathaway photograph. Let him try to localize in the photograph the lines of any particular drawing, or make his own drawing showing every line that he thinks is probably artificial. He can inevitably bring himself to the discovery of any desired figure, though not necessarily with sufficient clearness to satisfy him. His own independent depiction will differ, if made detailed enough, for all except well marked lines, from any others. Moreover, the psychology of the chalking process can be readily and experimentally studied in the same manner. Before rendering any lines of the photograph more distinct by means of ink or pencil, there are numerous possibilities as to what may be seen in a given region. But once mark a line clearly, and many of these possibilities are obscured or vanish. A set is established toward seeing one or more definite figures, instead of many possible ones. The fixing of one line more nearly determines its neighbors; until finally, a single definite and solely visible figure stands out, where at first others might equally well have been seen. Had one started by marking some other line, the resulting figure would have turned out, in many instances, a very different one.

There is now one point more to develop before we close this study. We form our system of beliefs, or our interpretation of any particular phenomenon, by a process very like the apperception that has just been described. We sift and select among the materials actually given, ignoring what rightly or wrongly we regard as irrelevant. We fill out the inadequacies of the rest, rounding it into a full idea, by aid of our stored experience and completing hypotheses. According to the scientific strictness or the looseness and insufficiency of our apperceptive systems, the result is more or less able to bear the scrutiny of sound criticism. Of all our interpreters and theorizers thus far, only the advocates of Indian origin, or those who have

BROWN PHOTOGRAPH OF DIGHTON ROCK AS SEEN FROM THE SHORE, 1915

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cautiously refrained from forming any final opinion, have possessed a system of interpretative beliefs into which the data given by the drawings could fit in such a manner as to yield truth. It may be — or may not be — that our new hypothesis concerning Miguel Corte-real can eventually be added to the other that has scientific warrant. With respect to it, we are keeping ourselves within strict scientific limits by claiming for it no more than a present plausibility and such ultimate fate as future research may determine. The extremest methods of indefensible yet very natural interpretation are those that accept particular pictures as symbolizing entire incidents or characters in a story, with no other warrant than consistency with their own beliefs, or that regard single supposed letters as initials of complete words. There is very little difference in principle between these two procedures. They are essentially identical with one of the cabalistic methods called notarikon, wherein every letter of a word is taken as the initial or abbreviation of another word, so that from the letters of a single word a complete sentence may be formed. Buckingham Smith used a mild form of this process. It is perhaps not unlikely that Lundy's Chinese radicals were used in a similar manner. When the letters to be thus used are not taken in succession but selected at random from a large collection in any desired order, there are no limits to what they may be made to mean. Fernald permitted us a few insights into his manner of finding the meanings he wanted. It was not wholly crazy and baseless, for there was something of system in it. But the system, wherever we found it possible to follow its workings, was this super-cabalistic notarikon; and it is highly probable that it is the same whereby he obtained his six all different yet all true translations of Dighton Rock. It is in a similar manner that the discoverers of the various ciphers which prove that Bacon was the author of the works of Shakespeare and of other writers have reached their results. In a system of materials sufficiently complex, by the use of a cipher sufficiently elastic, any type of message may be discovered. Certainly the works of Shakespeare are sufficiently complex; and I have been informed by one who has a profound acquaintance with all the ciphers, including some very recent ones, that these are all sufficiently elastic to account for the results. Exactly the same can be said of Dighton Rock. The interpreters have worked with the drawings, not with the rock itself.

Yet even these have offered a sufficient variety of figures and complexity of lines to permit the finding among them of pictures and apparent letters to furnish seeming evidence, by means of the methods alluded to, for practically any theory that any one may have the ingenuity to devise. This does not imply that all theories must necessarily be equally worthless, but rather that we must use scientific methods, and not methods analogous to notarikon or Baconian ciphers, in reaching them.

Summary and Conclusion

It will be helpful toward a grasp of this complex study in its entirety to make a very few summarizing statements. Of independent attempts to represent faithfully the appearance of the inscriptions, in whole or in part, aside from my own, we have found forty-one. The earliest was in 1680. Twenty-two of them are drawings of the face, but six of these are now undiscoverable. One is a drawing of inscriptions on the shoreward slope. Two are ink-impressions, one a plaster cast. The remaining fifteen are photographs, of which the earliest, an alleged daguerreotype of 1840, cannot now be found. For all the photographs except two the supposed artificial lines were brightened and thus unreliably interpreted by means of chalking or some similar process.

Of theories advanced to account for the origin of the inscriptions, in whole or in part, we might enumerate more or fewer according to whether we include vague allusions and statements of mere possibility as well as completely formed and defended theories, according to the degree to which we make distinctions among those that differ only slightly, and according to whether we admit parodies as well as seriously entertained views. Our list below includes all of these varieties, and gives a separate number to each one that, though it refer to the same people as another, may be considered a different and independent theory. In a parallel column, with separate numbers, are the names of those who have presented a translation, complete or partial, in harmony with the parallel theory; and even an assignment of meaning to one or two figures or characters is classed for this purpose as a translation. The order is roughly that of the antiquity assigned to the inscription:

THEORIES	TRANSLATIONS
1. Not satisfactorily explained.	
2. The work of Nature only.	
3. Egyptian priests, 2700 B.C. (a criticism, not a serious theory).	1. The author.
4. In, Prince of Atlantis, 2102 B.C.	2. Mathieu.
5. Phœnicians or Carthaginians.	3. Yates and Moulton.
6. A definite Phœnician expedition.	4. Gebelin.
7. Tyrians and Jews, about 1000 B.C.	5. Ira Hill.
8. Another Phœnician adventurer, about 330 B.C.	6. Onffroy de Thoron.
9. A Hebrew people; the Lost Tribes.	7. Samuel Harris.
10. Persians.	
11. Trojans.	
12. Ægypto-Drosticks (a hoax).	
13. Egyptians.	8. Dammartin.
14. Libyans.	
15. Romans; also Christ and others.	9. Fernald.
16. Scythians or Tartars.	
17. Japanese.	
18. Chinese.	10. Lundy.
19. The Norse Colony of Thorfinn, about 1008 A.D.	11. Magnusen. 12. Rafn. 13. Gravier.
20. The Norse Bjarna (a parody).	14. Lowell.
21. Prince Madoc, about 1170 A.D.	
22. The Devil (humorously suggested as what ought to have been Cotton Mather's theory).	
23. An early native race, predecessor of the Indians.	
24. The Indians, by accident in sharpening arrows.	
25. The Indians, as an actual record or records.	15. Kendall's Mohawk Chief. 16. Chingwauk. 17. John Davis.
26. Miguel Cortereal, 1511.	18. The author.
27. A Roman Catholic missionary, about 1520.	19. Buckingham Smith.
28. Verrazano's expedition.	
29. Other early English sailors.	20. Perhaps Danforth.
30. Pirates.	
31. American colonists or boys.	
32. Modern visitors with sticks and canes.	
33. Initials undoubtedly carved by visitors not Indian, since 1620, some recent.	

Excluding four theories that were not seriously advanced, and nine others that have been barely suggested as possibilities without any defence of them, there remain twenty theories that have been definitely held and defended.

In connection with this amazing variety of theories as to origin and of beliefs as to meaning of the inscriptions in general, it is exceedingly interesting to bring together the different meanings that have been assigned to particular figures. The entire assembly of lines to the left of the large human figure has been interpreted as a Phœnician

date, an Egyptian date, zodiacal constellations, Thorfinn's ship and its surroundings, the camp at Straumfiord, the village of the Assonets. One character within it, sometimes drawn like the letter P, has been a Phœnician letter, an Egyptian monogram, a rune, a constellation, a noose-trap. The human figure itself has played the role of Neptune, Gudrida, Thorfinn, a person killed by an animal, a hunter, an idol, the Chief Mong, the constellation Virgo, the first American king and tyrant. The small figure at its feet possesses versatility enough to pose as a priest, as Chief Mong's sister, Thorfinn's baby son Snorre, Horus as son of the virgin goddess, a buried person with tears upon and near him, a part of the constellation Leo, a symbol of the second month of the tenth year of the reign of Solomon, and a portion of the date 1511 with circles above and below it. The clear-cut triangular figures in the uppermost central region are a Carthaginian camp, a seer's lodge, a collection of constellations about the northern Pole, a deer-trap, a shield. The apparently alphabetic characters near the centre are the name Thorfins, the name Cortereal, the constellation Aries, the constellation Gemini, the Icelandic word OR, the Phœnician words shâlal le-nâgar oneg, or a collection of indecipherable non-alphabetic lines. The famous animal below this has figured as a beaver, an unnamed dangerous animal, a deer, a composite animal with insect's wing, a bull, a winged and horned Pegasus, an unknown Asiatic animal, a leopard, a lynx, a constellation, a collection of leaves and vines symbolizing a fertile land, a map of the coasts of Europe, — and it might perhaps just as well represent a coon, a skunk, or a chipmunk. The lines next rightward of the three last mentioned figures include a deer-trap, a human trunk, a horse, a constellation or two, Thorfinn's shield, Thorfinn himself, a canopy over a throne, a wooden idol, a map of the Mediterranean. We might thus continue at great length; but enough has surely been given to discourage anyone acquainted with these facts from making further attempts to assign unsupported meanings to any portions of the inscription.

It has been our task to assemble every discoverable fact concerning this Writing Rock "filled with strange characters," so remarkable for the long continued interest which it has aroused and for its many-sided appeal to investigation and controversy. Myth, legend and history, archæology and ethnology, religion and æsthetics, astron-

omy and geology, the practical arts of faithful delineation, fundamental scientific method and psychology, all have been drawn into the discussion. In so manifold and complete a way has this rock, by human aid, expressed its nature, that its story has been not merely a record of events and facts, but almost the dramatic unfolding of a spiritual personality, like that of the struggle and development of a progressing human life. A dead rock, if exhaustively studied, is not a dead rock merely, but the incarnation of a living, struggling, growing, self-perfecting Idea; and of such is the Kingdom of Truth.

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XXXIII View or Sketch by John R. Bartlett, 1834, from a photograph of the original in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, between pages 298–299.

XXXIII Rafn's Reproduction of Bartlett's View or Sketch, 1837, from Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, Tab. X, between pages 298–299.

XXXIV Rhode Island Historical Society's Drawing, 1834, from a photograph of the original in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, between pages 308–309.

XXXIV Rafn's so-called "Rhode Island Historical Society's 1830" Drawing, 1837, from Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, Tab. XII, Plate IX, between pages 308–309.

XXXV Drawing of alleged Roman Letters (Fig. E), 1847; and Combination of the Drawings of 1789 and 1837, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, 1851, in Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, 1851, I, Plate 36, facing page 316.

XXXVI Daguerreotype by Captain Seth Eastman, 1853, from Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, 1854, IV, Plate 14, facing page 324.

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XXXIX Davis-Gardner Stereoscopic View, 1873, facing page 352.

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XLV Photograph by Carlton Grinnell, about 1907, facing page 412.
XLVI William P. Eddy's Photograph, 1908, facing page 422.
XLVI Post-Card issued by G. K. Wilbur, 1913, facing page 422.
XLVII Dighton Rock as seen from the Shore, from a photograph by Charles W. Brown, May 15, 1915, facing page 432.

Fig. 5 Drawing of Shoreward Side of Dighton Rock by Charles A. Fernald, 1903, from Fernald's Universal International Genealogy, 1910, Plate 70, page 33, on page 366.

Fig. 6 Drawing by John W. Barber, 1839, from Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts, page 117, on page 379.

Fig. 7 Detail of Dighton Rock, drawn by E. B. Delabarre, March, 1919, on page 416.

Bibliography of Dighton Rock

This bibliography aims to record all cases of mention as well as of discussion of Dighton Rock that have come to the writer's attention. It includes not only printed sources, but letters, manuscripts, drawings and photographs, and occasionally incidents of importance. A very few cases are included where the rock itself is not directly mentioned, but where judgment concerning it is implied in such statements as that Rafn's conclusions are to be fully trusted, or that there are no discoverable vestiges of the early Norse visits.

The items in the alphabetical list (A) are numbered simply for convenience of reference in the footnotes to the present paper and in the chronological list (B) which follows. Page references are usually not to the entire discussion named in the title, but only to the portion dealing with the rock. Whenever representations of the appearance of the inscription accompany a discussion, the fact is noted by insertion of the abbreviation "Illus.," followed by a number which is that of some drawing or photograph so numbered in the list of reproductions given on pages 374–397 of this volume. A brief comment is attached to each item, which rarely attempts to indicate the value or the entire contents of the source, but confines itself usually to stating the opinion expressed as to the origin of the inscription. Titles are given with brevity, and as a rule the date of first publication only is given.

Inclusion in the list is naturally no indication as to the value of

a paper. A large proportion of the papers never possessed any merit as serious or reliable statements of fact or discussions of the problem, yet even these may have psychological or historical significance. Many trivial instances of casual mention of the rock are included, for they serve at least as indications of the degree of interest aroused by the inscription and of importance attached to it, and of the continuity of this interest through a long period of years. It is inevitable that many references to the rock must have been overlooked, and the compiler of the bibliography earnestly hopes that readers knowing of possible additions to it will kindly call them to his attention.

A

Alphabetical List

1 Aall, J. Snorre Sturlesons Norske Kongers Sagaer, 1839, ii. 216 f. Illus., 14e, 17b, 18b. — Norse; follows Rafn.

2 Abbott, J. S. C. History of Maine, 1875, pp. 13–21. — No direct mention of Rock; but Newport Tower is Norse, and Rafn's authority unquestionable.

3 Abbott, K. M. Old Paths and Legends of N. Eng., 1904, p. 388. Illus., 29c, p. 349. — Mention.

4 Adams, Geo., publisher. Bristol County Almanac for 1852, pp. 31 f. — Mention.

5 Adet, P. A. Probable visit to Rock, 1796. *See* no. 462.

6 Amer. Architect and Building News, Feb. 8, 1890, xxvii. 93. (Reprint from New York Times.) — May be Norse. Ownership and some theories; many misstatements.

7 Amer. Monthly Mag. and Critical Rev., 1817, i. 257. — Review of Mathieu's Le Printemps, probably by S. L. Mitchill.

8 Amer. Monthly Mag., 1836, N. S., i. 315 n. — Another stone, work of insane man, resembling Rock.

9 Americana, The, [1912], vii. article Dighton Rock. — Indian.

10 Anderson, R. B. America not discovered by Columbus, 1874. 4th ed., 1891; editions in Danish and German. 2nd ed., 1877, pp. 21 ff, 29 ff, 82 ff. — Norse. Accepts Rafn's conclusions. Not a reliable source concerning the Rock: "too credulous" (Slafter, 1877); "shows tendency of his race to a facility rather than felicity in accepting evidence" (Winsor); "such a mass of unbelievable assumptions and of unsupported conclusions are rarely found together in so few pages" (Ruge).

11 Anderson, R. B., editor. Norse Discovery of America. Translations and deductions by A. M. Reeves, N. L. Beamish, R. B. Anderson. Published by the Norraena Society, 1907. — Anderson's contribution to this volume does not mention the Rock; but he is "hospitably disposed to the basin of Charles River as the site of Vinland" (p. 312). *See* Beamish.

12 Andree, R. Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, 1878, i. 294–297. Illus., Tafel V, Fig. 50, after Schoolcraft's 14e + 18b. — "A very ordinary Indian petroglyph."

13 Andrews, C. M., and Davenport, F. G. Guide to the Manuscript Material for the History of the U. S. to 1783 in the British Museum, 1908, p. 73. — Reference to Greenwood letter.

14 Andrews, E. B. History of the U. S., 1894, i. 2. Illus., p. 39, after no. 24. — Not Norse.

15 Antiquarian. Letters of March 27, May 16, June 21, 1847. First appeared in newspapers of Providence and Newport; republished in Brooks's Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill, 1851, pp. 11–22, 38–44. — A hoax, claiming that the Rock was inscribed by Ægypto-Drosticks.

16 Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837. *See* no. 364.

17–20 Arnzen, N. Letters and announcement regarding his gift of Rock to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen. Meetings of [17] Aug., 1861, [18] Sept., 1862. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1862, v. 226 f; 1863, vi. 252 f. [19] Ms. letter to J. W. D. Hall, Aug. 17, 1888, on transfer of Rock to the Scandinavian Memorial Club. Owned by Old Colony Hist. Soc. [20] Rep. of Committee on Dighton Rock, Oct. 15, 1889. In Colls. Old Colony Hist. Soc., 1895, no. 5, pp. 94–97. — Concerning ownership.

21 Assall, F. W. Nachrichten über die früheren Einwohner von Nordamerika und ihre Denkmäler, 1827, p. 71. — Indians and white men.

22 Athenæum, The, 1903, pt. i., 561. — Indian.

23 Automobile Blue Book, 1917, ii. 318. — Indian hieroglyphics.

24 Avery, E. McK. History of the U. S. and its People, 1904, i. 93–96. Illus., p. 93, after no. 29c. — Not Norse; Indian.

25 Ayscough, S. Catalogue of the MSS preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed, 1782, i. 355, 450. — Reference to Greenwood letter.

26–27 B., L., Jr. [Bliss, Leonard, Jr.] Review of Antiquitates Americanæ. In Western Messenger, 1838, v. 230. — Norse; follows Rafn. [27] Inscription Rocks, found in Mass. and R. I. In Western Messenger, 1838, vi. 81–94. — Norse; follows Rafn.

28 Babcock, W. H. Early Norse Visits to North America. Smithsonian Miscel. Colls., 1913, pp. 44–54, 139, 169 f. — Indian; "almost certainly Wampanoag work." Norse probably visited Mount Hope Bay, but no material remains of their visit.

29 Bacon, E. M. Narragansett Bay, 1904, p. 3. — Mention.

30 Baldwin, J. D. Ancient America, 1872, pp. 279–285. — No direct mention of Rock; but quotes a legend from Danforth, and believes Norse reached Mount Hope Bay.

31–32 Bancroft, G. History of the U. S., 1840, iii. 313. — Indian; believes in probability that Norse knew Labrador, but argues that there is no proof. [32] Letter to M. Van Buren, June 17, 1841. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1909, xlii. 390. — Norse theory a humbug.

33 Bancroft, H. H. Native Races of the Pacific States of N. A., 1876, v. 74. — Mention.

34 Bangor Daily Commercial, May 21, 1897. Illus., after no. 17b. — Mention.

35–36 Barber, J. W. Historical Colls. of Mass., 1839 and later editions, pp. 117–119. Illus., original drawing no. 20. — Description, mostly after Kendall. [36] History and Antiquities of N. England, N. York and N. Jersey, 1840, p. 11. Illus., no. 18b, p. 12. — Mention.

37 Barnum, L. H. [Discovery of America by the Northmen.] In Cornell Rev., 1874, i. 347, 349. — Value of Rock to Norse theory is problematic.

38–41 Bartlett, J. R. Member of Committee of R. I. Hist. Soc., 1834; artist of the Sketch, no. 17a, and of the Drawing, no. 18a. [39] Observations on the Progress of Geography and Ethnology. In Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc. for 1846 (1847), iv. 160. Separately printed, 1847. — No alphabetic characters on Rock. [40] Bibliography of R. I., 1864, p. 19. — Mention. [41] Letter describing making of the R. I. Hist. Soc. Drawings. In Proc. R. I. Hist. Soc., 1872–73, p. 73. — Indian; not a record of any kind; never believed it to be Norse.

42–44 Baxter, J. P. Reference to Rock. In N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, 1887, xli. 414. — Mention of unpublished Greenwood letter in British Museum. [43] Early Voyages to America. In Colls. Old Colony Hist. Soc., 1889, no. 4, pp. 4–49. Illus., after no. 29c, p. 15. — Norse. [44] Present status of pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen. In Ann. Rep. Amer. Hist. Association for 1893, pp. 101–110. — Indian; not Norse.

45 Baylies, Francis. Hist. Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, 1830, i. 31–33. For later ed., *see* S. G. Drake. — A monument of a people previous to the Indians; perhaps Phœnician.

46–47 Baylies, W. Collaborator with Smith, West, Gooding, in production of drawing of 1789. [47] Ms. letter dated Dighton 27 July, 1789, to James Winthrop, with a copy of the Dighton inscription. In ms. Papers, vol. i. 1780–90, of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences.

48 Baylies, Smith, West, Gooding, Baylies. Drawing, made about July 15, 1789.

49 Beamish, N. L. Discovery of America by the Northmen, 1841. Republished in Prince Society's Voyages of the Northmen to America, 1877; and in the Norraena Society's Norse Discovery of America, 1907. Ed. 1841, p. 117. Illus., Plate III, after no. 18b. Ed. 1907, pp. 239 f, 242. — Norse; "no reasonable doubt" of it; Rafn proves it "by unanswerable arguments." A careless, inaccurate account of the Rafn version.

50 Beazley, C. R. Dawn of Modern Geography, 1901, pt. ii. pp. 75 f. — Not Norse; generally supposed to be Indian.

51–54 Belknap, J. Corr. with E. Hazard. In Belknap Papers, 1877, [51] i. 353, June 6, 1784; [52] ii. 76, Nov. 16, 1788; [53] ii. 81, Dec. 13, 1788; [54] ii. 160, Aug. 20, 1789. — Doubtful.

55 Bentley, W. Diary, 1911, iii. 322 (Oct. 13, 1807). — Mention; references to Kendall, S. Harris, the two Baylies.

56 Berkeley, Geo. Visited Rock about 1730; made an uncompleted and unpreserved drawing.

57 Bicknell, T. W. History of Barrington, 1898, p. 22. — Strong circumstantial evidence for the Norse theory.

58 Bigelow, Jacob. Reference to Rock, Oct. 27, 1852. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. xvii. 458.

59 Blackwell, I. A. Colonization of Greenland, and discovery of the American Continent by the Scandinavians. Translated from the French of M. Mallet [1755], by Bishop Percy [1770]. New ed. by I. A. Blackwell, 1847, pp. 261 f. — Norse theory doubtful, to say the least; may probably be Indian.

60 Blake, G. S. Ms. letter of March 25, 1865, to Amer. Antiq. Soc., transmitting essay on Rock by C. R. Hale. — No opinion expressed.

61–62 BLAKE, L. I. Maker of plaster cast of the Rock, 1876. [62] Description of the circumstances in letter to E. B. Delabarre, Jan. 13, 1916.

BLISS, LEONARD, JR. *See* nos. 26–27.

63–64 BODFISH, J. P. Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century. In Proc. Second Public Meeting held by U. S. Catholic Hist. Soc., Oct. 29, 1885 (1886), pp. 38–40. — Norse; uncritical acceptance of Rafn's views. Several errors of statement. [64] Discovery of New England by the Northmen in the Tenth Century. Paper read before the Bostonian Soc., Feb. 8, 1887; reported in Boston papers of the following day. Probably identical with 63.

65 BOGGILD, F. Ante-Columbian discovery of the American Continent by the Northmen. In Hist. Mag., 1869, N. S., v. 170–179. A reprint from the New Orleans Sunday Times. — Uncertain as to Rock; accepts Tower and Skeleton as Norse.

66 BORDER CITY HERALD, June 19, 1876. — Mention.

67 BORRING, L. E. Notices on the Life and Writings of C. C. Rafn, 1864, p. 10. — Mention.

68 BOSTON TRANSCRIPT, Sept. 25, 1848, p. 2/2. Account of Elton's paper.

69 BOURINOT, Sir J. G. Voyages of the Northmen. In Proc. and Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada for 1891 (1892), vol. ix. sect. ii. pp. 291–295. — Rafn's theory of Rock, but not of Norse voyages, now discredited.

70 BOWEN, F. Schoolcraft on the Indian Tribes. In North Amer. Rev., 1853, lxxvii. 252–256. — Not Norse; a meaningless scrawl, probably Indian.

BOWER, S. J. *See* no. 156.

71 BRADFORD, A. W. American Antiquities, and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race, N. Y., 1841, pp. 184, 186. — No mention of Rock; but contributes to knowledge of Indian pictographs.

72–73 BRINE, L. Travels amongst American Indians, 1894, p. 33 n. — Indian; visited it in 1870.

74 BRINLEY, G. Cat. of the Amer. Library of, 1881, pt. iii. nos. 5378, 5405. — Mention.

75–76 BRINTON, D. G. Myths of the New World, 1868, p. 10. — Indian; rude and meaningless. [76] Prehistoric Archæology. In Iconographic Encyclopædia, 1886, ii. pp. 75 f. — Indian.

77–80 [BRISTOL COUNTY, Mass., Northern District, Land Records. [77] Book 253, p. 92, July 25, 1857. Deed of the Rock from Thomas F. Dean to Nils Arnzen. [78] Book 253, p. 93. Jan. 23, 1860. Deed of the Rock from Nils Arnzen to Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. [79] Book 259, p. 49. May 27, 1861. Acknowledgment of donation of Rock to Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, by King Frederick VII of Denmark, President of the Society. [80] Book 470, p. 211. Jan. 30, 1889. Deed of the Rock from Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to Old Colony Historical Society.

81 BRITTAIN, A. History of North America. (Ed. by G. C. Lee), 1903, i. 16, 37. Illus., after no. 18b, p. 37. — Not Norse; Indian theory generally accepted; Vinland was New England.

82 BROCKHAUS' KONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON, 14th ed., 1898, v. 304. — Indecipherable runes.

83 BROOKS, C. T., editor. Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill in Newport, R. I., 1851. *See* Antiquarian; Melville.

84 Brooks, R. General Gazetteer, 1876, p. 294. — Never satisfactorily explained.

85–86 Brown, C. W. Photograph of Dighton Rock and vicinity as seen from the shore, May 15, 1915. [86] Description of composition of Rock and its manner of weathering, 1916. Cited in this paper.

87 Brown, Sophia F. Ms. letter of Oct. 19, 1864, to E. E. Hale concerning the "Gooding drawing" of "1790." Owned by Amer. Antiq. Soc.

88 Bryant, W. C., and Gay, S. H. Popular History of the U. S., 1876, i. 60 f. Illus., after no. 24, p. 61. — Norse view questionable; Indian theory mentioned.

89 Burgess, G. C. With Augustine H. Folsom as photographer, produced the first photograph with Rock left unchalked, in July, 1868.

90–91 Bushnell, D. I. An Early Account of Dighton Rock. In Amer. Anthropologist, 1908, x. 251–254. — Transcript of letters by Greenwood in British Museum. Accompanied by first photographic reproduction of drawings no. 1c and 5b. [91] Letter of Oct. 21, 1915, to E. B. Delabarre. — Indian.

92 Cabot, J. E. Discovery of America by the Norsemen. In Mass. Quart. Rev., 1849, ii. 209. — No sufficient evidence for Norse theory; probably Indian.

93 Catlin, G. Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, 1841, ii. 246. — Indian; their picture-writings are "generally totems of Indians who have visited those places."

94–95 Chace, C. W. Issued a post-card, by an unknown photographer, about 1900. [95] Historic Rocks. In Taunton Gazette, May 3, 1905, p. 9/1–7. — Non-committal.

96 Chambers, W., and R. Chambers' Papers for the People, 1850, no. 42, vi. 28. — Indian view more reasonable.

97 Channing, E., and Hart, A. B. Guide to the Study of American History, 1897, pp. 231–234. — Related bibliographical material.

98 Chapin, A. B. Ante-Columbian History of America. In Amer. Biblical Repository, 2nd Series, 1839, ii. 191–197. — Not unlikely that the Norse engraved the letters and numerals, and the Indians the rest.

99 Checkley, Wm. First aroused Dr. Stiles's interest in Dighton Rock, 1766. Remark by Stiles on copy of Mather Broadside, Yale University Library.

100 Chingwauk. Indian interpreter of inscription, 1839. *See* no. 401.

101–102 Clarke, R. H. America discovered and Christianized in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In Amer. Catholic Quart. Rev., 1888, xiii. 228 f. — Norse theory plausible. [102] First Christian Northmen in America. In Amer. Catholic Quart. Rev., 1889, xiv. 608. — Believed to be Norse.

103 Colange, L. de. National Gazetteer, 1884, p. 119. — Mention.

104 Colburn's New Monthly Mag. and Humorist, 1850, xc. 128–132. American Antiquities. — No mention of Rock; but inscribed rocks are Indian.

105 Cook, J. America, Picturesque and Descriptive, 1900, iii. 121–123. — Probably Indian.

106 Cornhill Mag., 1872, xxvi. 457. Legends of Old America. — Mention.

107 Court de Gebelin. Monde Primitif, 1781, viii. 58 f, 561–568. Illus., no. 11c, Planche I. — Phœnician; a complete translation given.

108 Cronau, R. Amerika, 1892, i. 137. — Unquestionably Indian.

109 Dall, W. H. Pre-Historic America. By the Marquis de Nadaillac. Translated by N. D'Anvers. Ed. by W. H. Dall. 1884. Chap. x. Origin of

Man in America. (For this chapter the American editor is chiefly responsible.) — Omits a discussion of Rock, favorable to the Norse view, that appeared in the original; and says: "Theories ascribing the origin of the Americans to full-fledged races from elsewhere are enthusiastic rubbish" (p. 530).

Dammartin, Moreau de. *See* Moreau de Dammartin.

110 Danforth, John. Author of first known drawing of Rock, October, 1680; and probable author of the "Danforth slip" in Greenwood letter B.

111 Dansk Kunstblad, March 17, 1837. Illus., after 15c. — Characters have runic appearance, and are evidence of connection of America with the old world.

112 Davis, A. Lecture on the Antiquities of Central-America, and on the discovery of New England by the Northmen, five hundred years before Columbus, 1838. At least thirty editions, with slightly varying titles, up to 1854. — Norse. An illiterate, ill-balanced, uncritical compilation.

113–115 Davis, F. S. Author of three photographs: [113] Sept. 11, 1893; [114] Jan. 27, 1894; and [115] one undated, early in 1894.

116 Davis, John. Attempt to Explain the Inscription on the Dighton Rock. In Memoirs Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 197–205. — Indian representation of deer-traps and hunting scenes.

117 Davis, N. S. Collaborator in production of photograph, no. 28, 1873.

118 Dawson, S. E. North America, 1897, i. 108 f. — Mention.

119 Deane, C. Remarks on Rock. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1867, p. 7. — Mention.

Deane, W. E. C. *See* pp. 388, 390, above.

120–123 De Costa, B. F. Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, 1868. Later editions, 1890, 1901. 2nd ed., p. 65. — Central portion may be Norse; the rest may be Indian. [121] Northmen in America. Paper read Dec. 17, 1868. In Journal of the Amer. Geogr. and Statistical Soc., 1860–1870, ii. 51. — Hardly considered as a relic of the Northmen. [122] Note to no. 65, Hist. Mag., 1869, v. 178. — Cannot be relied on to prove anything. [123] Columbus and the Geographers of the North, 1872, pp. 14 f. — Not Norse.

124–127 Delabarre, E. B. Some new facts concerning Early Descriptions, Reproductions and Interpretations of Dighton Rock. Paper read before Old Colony Hist. Soc., Oct. 9, 1915. Abstract thereof in Taunton Herald News and in Taunton Gazette of same date. [125] Early Interest in Dighton Rock. In Publications Col. Soc. Mass., 1917, xviii. 235–299, 417. [126] Middle Period of Dighton Rock History, id. 1918, xix. 46–149. [127] Recent History of Dighton Rock, id. 1919, xx. 286–462.

128 De Roo, P. Hist. of America before Columbus according to documents and approved authors, 1900, i. 195, ii. 307–314. — Has served a dozen theories; may never prove any; "is and will remain forever a perplexing enigma."

129–130 Dexter, G. Remarks on the Norse discovery of America, April, 1880. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1881, xviii. 18 f. — Not Norse. [130] In Memorial Hist. of Boston, 1880, i. 26. — Not Norse.

131 Dighton Bi-Centennial Celebration, July 17, 1912, p. 85. Illustrations: Seal of Dighton, with cut of Rock after no. 40, on cover and title-page; no. 35, on p. 86. — Origin unsettled; possibly Norse.

132–134 Diman, J. L. Critical Notice of De Costa's Pre-Columbian Discovery. In North Amer. Rev., 1869, cix. 266 f. — Mention. [133] Settlement

of Mount Hope. Address . . . delivered Sept. 24, 1880. In Orations and Essays, 1882, pp. 145 f. — Northmen left no trace behind them. [134] Editorial notice of W. J. Miller's Notes concerning the Wampanoag Tribe of Indians. In Providence Daily Journal, Nov. 19, 1880, p. 2/3. — Mount Hope inscription more like Norse writing than that of Dighton Rock. Latter considered by the most competent judges to be Indian.

135 Domenech, E. Seven Years Residence in the great Deserts of North-America, 1860, i. 52, 61. — Norse; confirms Danish archæologists. At first confounded with Indian pictographs, "but on more serious examination the difference was perceived, and the archæologists acknowledged their mistake."

136 Douglass, W. Summary. Volume i first issued in numbers, beginning in 1747; as a complete volume, 1749. Later editions, 1755, 1760. Ed. of 1760, i. 170. — Natural honeycombing of the rock, not artificial characters.

137–138 Drake, F. S. Indian Tribes of the United States, 1884, i. 88 f. Illus., no. 24, opp. p. 88. — Condensed from Schoolcraft. [138] Indian History for Young Folks, 1885, pp. 27 f. Illus., after no. 29c, p. 28. — Indian.

139–140 Drake, S. A. Nooks and Corners of the N. Eng. Coast, 1875, pp. 416 f. Illus., after no. 16c, p. 416. — Generally admitted to be of Indian origin; but may be the work of white men, possibly of Verrazano's expedition. [140] Book of N. Eng. Legends and Folk Lore, 1884, pp. 395, 398. — Not Norse nor an intelligible record of any kind.

141 Drake, S. G., editor. Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth by F. Baylies. With some corrections, additions, and a copious index, by S. G. Drake. 1866, pt. v. p. 22 (by Drake). — Baylies' estimate of its character and antiquity is believed to be correct; previous to Indians, perhaps Phœnician.

142 Duane, Col. [Wm.?]. His "speculations on this subject," previous to 1824, referred to by Yates and Moulton, i. 82, have not been located.

143 Dublin Review, 1841, xi. 286. Successive Discoveries of America. Reprinted in Amer. Eclectic, 1842, iii. 242 ff. — Apparently Phœnician.

144 Du Bois, B. H. Did the Norse discover America? In Mag. of Amer. History, 1892, xxvii. 374. — Not Norse; archæologists now agree as to its Indian origin.

145 Dunkin, Christopher. Ms. letters to T. H. Webb, concerning copy of Sewall drawing, Sept. 24, Nov. 17, 1834. In ms. Corr. and Reports, R. I. Hist. Soc., ii. 27, 32; the copied drawing on p. 23.

146 Du Simitière, P. E. Inscription in Massachusetts. In ms. volume no. 1412 Quarto of Library Company of Phila. Written probably in 1781. — Mention of Berkeley's visit to Rock, Smibert's drawing, visit to Stiles.

147 Dwight, W. R. Paper read before Ethnographical Soc. of N. York. In Hist. Mag., 1859, iii. 362. — No opinion expressed; describes visit to Rock.

148 Eastman, S. Together with a "professed daguerreotypist of Taunton," made the first published photographic representation of the inscription, the daguerreotype of 1853. In Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, 1854, iv. 120, Plate 14.

149 Eddy, W. P. With F. N. Ganong as photographer, produced a photograph in August, 1908. Published in his Prospectus of the Eddy House, Dighton.

150 Ellesmere, Francis Egerton, Earl of, editor. Guide to Northern Archæology, 1848, pp. 114–119. — No direct mention of the Rock; but expounds favorably Rafn's views of the visits of the Northmen.

151 Elliott, C. W. New England History, 1857, i. 34 f. — "The rocks may

go for what they are worth. The strongest proof is in the Sagas," of the Norse visits to New England.

152 ELLIS, G. E. Remarks on Rock. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1867, p. 7 f. — Indian.

153 ELTON, ROMEO. On the Ante-Columbian Discovery of America. In Brit. Assn. Adv. of Science, Rep. of 18th Meeting, August, 1848, pt. ii. p. 94. — "The Norse discovery of America . . . is confirmed by the Dighton Rock, found there on the arrival of the first New England colonists." *See also* no. 68.

154 ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, 11th Edition, 1911, xxvi. 454. — Not Norse; "now known to be the work of Indians."

155 ENGLISH REVIEW, 1790, xv. 180–182. Review of papers by Lort and Vallancey. — Agrees with the view which it attributes to Berkeley, that the lines are not artificial, but the casual corrosion of the rock by the waves of the sea.

156 EVERETT, A. H. Discovery of America by the Northmen. In U. S. Mag. and Democratic Rev., 1838, ii. 156. A drawing and a painting made by S. J. Bower to illustrate this lecture, after nos. 17b and 18b, are owned by Amer. Antiq. Soc. — Norse origin of Rock is doubtful; but Norse settlement on Mount Hope Bay is "beyond controversy."

157–158 EVERETT, ED. Review of Gesenius' Versuch über die maltesische Sprache. In North Amer. Rev., 1820, x. 226 f. — Mention. [158] Discovery of America by the Northmen. In North Amer. Rev., 1838, xlvi. 188 f, 197. — "Wholly unconvinced" of Norse theory; may be due to Indians, even later than 1620, or to white men; cannot decide positively.

159 EVERETT, WM. Remarks on a proposed statue to Leif the Northman, May, 1880. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1881, xviii. 79 f. — Mention.

160 EWBANK, T. North American Rock-Writing. In Hist. Mag., 1866, x. 257, 272, 306; reprint, 1866. — No mention of Rock; implies that it is Indian.

161 FALL RIVER NEWS AND TAUNTON GAZETTE, with assistance of Alanson Borden. Our County and Its People: A Descriptive and Biographical Record of Bristol County, Mass., 1899, p. 197. — Mention of Dighton Rock newspaper.

162 FARNUM, A. Visits of the Northmen to Rhode Island. R. I. Hist. Soc. Tracts, no. 2, 1877, pp. 5, 39. — Not Norse.

163 FARQUHARSON, R. J. On the Inscribed Tablets, found . . . in a mound near Davenport, Iowa. In Proc. Davenport Acad. of Nat. Sciences, 1876–1878, ii. 105. Paper read March 9, 1877. — Norse; accepts Rafn's views.

164 FAY, J. S. Track of the Norsemen. In Mag. of Amer. Hist., 1882, viii. 431–434. Also issued as a monograph of 7 pages, Boston, 1873 and 1876. — Mention. It is believed that the Norsemen settled in Narragansett Bay.

165 FERNALD, C. A. Universal International Genealogy and of the Ancient Fernald Families, 1910. Illus., nos. 16c, and 36. Numerous references to the Rock, and translations of it. — Rock contains inscriptions by Marcus Agrippa (29 B.C.), by his son Graecianus, by Christ (15 A.D.), and by Fnr Chia and Fna Bahman (222 A.D.). A masterpiece of seriously intended absurdities.

166–167 FISCHER, J. Die Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika, 1902. Also translation by B. H. Soulsby, 1903, pp. v, vi, 42 f. — Not Norse; without doubt of Indian origin. [167] Pre-Columbian Discovery of America. In Catholic Encyclopedia, 1907, i. 418 f. — Not Norse; merely Indian picture-writing.

168 FISHER, R. S. New and Complete Statistical Gazetteer of the U. S., 1853, p. 181. — Mention.

169 Fiske, J. Discovery of America, 1892, i. 213–215. — Not Norse; refers to "Rafn's ridiculous interpretation of this Algonquin pictograph."

Folsom, A. H. *See* no. 89.

170 Folsom, C. Remarks on Rock. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1867, p. 7 f. — Indian.

171 Folsom, G. Discovery of America by the Northmen. In N. York Rev., 1838, pp. 361–363. — Norse, probably; "we shall not pretend to decide;" but "no reasonable doubt" of Rafn's location of Vinland.

172 Foreign Quarterly Review, 1838, xxi. 89 ff. Review of Antiquitates Americanæ. — Not Norse; "enough of these antiquarian absurdities."

173 Fossum, A. Norse Discovery of America, 1918, pp. 17 f. — Not Norse; Indian.

174–175 Foster, John Wells. On the Discovery of America. In Hesperian, 1838, i. 27. — Not Norse; "I know not why they may not have been made by the Indians." [175] Prehistoric Races of the United States, 1873, p. 400. A 6th ed., 1887. — Not Norse; "crude picture-writing of the savage."

176 Fowle, W. B., and Fitz, A. Elementary Geography for Massachusetts Children, 1845, p. 155. — Supposed to be earlier than Indians of colonial times.

177 Frederick VII, King of Denmark. Letter to N. Arnzen, May 7, 1861. Acknowledgment of donation of Rock to Roy. Soc. of Northern Antiquaries, May 27, 1861. *See* nos. 17, 18, 79.

178 Friedrichsthal, The Chevalier. Ms. letter to T. L. Winthrop, July 16, 1840; accompanied by drawing of Rock. Owned by Mass. Hist. Soc. — Not Norse.

179 Frothingham, N. L. Value of James Winthrop's reproduction of the inscription. In 4 Mass. Hist. Colls., 1854, ii. 142.

180 Fugl, N. Letter to Rafn, Jan. 20, 1840, on a comparison of the Sewall drawing with that of the R. I. Hist. Soc. In Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840–44, p. 8.

181 Funk and Wagnall's Standard Encyclopedia, 1912, ix. 64. — Indian.

182–183 Gaffarel, P. Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Colomb, 1869, p. 130. — An indecipherable enigma. [183] Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique depuis les origines jusqu'à la mort de Christophe Colomb, 1892, i. 80, 84 f, 88. Illus., after 18b, opp. p. 80. — An indecipherable enigma.

184 Gagnon, A. Les Scandinaves en Amérique. In Proc. and Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada for 1890, vol. viii. sect. i. pp. 43–50. — Norse, accepts Rafn's views.

Ganong, F. N. *See* no. 149.

185 Gardner, J. Author of lithograph of 1812.

186–187 Gardner, W. B. Photographer in the production of the Davis-Gardner version, 1873, and of the Harrison-Gardner version, 1875. Author of a descriptive paragraph printed on the mounts of these photographs, endorsing the theory and translation of Rafn.

188 Gazetteer of the World, London, 1886, i. 216, 630. — Mention; "supposed to be Norse."

Gebelin, Court de. *See* Court de Gebelin.

189 Gehlen, A. Latest Researches on the Discovery of America by the

Northmen. In Scientific American Supplement, 1903, lv. 22874 f. — Indian; not Runic, but Algonquin characters.

190 GELCICH, E. Zur Geschichte der Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Skandinavier. In Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1892, xxvii. 156. — Not Norse.

191 GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, 1787, lvii. 699. Review of papers by Lort and Vallancey. — Natural corrosions; not Phœnician.

192 GJERSET, K. History of the Norwegian People, 1915, i. 214. — Indian.

193 GOODING, J. Collaborator, drawing of 1789. *See* W. Baylies.

194 GOODRICH, A. History of the character and achievements of the so-called Christopher Columbus, 1874, pp. 69–87. — No direct mention of Rock; but accepts conclusions of Rafn.

195 GOODWIN, J. A. Pilgrim Republic, 1888, pp. 129, 140. — Not Norse; may be by some prehistoric tribe.

196 GOSLING, W. G. Labrador, [1916], p. 1. — An Indian picture-writing.

197–198 GRAVIER, G. Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au Xe Siècle, 1874, pp. 91–97. Illus. [198] Notice sur le roc de Dighton . . . In Congrès international des Américanistes. Compte-rendu de la 1e session, Nancy, 1875, pp. 166–192. Also separate reprint, Nancy, 1875. Illus., no. 18b. — Norse. Gives a translation slightly different from that of Rafn.

199–200 GREEN, S. A. Remarks concerning a recent visit to Rock. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1867, p. 7. [200] Remarks on sculptured rocks in Rhode Island lately visited. In ibid., Oct. 21, 1868. — Indian.

201–203 GREENWOOD, ISAAC. Letter to J. Eames, Dec. 8, 1730. Letter A, actually sent on that date. Contains copied drawings of Danforth and Greenwood. In British Museum, Add. MSS. 6402.47, 106, 107. [202] Letter to J. Eames, Dec. 8, 1730. Letter B, the original rough draught, not sent until April, 1732. Contains the probable originals of the Danforth and Greenwood drawings, and the "Danforth slip." In British Museum, Add. MSS. 4432.185–189. [203] Letter to J. Eames, April 28, 1732. Letter C. In British Museum, Add. MSS. 4432.190.

204 GRINNELL, C. Photograph, about 1907.

205 GUDMONDSSON, F. Opinion on Rock, cited by J. Fischer in Discoveries of the Northmen, 1903, p. 42. — Rafn's theory quite untenable.

206 GUILLOT, P. Histoire des peuples du Nord ou des Danois et des Normands. (Translation of Henry Wheaton's History of the Northmen, 1831). . . . Édition revue et augmentée par l'auteur . . . traduit de l'Anglais par Paul Guillot, 1844, pp. 43n, 491–499 (by translator). Illus., after no. 18b, opp. p. 491. — Norse; accepts Rafn's views.

207 H., H. W. (H. W. HAYNES?) Review of De Roo's History of America before Columbus. In Amer. Hist. Rev., 1901, vi. 801. — Mention. *See also* no. 232.

208 H., W. D. Answer to a query. In Notes and Queries, 2nd series, 1858, v. 387. — Not Norse; Indian.

209 HALE, C. R. Essay on the Dighton Rock, 1865. An illustrated ms., 104 pp., owned by Amer. Antiq. Soc. — Not Norse; Indian.

210–216 HALE, E. E. Ms. Diary, July 31, 1839. Description of a visit to Rock and of making a drawing. [211] Ms. letter to S. F. Haven, Oct. 18, 1864, accompanying a gift of the A. H. Everett drawings to Amer. Antiq. Soc. Owned

by Society. See also Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1864, p. 46n. [212] Report of Council. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 21, 1871, p. 23. — Mention. 213] History of the U. S., 1887, p. 17. — Cannot be used as evidence for the Norse theory. [214–215] A Harvard Undergraduate in the Thirties. In Harper's Mag., 1916, cxxxii. 696. — Mention of Rock, under dates of Nov. 20, 24, 1837. [216] Life and Letters. Ed. by E. E. Hale, Jr., 1917, i. 32f 45, 59–63, 199, 360.

217 HALE, HORATIO, or NATHAN. Copy of Sewall drawing, and transcript of writing on it, Nov. 17, 1834. In ms. Corr. and Reports, R. I. Hist. Soc., ii. 23.

218 HALL, J. W. D. Dighton Writing Rock. In Colls. Old Colony Hist. Soc., 1889, No. 4, p. 97. — History of ownership.

219 HAMLIN, A. C. Cited by Lodge in 1874, as having unsuccessfully attempted a cast of Rock, and being of opinion that it is an ordinary Indian pictograph with no runic characters on it. A resident of Dighton recalls an attempted cast, probably this one, made not later than 1870.

220 HARPER'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF UNITED STATES HISTORY, [1901], x, article Vineland. Illus., after no. 29c. — Not Norse.

221 HARRIS, S. Translation of Dighton Rock inscription, about 1807. Cited by Kendall [269], and E. Everett [158]. — A Hebrew inscription in ancient Phœnician characters.

222 HARRISON, A. M. Made a topographical survey of Taunton river in 1875; embodied particulars concerning Rock in a separate paper filed in the office of the Survey; signed some copies of the Harrison-Gardner photograph as having been present when taken. *See* Report of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year ending June, 1876; U. S. Document, 1688; Executive Document no. 37, 44th Congress, 2nd session, Senate, p. 18.

223 HASKEL, D., and SMITH, J. C. Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the U. S., 1850, p. 177. — Mention.

224 HATHAWAY, C. A., Jr. Photograph, with Rock unchalked, taken in 1907.

225–229 HAVEN, S. F. Archæology of the U. S. In Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1856, viii. 28–35, 106 f, 133. — Indian. [226] Report of Librarian. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., April 29, 1863, p. 31. [227] Report of Librarian. In ibid., Oct. 21, 1864, p. 41. [228] Report of Librarian. In ibid., Oct. 21, 1867, p. 7. [229] Report of Council. In ibid., April 26, 1871, p. 21. — Not Norse.

230 HAWTHORNE, H. Old Seaport Towns of New England, 1916, pp. 250 f. — Not Norse.

231 HAY, JOHN. Erato: Class-day poem, June 10, 1858.

232 HAYNES, H. W. Historical character of the Norse sagas. In 2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1890, v. 334 f. — Mention. *See also* no. 207.

233–235 HAYWARD, J. Gazetteer of N. England, 1839. [234] Gazetteer of Mass., 1846, pp. 33, 137. [235] Gazetteer of the U. S. 1853, p. 350. — Mention.

236–238 HAZARD, E. Corr. with J. Belknap. In Belknap Papers, 1877, [236] i. 343, May 17, 1784; [237] i. 361, June 21, 1784; [238] ii. 77, Nov. 22, 1788. — Undeciphered.

239 HAZARD, T. R. Miscellaneous Essays and Letters, 1883, p. 329. — Norse.

240 HEADLEY, P. C. Island of Fire, 1875, p. 65. — Mention.

241 HENRICI, E. Amerikafahrer von Leif bis auf Columbus. In Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung, 1892, no. 87, April 12, pp. 1–5. — Norse. "The Runic stone of Dighton causes the last doubt concerning the situation of Weinland to

disappear. The voyages of the northmen extended surely to Florida and with the highest probability even to Brazil. Everywhere are found traces of the ancient colonies."

242 HERBERMANN, C. G. Northmen in America. In Hist. Records and Studies, published by U. S. Catholic Hist. Soc., 1903, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 185–204. — "Instead of being runic, turns out to be Indian picture-writing."

243 HERMANNSSON, H. Northmen in America. In Islandica, 1909, ii. — No vestiges left by the Northmen have been found (Introduction). Mention of Rock in the bibliography.

244–245 HERMES, K. H. Entdeckung von Amerika durch die Isländer im zehnten und elften Jahrhunderte, 1844, Pref. and p. 123. Illus., after no. 18b. — Norse; a "most unambiguously testifying monument." [245] Discovery of America by the Icelanders. Translated by F. J. Grund. In Graham's Amer. Monthly Mag., 1853, xlii. 545–562. — An abstract of the German work.

246–247 HIGGINSON, T. W. Visit of the Vikings. In Harper's Mag., 1882, lxv. 515–527. Illus., after no. 29c, p. 515. — Not Norse; Indian. [247] History of the U. S., 1882, pp. 28–51. Illus., after no. 29c, p. 45. — Reproduces no. 246.

248 HIGGINSON, T. W., and MACDONALD, W. History of the U. S., 1905, pp. 40 ff. — Essentially the preceding account, with a few alterations.

249 HILL, I. Antiquities of America Explained, 1831, pp. 70–76. Illus., no. 16b. — Inscription due to Jewish and Tyrian sailors, in second month of tenth year of the reign of Solomon (about 1000 B. C.); full translation.

250 HITCHCOCK, E. Explanatory note in Catalog of New England Indian Relics in Gilbert Museum of Amherst College, 2nd ed., 1904. Illus., after no. 29c, Plate VI.

251 HOLLAND, W. J. Petroglyphs at Smith's Ferry, Pennsylvania. In International Congress of Americanists, 13th session held in New York in 1902, pp. 1–4. — Similar to Dighton Rock; due to Indians.

252 HOLMBERG, A. E. Skandinaviens Hällristningar, 1848, pp. 146–153. Illus., no. 18b, tab. 45, fig. 165. — Norse; the Rafn version.

253 HOLMES, A. Life of Ezra Stiles, 1798, p. 119. — Non-committal.

254 HOLMES, W. H. Dighton Rock. In Art and Archæology, 1916, iii. 53–55. Illus., no. 33. — No opinion expressed. Apparently a verbatim reprint from Thomas, with an addition concerning Lundy.

255 HORSFORD, E. N. Discovery of America by Northmen. Address at the unveiling of the statue of Leif Eriksen, Oct. 29, 1887 (1888), pp. 23 f., 65. Illus., after 17b, p. 24. — Not Norse; Indian.

256 HOSMER, HEZEKIAH L. Origin of Our Antiquities. In Overland Monthly, 1872, ix. 531 f. — Norse; if Icelandic manuscripts are genuine, "there is abundant reason to believe that all the antiquities of North America owe to the Northmen their origin."

257 HOVGAARD, W. Voyages of the Norsemen to America, 1914, pp. 115 ff. — Not Norse; Indian.

258 HOWARD, R. H., and CROCKER, H. E. Popular History of N. Eng., 1881, i. 122. — Mention.

259 HUMBOLDT, F. H. A. VON. Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, 1810, i. 180. Researches, concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants, of America, . . . Translated into English by H. M. Williams, 1814, i. 149–155. — Work of the natives.

260 Independent Chronicle, Boston, May 19, 1819, p. 1/5. American Antiquities. From Newburyport Herald of May 4. The "Writing Rock." — Mention.

261 Independent de Fall River, L', 14 Juillet, 1915, pp. 17, 23. Les Phéniciens ont-ils connu l'Amérique? L'inscription du Rocher de Dighton. Des Phéniciens auraient visité la Baie Mount Hope, dans l'antiquité. Illus., no. 11c, p. 17. — A reprint from Gebelin; editorial comment non-committal.

262 Irving, W. Review of Bancroft's History of the U. S., 1841. In Biographical and Critical Miscellanies, 1863, i. 330 f. — Indian.

263 Jameson, J. F., and Buel, J. W. Encyclopedic Dictionary of the United States, 1901, i. 219. — Rafn's view "has now been generally abandoned, though the central portion may be Norse."

264 Jomard, E. F. Seconde note sur une pierre gravée, trouvée dans un ancien tumulus américain, et . . . sur l'idiome libyen, [1845]. — Inscription is in Libyan characters. *See* no. 468.

265 Journal Politique ou Gazette des Gazettes, Bouillon, June, 1781, p. 65. — Gebelin's Carthaginian interpretation.

266 Kaiser, W. Entdeckungen der Normannen im Grönland und in Amerika, 1882, p. 17. — Norse; "for unbiassed observers no doubt can remain that it is an inscription by Thorfinn."

267–269 Kendall, E. A. Painting in oil, 1807. Now in Peabody Museum. [268] Account of the Writing-Rock in Taunton River. In Memoirs Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 164–191. A letter to J. Davis, dated Oct. 29, 1807. Illus., no. 15b. — Origin undetermined. [269] Travels, 1809, ii. 219–232; iii. 205–222. — Unquestionably Indian; an unreadable record of some unknown transaction.

270 Kinnicutt, L. N. Indian Names in Plymouth County, 1909, p. 42. — Indian.

271 Kittredge, F. E. Letter to Edwin M. Stone. In Proc. R. I. Hist. Soc., 1872–73; Report by the Librarian, Jan. 21, 1873, p. 72. — No opinion expressed.

272 Kittredge, G. L. Cotton Mather's Scientific Communications to the Royal Society. In Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., April, 1916, xxvi. 18–67.

273 Kneeland, S. An American in Iceland, 1876, p. 224. — Norse.

274 Kunstmann, F. Entdeckung Amerikas, 1858, p. 29. — Norse; accepts Rafn's views.

275 Lagrèze, G. B. de. Les Normands dans les deux mondes, 1890, p. 352. — "In several parts of America have been found stones with runic inscriptions."

276 Laing, S. The Heimskringla, 1844, i. 174–183; 2nd ed., 1889, pp. 218 ff. Illus., after no. 17b, p. 175; nos. 14e and 18b, p. 176. — Not Norse; might belong to any people or period one may please to fancy.

277 Lanier, S. Psalm of the West. In Lippincott's Mag., June 1876; and in Poems, 1909, pp. 114–138.

278 Lathrop, John. Letter to J. Davis, Aug. 10, 1809, describing Washington's visit to the Harvard Museum. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1869, x. 114. — Washington believed it to be Indian.

279 Lelewel, J. Géographie du Moyen Age, 1852, iii-iv (in one volume). p. 82. Illus., after no. 17b, Plate I. — Norse; accepts Rafn's views.

280 Libri-Carrucci dalla Sammaia, G. B. I. Timoleone, Conte. Introduction, dated March 7, 1861, to Cat. of the Mathematical, Historical, Biblio-

graphical and Miscellaneous portion of the Celebrated Library of M. Guglielmo Libri, pt. i. p. vi. — Inscriptions left by the Norsemen on rocks are the best proof of their visits to America.

281 LIPPINCOTT'S GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD, 1906, p. 203. — Mention.

282 LODGE, H. C. Critical Notice of Gravier's Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands. In North Amer. Rev., 1874, cxix. 173–175. — All the best American authorities agree that it is wholly of Indian workmanship.

283 LÖFFLER, E. Vineland Excursions of the ancient Scandinavians. In Congrès international des Américanistes. Compte-rendu de la 5e session, Copenhague, 1883, pp. 64–73. Illus., after no. 29b, p. 70. — Indian.

284–285 LORT, M. Account of an antient Inscription in North America. Read Nov. 23, 1786. In Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 290–301. Illus., nos. 1d, 2a, 5c, 11b, in Plates XVIII, XIX. — First historical survey. At first thought the inscription was Indian; non-committal as to present opinion. [285] Letter to Bishop Percy, April 16, 1790. In J. B. Nichols's Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, 1848, vii. 504–506. — Much disposed now to believe it due to natural corrosion of the rock.

286–287 LOSSING, B. J. Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution. First issued in numbers, 1850–52; frequently reprinted; i. 633–635. Illus., no. 16c. — Record of a battle with Indians, made by Scandinavians acquainted with the Phœnician alphabet. [287] Centennial Edition History of the United States, 1876, p. 35. — Norsemen left no traces except the tower at Newport.

288–289 LOWELL, J. R. Biglow Papers (1890). [288] 1st Series, 1848, no. vii, p. 115; [289] 2nd Series, 1862, no. iii, p. 278; iv, p. 297; v, pp. 311–318. — A parody of the Norse theory.

290 LUBBOCK, Sir J. Pre-historic Times, 1865. 3rd ed. 1872, p. 278. — Non-committal.

291 LUNDY, J. P. Communications on Mongolian symbolism and on Dighton Rock. In Proc. Numismatic and Antiq. Soc. of Philadelphia for 1883, pp. 7–8. Meetings of March 1, April 5. — Chinese; full translation given.

292 M'CULLOCH, J. R. Gazetteer, 1843. — Never satisfactorily explained.

293–294 McLEAN, J. P. Study of American Archæology. In Universalist Quart. and Gen. Rev., 1881, xxxviii. (N. S. xviii.) 285. — Indian; contains numerous errors. [294] Critical examination of the evidences adduced to establish the theory of the Norse discovery of America. In American Antiquarian, 1892, xiv. 33–40, 87–94, 139–154, 189–196, 271–276. Separate reprint, Chicago, 1892. Illus., after no. 24, opp. p. 192. — Not Norse.

295 MADDEN, Sir F. Index to the Additional Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, 1849. — Reference, under Greenwood.

296 MAGNUSEN, F. Translation of the inscription as a Norse record. In Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, pp. 378–382.

297–298 MALLERY, G. Pictographs of the North American Indians. In Fourth An. Rep. Bureau Amer. Ethnology for 1882–83 (1886 [1887]), pp. 20, 250. — An Indian pictograph. [298] Picture-writing of the American Indians. In Tenth An. Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology for 1888–89 (1893 [1894]), pp. 35, 86, 762. Illus., no. 24, p. 86, fig. 49; nos. 1d, 2a, 5c, 11b, 12b, 14e, 15c, 16c, 18b, on Plate LIV, p. 762. — An Indian pictograph.

299 MARSH, G. P. Man and Nature, 1864, p. 60n. — Not Norse; but accepts Rafn's localities.

300–302. Mass. Hist. Society. Proceedings, ii. 309, March, 1845; viii. 96, Jan. 1865; x. 470, Feb. 1869. Other references to publications of the society under names of persons. — Mention.

303–308 Mather, Cotton. Dedicatory Epistle to Sir H. Ashurst, in Wonderful Works of God Commemorated, 1690. Illus., no. 1b. — First printed account and illustration of the inscription. [304] 2nd ed., 1703. [305] Letter to R. Waller, Nov. 28, 1712. Ms. in Letter-Book of Royal Soc., M 2.21.32. [306] Extract of several Letters from C. Mather, to J. Woodward, and R. Waller. In Phil. Trans., no. 339, April–June, 1714, xxix. 70, 71. Illus., no. 2a, in Plate, Fig. 8. [307] Republication of letter on Rock. In Phil. Trans., abridged by H. Jones, 1721, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 165. Illus., no. 2a, Plate VIII, Fig. 72, p. 190. [308] Broadside, with description of Rock and drawing of the inscription. Date of issue unknown, probably about 1714.

309 Mathieu, C. L. Le Printemps, Nancy, [1816?]. Contains an account of Rock, reprinted in American Monthly Mag. and Critical Rev., 1817, i. 257–262. — A record made by In, son of Indios, King of Atlantis, in Anno Mundi 1902.

310 Melville, D. Letter concerning Rock, the Stone Tower in Newport, and the Antiquarian hoax, March 23, 1848. In Brooks's Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill, 1851, pp. 51–54. — Indian.

311 Meyer's Konversations-Lexikon. 6th ed., 1904, v. 3. — Not Norse.

312 Miller, W. J. Notes concerning the Wampanoag Tribe of Indians, 1880, p. 119. 2nd ed., under title King Philip and the Wampanoags of R. I., 1885. — No direct mention of Rock; but the one on Mount Hope Bay is Norse.

313 Mitchill, S. L. Discourse delivered Nov. 7, 1816. In Archæologia Americana, 1820, i. 340. — Disputes Mathieu's theory. *See also* no. 7.

314 Mogk, E. Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Nordgermanen. In Mittheilungen des Vereins für Volkskunde zu Leipzig, 1892, pp. 57–89. Separate reprint, 1893. — Not Norse; Indian.

315 Mohawk Indians, cited by Kendall in 1807, in Memoirs Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 182. — Interpretation of the inscription as an Indian record.

316 Monthly Review, 1788, lxxix. 424. Review of Archaeologia, 1787, viii. — Mention.

317 Moosmüller, P. O. Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, 1879, pp. 130, 138–143. English translation, 1911. — Norse; follows Rafn's account.

318 Moreau de Dammartin. La Pierre de Taunston. In Journal de l'Institut Historique, 1838, ix. 145–154. Published also as an autotype lithograph under the title: Explication de la Pierre de Taunston, Paris, n.d., 28 pp. Illus., no. 11d; a second plate analyzing and explaining the same. — An Egyptian representation of the celestial sphere.

319 Morgan, T. Old found lands in North America. In Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 1874, N. S., iii. 75–97. — Does not seem to be Scandinavian.

320 Morse, J., and R. C. New Universal Gazetteer, 3rd ed., 1821, p. 221. — "No satisfactory account has been given."

321 Moulton, J. W. History of the State of New York. By J. V. N. Yates and J. W. Moulton, 1824, vol. i. pt. i. pp. 84–86, 313. "Mr. Moulton is in fact the sole author of this scarce book" (Sabin, xii. 440). — Inclined to believe it of Phœnician origin.

322 MULHALL, M. McM. Explorers in the New World before and after Columbus and Story of Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, 1909, p. 4n. — Mention.

323 NADAILLAC, J. F. A. DU POUGET, Marquis de. L'Amérique préhistorique, 1883, pp. 556 f. (For American edition of 1884, *see* Dall). — Certainly not Indian; Norse theory the most plausible explanation.

324 NASON, E. Gazetteer of Mass., 1874; enlarged ed., 1890. 1st ed., pp. 78 f, 181; 2nd ed., pp. 142 f, 274. Illus., after no. 20. — Probably Indian.

325 NATION, THE, N. Y., 1882, xxxv. 178. Comment on Higginson's paper in Harper's Mag. — Mention.

326–327 NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, Washington, Sept. 28, 1848, p. 3/2; Oct. 4, 1848, p. 3/1. — Mention.

328–329 NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, 1873, xxviii. 96. Discovery of America by the Northmen. — Norse reading has been questioned. [329] 1876, xxxiii. 20. Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America. — Doubtful.

330 NEAL, D. History of N. Eng., 1720, ii. 593. 2nd ed., 1747. — Quotation from Cotton Mather.

331 NELSON'S LOOSE-LEAF ENCYCLOPÆDIA, 1907. Dighton Rock. — Indian.

332 NEUKOMM, E. Les Dompteurs de la Mer, 1895. Two translations: Rulers of the Sea, Boston, 1896; and Tamers of the Sea, N. Y., 1897. 1896 ed., pp. 99–101. Illus., after no. 18b, p. 101. — Norse; follows Rafn's account.

333 NEW BEDFORD MERCURY, May, 1819. Notice on Rock, quoted in Independent Chronicle, May 19, 1819. — Mention.

334 NEWBURYPORT HERALD, May 4, 1819. Quoted in Independent Chronicle, May 19, 1819. — Mention.

335 NEW INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA. 1st ed. 1902; 2nd ed. 1915. — Indian.

336 NEW YORK HIST. SOCIETY, Proceedings, Nov. 3, 1846: appointment of a committee consisting of H. R. Schoolcraft, M. S. Bidwell, and J. R. Bartlett, "to investigate the character and purport of the ancient pictorial inscription or symbolic figures of the (so-called) Dighton Rock." There is no record of a report by this committee: but see nos. 39, 400, 401.

337 NEW YORK TIMES, 1890. *See* no. 6.

338 NICHOLS, W. D. Berkley. In Hurd's History of Bristol County, Mass., 1883, p. 181. — Mention.

NORRÆNA SOCIETY. *See* nos. 11, 49.

339 NORSEMEN MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, Boston, Jan. 12, 1877. Leaflet issued by the committee announcing its election Dec. 8, 1876, to take measures to erect a monument in honor of the Norsemen and for the protection of Dighton Rock, "a valuable historic relic of American Antiquity."

340–341 OLD COLONY HIST. SOCIETY. Broadside on Dighton Rock, issued about 1882. — Illus., after No. 29c. [341] Photograph, 1902, taken by A. L. Ward under direction of J. E. Seaver, sec. of the society.

342 ONFFROY DE THORON, DON ENRIQUE, Vicomte. Les Phéniciens à l'Ile d'Haiti et sur le Continent Américain, 1889, pp. 37–48. Illus., after no. 18b, p. 40. — Sepulchral monument of a Phœnician adventurer, about 330 B. C.; translation given.

343–344 PADDACK, E. Ink-impression of part of the inscription, taken August, 1767, now in Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences. Also ms. letters describing the same, Aug. 15, 1767, Jan. 7, 1768, in Stiles Collection, Yale University Library.

345 Palfrey, J. G. History of N. Eng., 1858, i. 56n. — Probably Indian.

346 Payne, E. J. History of the New World called America, 1892, i. 85. — Not Norse; quite certain that it is Indian.

347–349 Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Annual Reports: [347] i. 22, 6th, 1873; [348] ii. 13, 13th, 1876; [349] iii. 15, 14th, 1880. — Mention.

350 Peck, J. T. History of the Great Republic considered from a Christian Stand-Point, 1868, p. 20. — Norse; Rafn's localities accepted.

351–353 Peschel, O. Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen, 1858. 2te Auflage, 1877, p. 82. — Norse; follows Rafn. [352] Geschichte der Erdkunde, 1865, p. 78. — Bancroft's opinion. [353] Review of Gravier's Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands. In Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1874, no. 17, April 25. — Norse; follows Rafn; but mentions dissenting opinions without comment.

354 Peters, A. Ed. note to Schoolcraft's Ante-Columbian Hist. of America. In American Biblical Repository, 1839, 2nd series, i. 441. — Not Norse; Indian.

355 Petersen, E. History of Rhode Island, 1853, pp. 174–178. — Mention.

356 Pidgeon, W. Traditions of De-Coo-Dah and Antiquarian Researches, 1853, p. 20. — Phœnician.

357 Pintard, J. Letter to J. Belknap, Aug. 26, 1789. In Belknap Papers 1891, iii. 447. — Mention.

358 Pool, G. L. An Antiquity Discovered in the Valley of the Merrimack. In N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, 1854, viii. 185. — Thinks it similar to Rock.

359–360 Power, L. G. Vinland. In Colls. Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., 1891, vii. 18. — Not Norse. [360] The Whereabouts of Vinland. In N. Eng. Mag., 1892, N. S., vii. 174. — Mention.

361–362 Providence Daily Journal, Dec. 2, 1869. Editorial comment of Farnum's paper on visits of Northmen to R. I. — Not Norse; mentions "the merited ridicule heaped on Dighton Rock and the Old Stone Mill." [362] July 15, 1912. Account of the Dighton Bi-Centennial. Illus., after no. 35.

363 Putnam's Monthly Magazine, 1854, iv. 467. First Discoverers of America. — Norse. The Rock and the Newport Mill "are slowly and surely moulding public opinion to a favorable reception" of the Norse claims.

364–369 Rafn, C. C. Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, pp. xxix–xl, historical Introduction; 355–396, Dighton Rock; 396–405, inscribed rocks in Rhode Island. Illus., no. 17b, Tab. X; nos. 1d, 2a, 5c, 11b, 12b, 15c, 16c, Tab. XI; nos. 14e, 18b, Tab. XII. — A record made in 1008 by Thorfinn and his 151 companions, original source of the Norse theory. [365] America discovered in the tenth Century, 1838. — Mention. [366] Letter to D. Melville, Jan. 4, 1848. In Brooks's Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill, 1851, pp. 80 f; and in Petersen's Hist. of R. I., 1853, p. 174. — "We must be cautious in regard to the inferences to be drawn from . . . the early monuments." [367–369] Letters to N. Arnzen concerning removal of Rock to Denmark, dated Aug. 16, 1859; Aug. 30, Oct. 10, 1860; Sept. 3, 1861. In Arnzen's Report, Colls. Old Colony Hist. Soc., 1895, no. 5, p. 95. — The Rock is "of high and pressing importance."

370–371 Rau, C. Observations on the Dighton Rock inscription. In Mag. of Amer. Hist., 1878, ii. 82–85. Reprinted in Amer. Antiquarian, 1878, i. 38, and in Kansas Review, ii. 168. — Advises caution in accepting the Norse theory. [371] Dighton Rock inscription, an opinion of a Danish archæologist. In Mag. of Amer. Hist., 1879, iii. 236–238. — Worsaae's opinion: Indian, not Norse.

372 RECLUS, É. Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, 1890, xv. 12. — Not Norse.

373 REEVES, A. M. Finding of Wineland the Good, 1890, p. 97. — Rafn's theories have fallen into disfavor.

374 RÉMUSAT, J. P. A. Letter to Dr. Benj. B. Carter of New York, Feb. 4, 1823. Ms., owned by Amer. Antiq. Soc. — Indecipherable; doubtful if it has any letters or symbolic characters.

375 RHODE ISLAND HIST. SOCIETY. Drawing by a committee of the Society, about Sept. 4, perfected Dec. 11, 1834. Published, with conjectural additions by Rafn, in Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837.

376–386 RHODE ISLAND HIST. SOCIETY. Ms. volumes entitled: Correspondence and Reports, vols. i and ii; Records, vol. i; Trustees' Records, vol. i. [376] In 1829, appointment of committee consisting of Richmond and Staples to answer letter from Rafn. [377] 1830, addition of Webb to committee; replies sent to Rafn. [378] 1831, Annual Report. [379] 1833, appointment of committee on the antiquities and aboriginal history of America, consisting of Webb, Bartlett, and Greene. [380] This committee in 1834 made new drawings of Rock and sent further communications to Rafn. [381] In 1835, further reports of committee, visits to other inscribed rocks, and letters to Rafn. [382–386] 1836–1841, Annual Reports mention Rock, measures for its preservation, importance of inscription rocks, and further correspondence with Denmark.

387 RIDER, S. S. In Book Notes, 1892, ix. 254 f. — Mention.

388 RIVERO, M. E., and TSCHUDI, J. J. von. Peruvian Antiquities. Translated by F. L. Hawkes, 1853, pp. 5, 21. — Supposed to give confirmatory evidence of the visits of the Scandinavians.

389 RÖTTINGER, H. Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Normannen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert, 1912, p. 18. — "An indisputable proof of the presence of the Northmen in America."

390 ROUX DE ROCHELLE, J. B. G. États-Unis d'Amérique, 1853, pp. 161 f. Illus., no. 12b. — Engraved by ancient American people, predecessors of Indians.

391–392 ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. Ms. Register-Book, June 15, 1732: Copy of Greenwood's letter to Eames. [392] Minutes, 1775. Abstract of John Winthrop's letter.

393–394 ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, Copenhagen. General Anniversary Meeting, 15th February, 1851. — Mention. [394] Letter from J. J. A. Worsaae and three other officials to N. Arnzen, Feb. 22, 1877, expressing opinion of society that figures on Rock are not Norse, but Indian. Owned by Old Col. Hist. Soc.

395 RUGE, S. Entdeckungs-Geschichte der neuen Welt. In Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerikas, 1892, i. 8 f. — Not Norse; "mere Indian picture-scratchings."

396 SANFORD, E. History of Berkley, Mass., 1872, pp. 59 f. — Mention.

397 SARGENT, P. E. Handbook of New England, 1916, p. 578. — Indian.

398–403 SCHOOLCRAFT, H. R. Ante-Columbian history of America. In Amer. Biblical Repository, 1839, i. 441 ff. Illus., after no. 17b, p. 440. — Not Runic. Records an event manifestly of importance in Indian history. [399] Incentives to the study of the Ancient Period of American History. Address delivered before the N. York Hist. Soc., 17th Nov. 1846 (1847), p. 10. — "We are by no means sure" that the localities and monuments mentioned by Rafn ever had any connection with the Scandinavians. [400] Original drawing of the

alleged Roman letters in the central part of the inscription, made in August, 1847; published in no. 401. [401] History of the Indian Tribes, 1851, i. 106–120, 125. Illus., no. 23 together with combination of 14e and 18b, Plate 36, p. 114; and an analytical Synopsis of the inscription, Plate 37, p. 119. — Central characters are Scandinavian. All the rest is Indian; Chingwauk's interpretation of it is given. [402] History of the Indian Tribes, 1854, iv. 119 f. Illus., no. 24, Plate 14, p. 120. — "It is entirely Indian." [403] History of the Indian Tribes 1860, vi. 113 f, 605, 609. — An Indian record of battle between two tribes.

404 SEAGER, E. Two india-ink drawings, made with assistance of C. R. Hale in 1864. Owned by Amer. Antiq. Soc.

SEAVER, J. E. *See* no. 341.

405 SEWALL, R. K. Ancient Voyages to the Western Continent, 1895, pp. 12, 23. — "Deighton Rock and Monhegan . . . are possible footprints not of Northman visits alone but of Phœnician adventure here."

406 SEWALL, SAMUEL. Letter-Book (1886), i. 116. Memorandum of Febr. 24, 1691. — Mention.

407–409 SEWALL, STEPHEN. Author of drawing of Sept. 13, 1768. Owned by Peabody Museum. [408] Ms. letter to E. Stiles, Jan. 13, 1769. In Stiles Collection, Yale University Library. — Indian; without significance. [409] Letter to Court de Gebelin, 1781, accompanying copy of his drawing. In Gebelin's Monde Primitif, 1781, viii. 58 f.

410 SHAFFNER, T. P. History of the U. S., n. d. [about 1862]. — Norse.

411 SHIPLEY, J. B., and M. A. English Rediscovery and Colonization of America, 1891, p. 7. — No direct mention; but Vinland was Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and "traces of their long-continued presence have been found . . . in various parts of New England."

412 SHORT, J. T. Claims to the discovery of America. In Galaxy, 1875, xx. 517. — Not Norse; Indian.

413–415 SHOVE, G. A. Lithograph of Rock, 1864. Made also many other drawings and paintings of Rock, much resembling the lithograph. [414] Dighton. Chapter xix in Hurd's History of Bristol County, Mass., 1883, pp. 250 f. Illus., after no. 29c. — Probably not Norse; little opposition to the Indian view. [415] Toast to "The South Purchase." In Quarter Millennial Celebration of Taunton, Mass., June 4 and 5, 1889. — Mention.

416 SIBLEY, J. L. Description of the restoration of the Sewall drawing in 1860. Ms., attached to the original drawing, in the Peabody Museum.

417–418 SINDING, P. C. History of Scandinavia, 1858. [418] Scandinavian Races, 1876, p. 84. — Norse; accepts Rafn's opinions.

419–420 SLADE, E. Letters describing Rock, Dec. 17, 1875, March 13, 1876. In R. B. Anderson's America not discovered by Columbus, 2nd ed. 1877, p. 21, 33. — Not Indian.

421 SLADE, W. A. King Philip Country. In N. Eng. Mag., 1898, xxiv. 609. Illus., after no. 29c, p. 606. — Has some value as evidence for Norse visits.

422–423 SLAFTER, E. F. Voyages of the Northmen to America (Prince Society), 1877, pp. 11, 132–134, 137, 140. — There is left no trace of belief in Norse origin of Rock and Newport mill "in the minds of distinguished antiquaries and historians." [423] Discovery of America by the Northmen, 985–1015. Discourse delivered before N. Hamp. Hist. Soc., April 24, 1888. Also read before Bostonian Society, Dec. 10, 1889. In Proc. N. Hamp. Hist. Soc., ii; and in Granite Monthly, 1890, xiii. 201 f. Separate reprint, 1891. — Indian.

424 Smibert, J. Drawing of Rock, about 1729, not now discoverable.

425–426 Smith, B. Paper on Rock. Abstract in Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc., April 29, 1863, p. 31. — Inscription by a Roman Catholic missionary, about 1520. [426] Ms. letter to J. R. Bartlett, July 14, 1864. In Letter-Book of J. R. Bartlett, in John Carter Brown Library.

427 Smith, J. V. C. Letter on Rock and Fall River skeleton, June 15, 1842. In Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840–1844, p. 116.

428 Smith, John. Ms. letter to E. Stiles, July 25, 1789, describing the making of the drawing by himself, Dr. Baylies and others. In Stiles Collection, Yale University Library. — Queries if it may not be Asiatic.

429 Smith, Joshua T. Northmen in New England or America in the Tenth Century, Boston, 1839, pp. 310–328. London editions of 1839 and 1842 bear title: Discovery of America by the Northmen in the tenth century. — An exposition and defence in dialogue form of Rafn's opinions.

430 Society of Antiquaries of London. Ms. Minutes, ii. 2; Nov. 9, 1732. — Copy of Greenwood's letter to Eames.

431 Spence, L. Myths of N. American Indians, 1914, p. 16. — Not Norse; Indian.

432 Spofford, A. R. Library of Historic Characters and Famous Events. Edited by A. R. Spofford and Others, 1895, i. 108. — Not Norse.

433–434 Squier, E. G. Ms. letters to J. R. Bartlett, Nov. 7, 1846, Jan. 24, 1847. In Letter-Book of J. R. Bartlett, in John Carter Brown Library. — Indian inscriptions resembling that of Dighton Rock.

435 Squier, E. G., and Davis, E. H. Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1847, i. 298, 300. — Indian.

436–437 Squier, E. G. Alleged Monumental Evidence of the Discovery of America by the Northmen, Critically Examined. In Brit. Ethnol. Journal, December, 1848. Reprinted in the National Intelligencer, March 27, 1849, p. 2/1–3. — Not Norse. The conclusion is irresistible that this rock is a true Indian monument and has no extraordinary significance. [437] Ancient Monuments of the U. S. In Harper's Mag., 1860, xx. 738. — Indian.

438 Standard Dictionary. Ed. 1903, p. 2242, mention; ed. 1913, no mention.

439 Stark, J. Antiquities of North America. In Amer. Monthly Mag., 1836, N. S., i. 71; and in Amer. Mag. of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, 1837, iii. 433. — No sufficient explanation yet given; believes it Phœnician.

440–443 Stiles, E. Drawings of Rock: June 6, July 15, 1767, in his Ms. Itinerary, ii. 273–283, in Yale University Library; [442] July 16, 1767, owned by Mass. Hist. Soc.; [443] Oct. 3, 1788, not preserved.

444 Stiles, E. Ms. letter to John Winthrop, June 15, 1767. In Stiles Collection, Yale University Library. — Mention.

445–448 Stiles, E. Descriptions and drawings of Rock and other inscribed rocks, 1767, 1768, 1783, 1788, in his ms. Itineraries, in Stiles Collection, Yale University Library, ii. 245, 265 f, 272–315, 333, 345, 347, 351 f; iii. 600; iv. 251, 254 f.

449 Stiles, E. Itineraries and Correspondence, 1916, p. 234. — Visit to the Rock of June 5 and 6, 1767.

450 Stiles, E. The United States elevated to Glory and Honor. A Sermon, Preached May 8th, 1783, pp. 11 ff. — Phœnician.

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452–455 Stiles, E. Literary Diary, 1901, [452] i. 20, 1782; [453] i. 72, 1783; [454] i. 330, 1788; [455] i. 402, 1790. — Mention.

456 Stone, E. M. Report of the Northern Department, Jan. 21, 1873. In Proc. R. I. Hist. Soc., 1872–3. — Mention.

457 Sveinson, Dr. Cited by Fischer, in his Discoveries of the Norsemen in America, 1903, p. 43. — Not Norse.

458 Sweetser, M. F. New England, 1873, p. 39. — Mention.

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460 Taunton, Mass. Quarter Millennial Celebration of, June 4 and 5, 1889, pp. 141, opp. 179.

461 Taunton Daily Gazette, Jan. 11, 1902, p. 6/4. Sketches of Taunton History, second paper. — Norse theory possible, but not proved.

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464–465 Thomas, C. Catalogue of Prehistoric Works East of the Rocky Mountains. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, Bulletin 12, 1891. — Does not include Dighton Rock. [465] Dighton Rock. In Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 1907, i. 390 f. Illus., after no. 33. — Indian.

466 Tucker, C. R. Photograph, 1903.

467 Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas, 1901. — Indian.

468 Vail, E. A. Notice sur les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord, 1840, pp. 36 f. — Mention; quotes Jomard's opinion.

469 Vallancey, C. Observations on the American Inscripton. Read Feb. 9, 1786. In Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 302–3. — Made by Tartars of Siberia.

470 Vetromile, E. Abnaki Indians. In Colls. Maine Hist. Soc., 1859, vi. 223. — Indian.

471 Vignaud, H. Expéditions des Scandinaves en Amérique devant la critique. Un nouveau faux document. Extrait du Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, 1910, vii. 21–24. — Not Norse; Indian.

Ward, A. L. *See* no. 341.

472 Warden, D. B. Recherches sur les Antiquités des États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale. In Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie, 1825, ii. 375, 438 f, 505. Illus., no. 12b. — Non-committal.

473 Washington, G. Remarks on seeing drawing by James Winthrop in Museum of Harvard College in Oct., 1789. Cited by J. Lathrop in letter to J. Davis, Aug. 10, 1809. In Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1869, x. 114. — Indian.

474 Watson, P. B. Bibliography of the pre-Columbian discoveries of America. In Library Journal, 1881, vi. 227–244. Reprinted in R. B. Anderson's America not discovered by Columbus, 3rd ed., 1883. — Mention.

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476–479 WEBB, T. H. Letters to Rafn. In Antiquitates Americanæ. [476] Sept. 22, 1830, pp. 356–361; [477] Nov. 30, 1834, pp. 361–371; [478] Sept. 14, 1835; pp. 397–399; [479] Oct. 31, 1835, pp. 400–404.

480 WEBB, T. H. Letters to Christopher Dunkin, 1834, requesting copy of Sewall drawing. In ms. Correspondence and Reports, R. I. Hist. Soc., ii. 22, 25.

481 WEBB, T. H. Ms. letter to J. R. Bartlett, Feb. 4, 1838. In Letter-Book of J. R. Bartlett, in John Carter Brown Library.

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484 WEISE, A. J. Discoveries of America to the year 1525, 1884, p. 42. — Not Norse.

485 WESLAUFF, E. W., President R. S. N. A. Letter to R. I. Hist. Soc., May 30, 1838. In ms. Records, Annual Report, July 19, 1838; and in ms. Correspondence and Reports, iii. 23.

486 WEST, S. Collaborator in production of drawing of 1789.

487 WHIPPLE, J. Cited by T. H. Webb, in letter to J. R. Bartlett, Feb. 4, 1838. — No inscription; marks due to natural processes only.

488 WHITTLESEY, C. Rock Inscriptions in the United States. In Western Reserve Hist. Soc. Tracts, no. 42, March, 1878, p. 41. — Indian.

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491 WILHELMI, K. Island, Hvitramannaland, Grönland und Vinland oder der Normänner Leben auf Island und Grönland und dehren Fahrten nach Amerika schon über 500 Jahre vor Columbus, 1842, pp. 228–230. — Norse; follows Rafn.

492 WILLIAMS, H. S., editor. Historians History of the World, 1908, vol. xxii. pt. xxiii. bk. i. ch. i. p. 398. — Indian.

493–495 WILSON, Sir D. Prehistoric Man, 1862, ii. 172–178. — Indian. [494] Vinland of the Northmen. In Proc. and Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada for 1890, vol. viii. sect. ii. pp. 113 f, 116, 120. — Not Norse. [495] Lost Atlantis and other Ethnographic Studies, 1892, pp. 46 f, 54, 61, 206. — Not Norse; Indian.

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497–498 WINTHROP, JAMES. Ink-impression of the inscription, reduced by pantograph, made Aug. 4, 1788. [498] Account of an inscribed rock, at Dighton, accompanied by a copy of the inscriptions. In Memoirs Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1804, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 126–129. Dated Nov. 10, 1788. Illus., no. 12b. — Description of Rock and of making the ink-impression.

499–500 WINTHROP, JOHN. Imperfect drawing of the inscription, about 1744, not preserved. [500] Letter to Timothy Hollis, spring of 1774, transmitting copy of Sewall's drawing. Quoted by M. Lort, in Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 295. — Indian.

501 WORCESTER, J. E. Geographical Dictionary or Universal Gazetteer, 1817, i, under "Dighton." — No satisfactory explanation.

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503 Wyman, J. Remarks on Stone Implements of the Indians. In Proc. Boston Soc. of Nat. History, Dec. 2, 1868, 1868–69, xii. 218. — Indian.

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504 Young, G. M. Dighton Rock; compiled and written for the Peoria Scientific Association, October, 1890. In Peoria Journal. — Inclines to Phœnician theory. A photograph that he claims to have made in 1890 was a copy of no. 29c.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

In a paper read in March, 1917, letters written in 1772–1775 to John Warren (H. C. 1771) by William Eustis (H. C. 1772) and Jonathan Norwood (H. C. 1771) were quoted, in which there was reference to "the Sp——r Club" and to "the Sp——rs," and in which the expression "Spunker's like" occurred.[1] The three persons concerned were at that time either medical students or young doctors. Dr. Edward Warren was of the opinion that "Spunker" was a nickname applied to one of a party engaged in a body-snatching expedition. I ventured the suggestion that this was a misapprehension and that "Spunker" revealed the name of the Sp——r Club. The Warren Papers recently given to the Massachusetts Historical Society have

[1] Our Publications, xix. 285–289.

now been arranged, and Dr. J. Collins Warren has kindly called my attention to a letter which confirms the guess I hazarded two years ago. This letter, written to Dr. John Warren, is dated "Marblehead April ye 18th 1774," begins "Dear Friend," and is wholly devoted to a medical case except the concluding words, which are as follows:

I think I will no fa[r]ther tempt your Patience only just to ask leave to subscribe myself your humble servt

A Lamb of the Spunke Club

The letter is endorsed, in the hand of Dr. John Warren, "from Dr N Bond April 18th 1774." Hence the writer must have been the Nathaniel Bond who was born in 1747, who graduated at Harvard College in 1766, who enlisted as surgeon in Col. John Glover's regiment at Marblehead in April, 1775, and who died while serving in the army on March 7, 1777.[1]

[1] H. Bond, Genealogies and History of Watertown, i. 62; S. Roads, History and Traditions of Marblehead, p. 117; T. F. Harrington, Harvard Medical School, i. 175; Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, ii. 260; F. B. Heitman, Register of Officers of the Continental Army (1914), p. 109.

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